THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

VOLUME II.

1795-1799

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your affectionate mother

Mary King

THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

RUFUS KING

COMPRISING HIS LETTERS, PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL
HIS PUBLIC DOCUMENTS AND
HIS SPEECHES

EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON

CHARLES R. KING, M.D.

FELLOW OF THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS, PHILADELPHIA, AND
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HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

VOLUME II.

1795-1799

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CHARLES R. KING

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME.

The period embraced in this second volume covers the closing years of the senatorial career of Mr. King, before his transfer to the position of Minister Plenipotentiary and Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and the following three years in that capacity; the matter in the third volume extending to the close of the mission in 1803.

The history of the United States during the second term of Washington's administration is full of events which tested the adaptability of the constitution to meet the new questions both domestic and foreign which necessarily arose under its untried provisions. Happily the general policy, which has received the name of federal, prevailed, and the basis of government was firmly founded. Mr. King was largely instrumental in framing and sustaining these measures adopted, as the records clearly show; yet it is much to be regretted that there are many gaps in his private papers, the filling of which might have thrown strong light upon the interesting questions of the day. All, however, that the papers in the possession of the Editor contain as contemporary history is here presented.

In reference to the correspondence in the second portion of the volume, during the years of Mr. King's residence in England, it is proper that some explanation should be made. It will be observed that many letters, which have already been given to the public in the lives of some of the distinguished contemporaries of Mr. King, are here republished in order to show the bearing and illustrate the meaning of the letters now first presented. Indeed without them the continuity of the narrative would lack much of interest. In all

these cases, and especially in the letters to and from Hamilton, the source from which they have been taken is noted, and where no such reference is made the originals or copies of them are in the possession of the Editor, and are reproduced verbatim, except where relating to matters of no interest to the public. The letters of Pickering, Cabot, Troup, Bingham, and many others, relative to the domestic affairs of the United States and containing their estimate of foreign affairs, are very full and served to keep Mr. King informed of the current opinion and business of the country, helping him in his ministerial work and receiving, in his answers, the effect they produced upon the mind of one deeply interested, but away from their immediate influence at home.

But perhaps not less interesting is his official correspondence with the British Government, and with his personal friend Timothy Pickering, both in the latter's private capacity and as Secretary of State. Pickering's letters are contained in a separate volume, copied from the official dispatches, of which the originals are probably in the Archives of the Legation in England; while official communications from Mr. King are preserved in press copies of all his letters, which are all in his own handwriting, carefully arranged in five large folio volumes of about 2000 pages; his letters in cipher deciphered. Of course this correspondence, which extends over seven years—to the end of the next volume,—could not all be reproduced here. Many of the letters relate merely to current matters of detail and, though making part of the history of official acts, are not essential to their elucidation. Nor is there given an unbroken series of letters to and from the Secretary of State, but such selections from them as would show the contemporary diplomatic history as it presented itself to the observation of the intelligent, clear-headed, and careful man, who had the interest of his country always at heart and desired to gain for it every advantage that his position could enable him to obtain.

Conscious of the confidence in his ability and integrity of both his Goverment at home and of the King's Ministers, he met the various questions which, under the daily changing politics of Europe, presented the necessity of prompt decision, with firmness and courteous discussion, but always, when possible to do so, under the special instructions given to him. Sometimes, as will be seen, he could not wait for these, because of the difficulty of communicating by sailing vessels with his Government; but in no case did his action meet with disapprobation at home, or fail to obtain the respectful consideration of the Government to which he was accredited.

Several Appendices have been added to this volume, the first of which contains, as will be seen, a number of letters from Mr. King, during the first years of his public life, but which came into the Editor's possession after the publication of the first volume. Others are reports of conferences with Lord Grenville, one in particular in reference to the difficulties which arose in the Commission under the seventh article of the Treaty with Great Britain, and which were satisfactorily solved. It has been deemed well to collect in separate and consecutive narratives the incidents which led to the action of Mr. King to protest against the avowed purpose of the British Government to allow the captured chiefs of the rebellion in Ireland to emigrate to the United States, and those relative to the proposed plans, by which, in connection with Miranda, the South American colonies of Spain were to be revolutionized and made independent of the mother country—plans that depended upon a co-operation of England and the United States, but which were not carried out.

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THE LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE OF RUFUS KING.

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Mr. King's Re-election to the Senate—Settlement of the System of public Credit—Mr. Hamilton's Retirement and R. King's Opinion of it—Hamilton's earnest Letter relative to non-subscribing Creditors—Mr. Jay's Nomination for Governor of New York.

The term for which Mr. King had been chosen Senator of the United States from New York would expire on March 4, 1795, and a strong effort was made by the friends of Mr. Clinton to prevent his re-election. Notwithstanding this, he was on January 27th again appointed to the position by a "majority of six in one House and one in the other."

The Congress which was then sitting was engaged in an earnest endeavor to provide for the gradual redemption of the funded debt, in accordance with the general system of finance, which had been recommended by Alexander Hamilton and which he had in his reports sustained by most cogent reasoning. The result was that the entire management of the public debt was vested in the Commissioners of the Sinking Fund, with an appropriation, in addition to the resources already assigned, of the proceeds of certain temporary taxes, which would enable them to pay with regularity the accruing interest and gradually to extinguish the principal of the debt.

In the original plan there were clauses providing for the creditors who had not before subscribed, which, in the House, were stricken out, one of the objections to it being that under its terms the non-subscribing creditors would be better off than those who had availed themselves of the original arrangement. Though it was answered that this would not be the case, and other reasons were given why the clauses making special provisions should be maintained, it was decided to strike them out. Mr. Hamilton, who had resigned from the office of Secretary of the Treasury before this time, was greatly moved by this action and expressed his disappointment in his letter to Mr. King of February 21st.

It is to the settlement of the financial affairs of the government and thus placing the public credit on the firmest foundation that Mr. King alludes in his letter to Mr. Gore of February 14th; a letter which gives his opinion of the loss the country had sustained by the retirement of a "great and virtuous minister" from the public affairs of the country, and of his hope that his successor (Mr. Oliver Wolcott) "may emulate his predecessor's example." *

EGBERT BENSON TO R. KING, PHILA.

"POUGHKEEPSIE, Jany. 15th, 1795.

". . . The 27th inst. is the day *big with the Fate.* Some of the Gentry have supposed it would be most advisable to re-elect Schuyler, otherwise both the Senators will continue to be from the *Southern* part of the State. You may suppose they do not know what to say, and that they have not determined what to do, when they come forward with such stuff. Mark the Expres-

* Hildreth happily says (*Hist. of United States*, 2d ser., i., p. 538): "During his [Hamilton's] six years of public service he had placed the fiscal concerns of the United States on a solid foundation—that, indeed, upon which they have ever since rested. The investigations into his conduct, dictated by the suspicions of his enemies, had resulted altogether to his advantage. His whole scheme being now complete, and his official integrity thoroughly vindicated, he could safely leave to the administration of others that system which his genius had organized"

sion of the Message, '*alarming* aspect of public affairs,' '*daring* claims,' 'children of the *opulent*'—what a delectable Rascal he is! Was there ever such cursed nonsense as what he says about our System of Jurisprudence being implicitly borrowed &c.?"

J. O. HOFFMAN TO R. KING, PHILA.

26th Jany., 1795.

Our opponents spare no pains to defeat the success of your re-appointment. They have at length partly agreed on Mr. Jones; but at a meeting this evening, for the purpose of counteracting their measures, he declared his entire disapprobation of the plan. They expected something from the change of the Scene; but as yet they have made no impression and, I believe, instead of losing we daily gain ground.

It has been judged prudent to postpone all arrangements relative to Mr. Jay, untill after Tuesday. A visit from you might after that time, be attended with the most salutary effects. Burr's friends now declare that Watts, Gilbert & Van Gaasbeck are in his favor. With esteem J. O. HOFFMAN.

ROB. TROUP TO R. KING, PHILA.

27th Jany., 1795.

DEAR SIR:

I sincerely congratulate you upon your re-election—by a majority of six—five in one house and one in the other. Tillotson was your antagonist. . . .

Very sincerely, ROB. TROUP.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 29th, 1795.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

On Monday a vessel arrived at Cape Ann from Ramsgate in England . . . I have seen a letter for Mr. Sears, it is from Mr. Dickason, & says the commercial treaty between the U. S. and G. B. is signed and printed in the Gazette. American stocks rose in consequence of this event . . . Now

nothing being said of the state of the belligerent powers at that time, it is probable their situation was not altered materially since our last advices.

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

N. GORHAM TO R. KING, PHILA.

BOSTON, Feby. 5, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR:

I most sincerely congratulate you upon your re-election & I can assure you that the true Federalists think it a very happy circumstance for the country. I am very much afraid we shall not be able to get Mr. Dexter elected again. . . .

Your friend, NATH. GORHAM.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Feby. 9, 1795.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . A letter from the Hague and published this day in the Orrery, informs that La Fayette has been again taken and reconducted to prison. This news we fear is authentic. It is said the letter is from Mr. Adams.

Affectionately yours,

C. GORE.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

PHILA. Feb. 14th, 1795.

The Treaty has not yet arrived, and we are very impatient to receive it before Congress adjourns. Hamilton's last Report exceeds my Frank or I would send you a copy, probably however you will have received one—the Resolutions that have been brought forward in pursuance of it, have been adopted with some immaterial variations by the House of Representatives, & there is a fair Prospect that the Finances will be arranged conformable to his views.

We lose a Great and Virtuous Minister in the retirement of this Gentleman ; his successor* is a good man—possesses firmness, industry, integrity, and sound Talents with a disposition to emulate his Predecessor's Example.

I am mortified that Dexter has not succeeded ; should he from disgust decline, or should he finally fail it would, believe me, be the subject of serious & deep regret to the friends of the Government, for without depreciating the talents of any those of Mr. Dexter class him among the men of the very first order of Abilities in our Country.

His re-election is worthy of great Effort, the want of which alone, it would seem to me, will defeat his Choice.

You will have learnt that I have been re-elected ; in one view I am gratified ; but without affectation I can say to you, that I am wearied with this kind of life, which has nothing new to afford me, and which demands of me sacrifices that I become daily more and more unwilling to make.

Pennsylvania & North Carolina have yet to make their Senatorial Elections, the former will probably do well, & there is no reason to despair of the latter ; in any event the Senate will stand better after March than at present.

Farewell—Yrs sincerely

R. King.

A. Hamilton to R. King.

Kingston, Feb. 21, 1795.

My Dear King :

The unnecessary, capricious & abominable assassination of the National honor by the rejection of the propositions respecting the unsubscribed debt, in the House of Representatives, haunts me every step I take and afflicts me more than I can express. To see the character of the Government & the Country so sported with, exposed to so indelible a blot, puts my heart to the Torture. Am I then more of an American than those who drew their first breath on American Ground ? Or what is it that thus torments me at a

* Oliver Wolcott.

circumstance so calmly viewed by almost every body else? Am I a fool—a Romantic Quixot—or is there a constitutional defect in the American mind? Were it not for yourself and a few others, I could adopt the reveries of De Paux as substantial truths, & would say with him that there is something in our climate which belittles every animal, human or brute.

I conjure you, my friend, make a vigorous stand for the honor of your country. Rouse all the energies of your mind, and measure swords in the Senate with the great Slayer of public faith, the hacknied *Veteran* in the *violation* of public engagements. Prevent him from triumphing a second time over the prostrate Credit* and injured interests of his Country. Unmask his false and horrid hypothesis. Display the immense difference between an able statesman and *the Man of Subtilties*. Root out the distempered and noisome weed, which is attempted to be planted in our political garden, to choak and wither in its infancy the fair plant of public credit.

I disclose to you without reserve the state of my mind. It is discontented & gloomy in the extreme. I consider the cause of good government as having been put to an issue & the Verdict against it. Introduce I pray you into the Senate, when the bill comes up, the clause which has been rejected, freed from embarrassments by the bills of credit bearing interest on the nominal value. Press its adoption in this the most unexceptionable shape & let the *yeas* & *nays* witness the result. Among other reasons for this is my wish that the true friends of public Credit may be distinguished from its enemies. The question is too great a one not to undergo a thorough examination before the community. It would pain me not to be able to distinguish. Adieu.

God bless you

A. Hamilton.

Do me the favour to revise carefully the course of the bill, respecting the unsubscribed Debt, & let me know the particulars. I wish to be able to judge more particularly of the underplot I suspect.

* Witness the 40 for 1 scheme, a most unskilful measure to say the best of it.

A. Hamilton to R. King.

N. York, Feby. 26, 1795.

My Dear Sir :

I have received your letter with the printed Bills. The new clause is an additional bad feature. Yet 't is better the thing should pass as it is than not at all. Every thing should be gained that can be.

So : It seems that under the present administration of the Department, Hillhouse & Goodhue are to be the Ministers in the House of Representatives and Ellsworth & Strong in the Senate. Fine work we shall have. But I swear the nation shall not be dishonored with impunity.

Yrs. Affect'ly,

A. Hamilton.

Peter Van Gaasbeck to Rufus King.

Kingston, 18th March, 1795.

My Dear Sir :

. . . The people here wish farther satisfaction as to Mr. Jay's Return. Give me all by Billy (Wm. Marius Green) ; as I said in my former the great majority of the Committee who have nominated Mr. Burr, if he is no candidate, will unquestionably and very powerfully support Mr. Jay—thus as it is very probable that Mr. Burr will not stand a Candidate, every elucidation respecting Mr. Jay's Return will be of singular advantage. . . .

Yr. most obedt. Servt. & Sincere Friend,

Peter Van Gaasbeck.

O. Wolcott to R. King.

Phila., March 23rd, 1795.

My Dear Sir :

I have rec'd your favour of the 19th instant—on enquiry I find Mr. Blaney has left town, I cannot therefore ascertain the truth of the declaration attributed to him : the following circumstance however proves to my satisfaction, that the declaration it made has been misunderstood or perverted to impress a wrong idea.

On the 19th of Nov. Mr. Jay in a letter *requested that he might have the earliest advice of the ratification; that he might be enabled to finish whatever might be expected of him in season to return in one of the first spring vessels. At the same time he suggested that if his health had been competent to a winter voyage he should have been himself the bearer of the Treaty.*

The truth doubtless is, that Mr. Jay finding his health unequal to the severities of a voyage in winter, concluded to tarry until Spring, and of course might reasonably expect the ratification before his departure from England. There is however nothing in *his* Letters, and nothing as I believe on good grounds, in any Letters which have been written from *this Country* which can countenance an opinion, that Mr. Jay will *wait* for the ratification—The contrary is firmly believed here.

I am with perfect respect

Dear Sir your obed. serv.,

Oliver Wolcott.

CHAPTER II.

Jay's Treaty received—The Senate called to consider it—Mr. King's Resolution to ratify it—Ratification with Protest against Article twelve recommended—"Camillus Letters" by Hamilton and King—After much Delay the President signed the Treaty—Randolph's Correspondence with Fauchet, the French Ambassador—His Resignation of Office of Secretary of State—The President suggests Mr. King as his Successor—He declines—Letters of Hamilton, King, and Randolph relative to the Treaty—Delay of Ratification caused Dissatisfaction—Public Meetings opposed to it; G. Cabot and C. Gore relative to these—R. King's Letter announcing Ratification.

The treaty which had been negotiated by Mr. Jay with Great Britain late in 1794 was received by the Secretary of State on March 7, 1795, and the Senate was called by the President to meet on June 8th, to consider matters touching the public good. They accordingly convened on that day, and the President laid before them "the Treaty and other documents connected with it," asking them "to decide whether they will advise and consent that the said Treaty be made."

As a preliminary step the Senate passed a resolution imposing secrecy upon the communication until further order of the Senate. An ineffectual effort was made to rescind this resolution, and after consideration of the different articles a motion was made, it is said by Mr. King, on June 17th to consent and advise the President to ratify the treaty "on condition that there be added to the said Treaty an article whereby it shall be agreed to suspend the operation of so much of the twelfth article" as relates to trade with the West Indies, "and at the same time recommending to the

President to proceed, without delay, to further friendly negotiations" on the subject of the said trade.

Mr. Burr, on the 22d, moved to postpone this motion, to adopt a series of resolutions he offered to effect certain alterations in the treaty in the several particulars they suggested. His resolution was rejected next day by a vote of 20 to 10, and on the 24th, after an attempt, for reasons given, to pass a resolution to refuse consent, that portion of the original proposition, advising the ratification of the treaty, was passed by 20 to 10, and the other portion, advising a renewal of negotiations, by an unanimous vote. Mr. King voted in both cases in the affirmative. It is well known that he made an earnest plea for the ratification of the treaty, but nothing can be found among his papers to indicate even the heads of the speech. His views, however, are fully presented in the letters of Camillus written by him.

On the 26th, the injunction of secrecy was rescinded, with a proviso, however, " that it be nevertheless enjoined upon the Senators not to authorize or allow any copy of the said communications, or of any article thereof. '

The President delayed for some time appending his signature to the treaty as explained hereafter, and the public became very anxious to know the particulars of the document, whose ratification had been recommended. In consequence of the secrecy,

" statements as to the contents had begun to appear, accompanied by very malignant comments. In order to prevent hasty conclusions, founded on partial views, and wishing to hear the opinions of the people, Washington directed the whole treaty to be published. But in this he had been anticipated. On the same day that this direction was given, a full abstract had appeared in the *Aurora*, followed, a few days after, by a perfect copy furnished by Mason on the Senate under his own name."*

In the *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, vi., p. 223, occurs the following passage:

* Hildreth, *Hist. of U. S.*, 2d ser., i., 546.

"To remove the prejudice this procedure [the publication of the treaty by Mason] excited, it was falsely charged that Rufus King had divulged the treaty by furnishing Hamilton with a copy. The charge was repelled by the Senator from New York, who stated that he had acted strictly within the limits of the injunction in having permitted a copy to be read; but that no copy had been given; a permission which had been freely exercised by other members of the Senate."

Every effort was made by the enemies of the treaty to poison the public mind against it. The newspapers were filled with articles to show how shamefully the interests of the country had been sacrificed to the dictation of Great Britain and to the injury of France. Among those who opposed it in this way was Brockholts Livingston, who had been most conspicuous in the public meeting in New York against the treaty. In certain articles signed "Decius" he attempted to show how injurious the treaty would be, and how disgraceful to the country. Mr. R. R. Livingston, as "Cato," wrote in the same strain. These were ably answered by Hamilton in a series of papers, signed "Camillus," papers so able and conclusive, that they were largely instrumental in checking the dissatisfaction which existed, and which was aggravated by the delay of the President in signing the treaty. The first of these articles was issued on the 22d of July, "four days after the public meeting where Hamilton was assailed with missiles."

In the *Life of Hamilton*, vi., p. 273, we find these paragraphs:

"The discussion of the first ten or permanent articles occupied twenty-two numbers of these essays. To the remaining or temporary articles twelve were devoted. The general views entertained by Hamilton as to the commercial features of this treaty have been seen in the letter* addressed by him to the President. That letter contains the outline of 'Camillus.'

"It is perceived from a comparison of it with the first twenty-

* July 6, *Life of Hamilton*, vi., 229.

two numbers, the original drafts of which are in Hamilton's autograph, that they were exclusively his. Of the remaining essays, ten, Nos. 23 to 30, both included, 34 and 35, were from another pen, with frequent alterations, interlineations and additions by Hamilton. The residue of the numbers, being six, are also Hamilton's exclusively. It has been stated that his letter to the President contained the outline of these numbers on the commercial features of the treaty, but it should be observed that the views were much extended in the 'Camillus' letters; that, when the objections to the treaty are admitted, the defensive observations as to Jay, which had been previously presented by him to the President, are interlined in Hamilton's autograph, and that great anxiety is evinced by him, lest the positions taken should mean more than he felt was warranted by just inductions. As he had urged the mission of of Jay, he felt the more anxious to guard him from censure."

Mr. J. C. Hamilton, in his *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, had stated in a note to the No. xxiii. Camillus letter, that "this and the seven succeeding numbers are from the pen of Rufus King, excepting parts within brackets, which are in Hamilton's hand.—Ed." He claims here that xxxiv. and xxxv. were written by Hamilton, for he makes no note about them. It so happens that manuscript copies of these are in the present editor's possession.

In his *Life of Hamilton*, written some twenty years later in vol. vi., p. 273, he says that the above numbered essays and in addition "34 and 35 are from another pen [without mentioning whose.—Ed.] with frequent alterations, interlineations and additions by Hamilton." It may be mentioned, that all these alterations, etc., amount to about two or three pages in one hundred.*

Though in the *Works*, Mr. Hamilton mentions the name of Rufus King as that of one of the writers of these letters,

* The length of these letters, which occupy 104 pages of the *Works of Hamilton*, vol. vii., pp. 378–468, and 487–501, has decided the Editor to omit them and to refer those who desire to read them and to examine the able and clear presentation of the points discussed, to the above named publication.—Ed.

it is not a little strange that he should have *forgotten* to state in the *Life*, even in a note, that the "other pen" was Rufus King's, the warm, confidential, and trusted friend of his father to the end of his life. Though we are indebted to Mr. Hamilton for the first positive published evidence that Mr. King was the co-laborer in writing them, we find in a letter of John Adams to his wife January 31, 1796,* the following statement:

"I have a secret to communicate to your prudence. The defence by Camillus was written in concert between Hamilton, King and Jay. The writings on the first ten articles of the treaty were written by Hamilton; the rest by King till they come to the question of the constitutionality of the treaty, which was discussed by Hamilton. Jay was also to have written a concluding peroration; but being always a little lazy and perhaps concluding that it might be most politic to keep his name out of it, and perhaps finding that the work was already well done, he neglected it. This I have from King's own mouth. It is to pass, however, for Hamilton's. All three consulted together upon most, if not all the pieces."

In addition to these, the existence of manuscript drafts of several of the letters among the papers of Mr. King, and the following extract from a letter of Mr. King himself to Mr. William Coleman, February, 1817, are authoritative evidences that he contributed some of them:

"Of the papers under the signature of Camillus, those relative to the permanent, or ten first Articles of Mr. Jay's Treaty were written by Hamilton, those relative to the commercial and maritime articles were written by me. The critical examination of these articles, in relation to navigation & trade, as well as to the Laws and Treaties of Nations, has been of great advantage to me thro' life. Principles were established and Usages and Regulations discovered relative to maritime and commercial Law which have given to me greater confidence in acting and deciding on these intricate matters than I feel on almost any other subject."

* *Life* and *Works*, i., 485, pub. 1856.

A. Hamilton to R. King, New York.

June 11, 1795.

Dear Sir:

I thank you for your letter of the 10th. The case has been with me as with you. Reflection has not mitigated the exceptionable point. Yet it will be to be lamented if no mode can be devised to save the main object and close the irritable questions which are provided for. Every thing besides an absolute and simple ratification will put something in jeopardy. But, while on the one hand I think it advisable to hazard as little as possible, on the other I should be willing to hazard something and unwilling to see a very objectionable principle put into activity.

It is to be observed that no time is fixed for the ratification of the Treaty. It may then be ratified with a collateral instruction to make a declaration that the U. States consider the article in question aggregately taken as intended by the King of G. B. as a privilege; that they conceive it for their interest to forbear the exercise of that privilege with the condition annexed to it, till an explanation in order to a new modification of it shall place it on a more acceptable footing, or *till an article to be sent to our Minister, containing that modification, shall be agreed upon between him & the British Court as a part of the Treaty;* the ratification not to be exchanged without further instruction from this country unless accepted in this sense & with this qualification.

This course appears to me preferable to sending back the Treaty, to open the negotiation anew, because it may save time on the points most interesting to us, & I do not see that if the ratifications be exchanged with this saving there can be any doubt of the matter operating as intended.

Adieu, Yrs. Truly

A. Hamilton.

A. Hamilton to R. King.

My Dear Sir:

New York, June 20, 1795.

A considerable alarm has been spread this morning by a report that the Treaty has been disagreed to. I have assured those I have seen that I was convinced any rumour of a decision must be

premature. The anxiety however about the result is extreme. The common opinion among men of business of all descriptions is that a disagreement to the Treaty would greatly shock and stagnate pecuniary plans and operations in general. This is not a small source of disquietude ; others who are likely to be affected in that sense (and among these myself) look forward to the result with great solicitude as fixing or endangering the stability of our present beneficial and desirable situation.

My influence in seconding the wishes of our friend General Gunn is, I fear, overated. Unwilling to raise expectations, which may not be realized, I will only say, that it will give me real pleasure to be able to promote his accommodation or advantage ; as my opinion entirely coincides with yours. In the mean time, I will, as far as circumstances will permit, have an eye to the affair.

Yrs. affectionately

A. HAMILTON.

EDM. RANDOLPH TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, July 6, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

My indisposition has prevented an earlier answer to your favour of the 1st instant.

Before the co-agency of Mr. Bache and a Senator had violated the injunctions of secrecy, I was impressed with your ideas, and caused Brown to publish a memorandum, that on Wednesday the treaty would appear. This day was named, because I could not sooner recover the only copy in my powers which I had put into the hands of Mr. Adet, upon his expressing some vague inquietudes.

I have since received his objections, feeble in themselves, and more feebly urged. They are these three simple things. 1. that we have *granted* to G. B., the liberty of seizing contraband beyond what was agreed between us and France. 2. that we have annulled the 17th Article of the French treaty ; and 3 that we have incapacitated ourselves from forming a new commercial treaty with France by the last clause of the 25th article in that with England. An answer is prepared, which is satisfactory to the President.

The 8th article will be attended to the moment after the President shall give his final instruction on the treaty. With great respect

Yr. mo. Ob Servt.

EDM. RANDOLPH.

R. KING TO C. GORE.

N. YORK, 24 July, 1795.

I thank you for your letter and am pleased to learn that a counter-current is appearing on the subject of the treaty. From the Resentment and past defeats of our Jacobins, it was natural to expect a very considerable effort on this occasion. They had concerted their plans, & by manifesting a noisy opposition in the large Towns at the same Time, they expected to surprize and gain the public opinion. Industry and arts will continue to be employed for this purpose, and you are right in saying that the moment demands all the Patience and Firmness of virtuous men to bear up against the torrent.

You will have seen the progress and result at the meeting in this City. The invitation was to condemn, the Friends of order were requested to attend for the purpose of discussion, but the noise and confusion which prevailed, precluded all Examination and the first meeting separated without any regular Decision on any subject. The meeting that succeeded on Monday was ex parte, the friends of a fair Discussion having declined to attend, and the Resolutions which they adopted it is said were similar to those of Boston. The merchants who are here an incorporated Chamber, summoned a meeting for Tuesday evening. The chamber was unusually full, the Treaty was the subject, which, after Discusion, they approved in Resolutions which they passed by a majority of 6 to 1.

It is much to be regretted that Boston gave the example of a Town meeting on this subject—had they remained silent, or had the schemes of Jarvis & others, on this occasion, as heretofore, been disappointed, we should have had no meeting here, and the country would have escaped that Fever into which it is likely to

be thrown. You must exert yourselves in procuring a right conception of the Treaty—if understood, it will not be disapproved. Will not your merchants take any step to counteract the Opinion that Boston has been unanimous in their Condemnation—be persuaded that tho' the thing is well understood with you, yet a counter-act, proceeding from your merchants would have a very considerable effect in this and other quarters of the Union.

Farewell yrs. sincerely,

R. KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

DEAR SIR : BROOKLINE, 25 July, 1795.

Going into town yesterday for the first time since my return, I met your letter of the 13th * & was greatly rejoiced to find that the insanity which is *epidemic* in this quarter is less prevalent with you. It would be consolatory to believe that among the crew of our political ship, the sound would always be sufficient to take care of the sick. But I have not this desirable faith.

The readiness and severity with which the Treaty has been condemned is a new proof that our government cannot rely for support even upon good men in cases of emergency : for these very generally acquiesced in the censure without any examination of the subject. It is true that they are now mortified at their indiscretion, & many of them will have the magnanimity to retread their steps ; but pride will probably prevent others from acknowledging they were wrong.

A number of gentlemen visited me soon after I arrived here and were easily satisfied that the ideas circulated respecting the Treaty were very incorrect. But they all united with me in sentiment that explanations wou'd be fruitless during the ferment which was extreme and universal—what was then foreseen has been since realized—men's minds had gone too far & when inclined to come back a little effort has been successful in greatly accelerating the reverberation.

With a view to ascertain the state of public opinion & to con-

* It is to be regretted that this letter to Mr. Cabot cannot be recovered. —ED.

tribute my mite towards forming it rightly in other parts of the State, I attended the commencement at Cambridge & was gratified to perceive that sensible and virtuous men from other quarters resented the proceedings of Boston, so that, *if I were to judge from the evidence of that day*, I shou'd pronounce that the sober sense of Massachusetts approves the Treaty.

Since that time a piece entitled "Candid Remarks on the Treaty" has been republished here from some of your papers, the effects of which are highly beneficial. Such a summary defence was well adapted to the moment, but I hope a more elaborate one will be produced at New York & handed along very soon.

Our mercantile men have learnt something more of our rights and the rights of the other nations than they knew formerly, but they have yet to learn that the commerce of the U. S. is not such as wou'd enable us to dictate the terms on which an intercourse is to be held with the nations of Europe.

Upon examining the East India Article, I don't see that our vessels are *prohibited the Coasting Trade* & I shou'd imagine they will enjoy it as usual until an explicit prohibition shall be declared by the British. The more I have examined the article the better it has appeared, & most men with whom I converse seem to agree that it is good. I have much more to say, but my Potatoes need hoeing & must not be neglected. . . .

Your faithful friend

G. CABOT.

G. CABOT TO R. KING, N. YORK.

DEAR SIR : BROOKLINE, July 27th, 1795.

Your favor of the 20th did not come to hand until this moment. It was not wholly unexpected that our mob shou'd inflame yours. All Society is full of combustible materials & a flame once lighted easily produces a general conflagration. It cannot be sufficiently regretted that some of our respectable men have on this occasion joined the Jacobins & very many of them acquiesced in their measures. They now see the pernicious tendency of their proceedings & a good portion of them already condemn them.

I believe it adds much to their mortification to reflect that they

listened to the representations and observations of a man whose want of sense has been thought at Boston a security against his influence. After all no sufficient apology is offer'd for the conduct of men who have habitually supported order and now have arranged themselves with its enemies. Some of them indeed say that they were deceived by the accounts brought by Mr. Langdon, others by the mutilated abstract published which totally removed alienage, and many confess that they condemned the Treaty without knowing its merits.

You will perhaps hold me responsible for these excesses, but I decline being surety against the folly and nonsense of any men. If I had thought as ill of the citizens of Boston as their conduct respecting the Treaty wou'd now justify, or if I had realised that Mr. L. wou'd furnish sparks to inflame them, it is possible that a few hours conversation with some of them on the evening of my arrival might have retarded the rapidity of the current, tho' I don't think it cou'd have changed its course.

In justice to Dr. Eustis I ought to mention, as from his friend, that one of his motives for sharing in the agency was that of preventing greater mischief. This is laudable and sometimes expedient, but the services of our friends, when accompanied by improper concessions to our enemies are too costly to be profitable. You will see a sharp speech of Dexter's, which does him credit for its spirit & good sense, but it is introduced by admitting that the Treaty is "not so good as he hoped." I shall desire him to point out some of those good things, *which he had a right to hope for*, presuming that his hopes & even desires are regulated by reason.

I wish you wou'd inform me by return of post whether these popular tumults have produced any embarrassment to the President, & whether the Treaty with its accompaniments is gone.

Our good men here all presume that the President is too firm to be shaken, and therefore have the more willingly indulged themselves in supineness. I think, however, they wou'd rally and make a respectable effort if it were believed to be indispensable. In Salem & the other Seaports they are pretty steady, & in the country as yet I have not heard of the Treaty's being anywhere

unpopular, & every day furnishes new evidence that the old friends of order are re-uniting even at Boston.

It was observed here that your Jacobins were prudent to endeavour to knock out Hamilton's brains to reduce him to an equality with themselves; but I trembled at the first account which was related of that adventure & offer'd up an unfeigned prayer for his safety. I mean the silent prayer of an affectionate heart. . . .*

Your faithful friend,

G. CABOT.

G. CABOT TO R. KING, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: BROOKLINE, Aug. 4, 1795.

The uncertainty you mention respecting the ratification of the Treaty by the President, renews my anxiety for the welfare of our Country. Altho' I have entertained some fears that the business was delayed, yet as no objections from the President had ever come to my knowledge, my hopes greatly preponderated. I shall seize this moment, while the proceeding of the President is unknown, to suggest to the Boston merchants the propriety of a manly declaration of their sentiments, but altho' I have reason to believe that the Treaty is now generally approved by them, yet so many of them had indiscreetly censured it, that it is doubtful how far they will incline formally to express their present opinions.

* The allusions in these letters are to the public meetings held at first in Boston to denounce the treaty and to endeavor to influence the President to refuse his consent to the ratification, which the Senate had advised. The paragraph in Mr. Cabot's letter refers to a meeting called in New York by the enemies of the treaty to express their utter abhorrence of it. But its friends decided to attend the meeting that they might show that in the city other views, more representative of its sentiments, were held. At this meeting, Hamilton advised an adjournment, rather than that a hasty decision should be made, and the meeting became so disorderly that the friends of the treaty withdrew, but not before Hamilton had been struck in the head, but without serious injury, by a stone thrown from the excited crowd. In Philadelphia, Charleston, and other places also, meetings were held in which violent denunciations of the treaty were made to influence the action of the President. But all were ineffectual, for on August 14th the President after careful consideration signed it.

Pride is a powerful enemy in this case & combined with the natural reluctance which men feel at combating popular prejudices, may not be easily overcome; but be this as it may, you may be fully assured that the most respectable part of our community have become the advocates of the Treaty & are extending the opinion of its propriety every moment. I am told that the only article which is now unsatisfactory to any of the Federalists here is the 10th; which shows, I think, that they are hard pressed by their friends. Indeed it will not surprise me to find the Senate blamed for not accepting the entire instrument by some men who have lately censured every part. Such is the versatility of opinion. Although we have neither a Curtius nor a Camillus, yet the explanation given by Gore in the newspaper & those circulated by others in private conversations have so well aided the investigation of individuals, that the subject is pretty well understood and its friends increased in a corresponding degree. I am however very glad to see the systematic & able defence setting up in your city & shall take measures to extend its operation in this quarter.

I have too much respect for the character of the President to believe that he can be deterr'd from his duty by the clamor or menaces of these city-mobs, but still I agree with you, that their doings shou'd be counteracted by the *good people*, lest it shou'd be imagined that all are alike infected with the rage of disorganization.

Your sincere friend,

G. Cabot.

C. Gore to R. King.

Boston, 7 August, 1795.

My Dear Sir:

A letter from Mr. Cabot to Mr. Higginson the day before yesterday informs that it is uncertain, whether the treaty is yet ratified. A few days past, I felt satisfied that things were coming right, that reason and reflection were assuming the lead and that we should very soon have a just idea of the treaty, and return to our old good humor with the government and with each other. The signers to the protest amount to more than 200, and include

almost every man of property and reputation ; and a great many who had expressed themselves with warmth on the subject of the treaty—some of the most bitter opponents,—had given up clamoring, avoided all conversation on the business and very publickly declared that if signed by the President, which they considered the fact, it ought to be submitted to, like other laws, and wou'd meet their cordial support. But shou'd it be generally known that the instrument is not yet ratified, that, with the furious heat of Charlestown, wou'd bring back all our fire. It would be felt that the President was taking part with a mob against his own government. Our opponents wou'd naturally reason, that if a little tumult produced such a delay, a more violent opposition wou'd be completely successful.

A chamber of commerce is called to meet this evening. It is expected the meeting will be large ; and the resolutions to be submitted approve in positive terms of the treaty. There is great reason to hope they will be adopted with unanimity. Pains are taking to induce Salem and Newburyport to express favorable sentiments of the treaty. Mr. Cabot is at the latter place, and will undoubtedly take every step to promote such measures. But after all, my friend, every thing depends on an idea that the President has ratified it, and no measures ought to be left unessayed to have the ratification compleat and dispatch'd to Europe immediately. That done, and publickly known to have been done, would place us again in quiet.

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

WALTHAM, 14th August, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR :

The paragraph in Webster's paper relative to the state of the treaty has given me inexplicable pain. Whether strictly right according to the rules of proceeding in such cases I cannot say ; but taking it on ground the least objectionable, there is an expence of time in making the negotiation prior to the President's signature, that may in itself be injurious. Tho' this is but of small consequence compared to the evils that result from the continued

and increased ferment which this delay produces. The evils are incalculable, unless we can calculate all the evils of a compleat prostration of government, and of the unlimited and unrivalled power of the most malignant and licentious faction. The friends of government are disheartened and discouraged. They feel the humiliation of continual warfare for an administration which supports its opponents and disgraces its friends. This is the observation of the most respectable and steady advocates of order in Boston.

The many sober, but unreflecting, men who first joined with the opponents were endeavoring to return to their old friends: they had been ensnared; they saw it, but many had not magnanimity enough to declare their conviction, without some good apology. They said if the President had ratified the treaty, there was an end of all opposition; and you may be assured, that their zealous support of it as a law of the land, would in some degree have compensated for their former error. They now think, as the President has delay'd to ratify it (for whatever may be the motive of the Executive, it will be attributed either to dislike of the instrument, or the influence of the opponents), that their first start was right, that they were lucky in their opposition, and will now steadily adhere to their friends. Of all the critical situations in which the government has been placed, this is the most extreme. Prejudice against the English, love for the French, a false idea of our own strength and of that of Britain; the character of the opponents in Charlestown, especially if Rutledge is appointed Chief Justice, together with the conclusions that will be drawn from the President's conduct, will require more strength and influence to oppose, than can be expected from the few firm friends to order which may be found in Massachusetts. I know of but one step that can arrest this mania, that affords any hope of supporting the government. An address from the President to the people of the United States, stating that he had ratified the treaty, or done what amounted to a ratification, provided G. B. acceded to the suspension as recommended by the Senate. This would allay the heat, unite the moderate men and those who are generally neuters till questions are decided, and it would afford support to those who fight the battles of the government, in the distant parts of the

continent. It appears to me that this alone will save us from the most distressing convulsions. The events of Europe may humble the French influence here ; but at the same time, they would raise the pride of Britain, and if our Executive shews itself operated on by them, it is not unnatural she should then say, you have made your choice, and are welcome to abide by it—we will remain as we are.

Yours affectionately,

C. GORE.

Is it not possible for Col. Hamilton and yourself to induce the President to adopt some measure that would decidedly express his sentiments in favor of the treaty? Be assured that in New England the word of the President would save the Govt. ; without it you may despair.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

BROOKLINE, Aug. 14, 1795.

DEAR SIR :

Since my last I have been at Newburyport, where the merchants are perfectly well united and have by this time probably made a formal declaration of their opinion. I understand that the only point on which they differ'd was the expediency of giving to the negotiator personal praise, & this was omitted entirely on the ground of avoiding present irritation.

The Boston Chamber of Commerce have held a meeting ; the number attending was as usual about 40 ; they were of the most respectable class, & with only a single dissentient approbated the Treaty & reprobated the attempts everywhere made to excite discontent and tumult among the People. Their proceedings, as well as those of Newburyport, are to be transmitted to the President. At Boston the members of the Chamber of Commerce who did not attend are to be invited to concur in writing & it is expected that $\frac{3}{4}$, including $\frac{1}{2}^{0}$ of the real respectability will concur.

At Salem Mr. Derby, Gray & some others having consulted, declare it to be their opinion that $\frac{7}{8}$ of their town wou'd vote to leave the business where the Constitution has placed it ; but they think it not best to make any movement,—because, they say, as no op-

position has been made among them they ought to be considered as unanimously favorable.

After all where is the boasted advantage of a representative system over the turbulent mobocracy of Athens, if the resort to popular meetings is necessary ? Faction, & especially the Faction of great towns always the most powerful, will be too strong for our mild & feeble government.

The newspapers will inform you of the arrival of a vessel from Rochelle yesterday, the Captn. of which informs that he fell in with the British Fleet of 14 sail of the Line, which had combated 14 French & captured three : the action was off Bellisle & the English Capt. told our informant that the whole French fleet wou'd have been taken if night had not cover'd them.

Yours truly,

G. Cabot.

Mr. Burr arrived in Boston the day before yesterday & visited me in the afternoon. I have return'd his visit but did not find him at home. He told me he had scarcely thought 10 minutes on political subjects since the Senate rose.

The letters which have been presented show the great anxiety and even alarm consequent upon the delay of action by the President, and the open expression of discontent and disapproval of the treaty itself by those who were the partisans of France and opponents of the general course of the administration. The President had gone to Mount Vernon, and gave no intimation of his intention respecting the ratification of the treaty, as advised by the Senate. Even his trusted friends had no inkling of the course he would adopt. Moved by the alarming demonstration, Washington decided to return to Philadelphia, but delaying a few days, his departure from home was hastened by a summons from some of the members of the Cabinet in consequence of a most unexpected occurrence, the receipt of a despatch No. 10, October, 1794, from M. Fauchet, the French Minister to his government, which was found in a

vessel captured by a British cruiser, and communicated, through Mr. Hammond, the British Minister, to whom it had been transmitted by his government, to Mr. Wolcott.

This despatch had been preceded by another of an earlier date, which was written to explain the disturbances in Western Pennsylvania, and gave an account of an extraordinary interview with Mr. Randolph, who considered that "a civil war was about to ravage our unhappy country," which could only be averted by certain men, who were without means to accomplish their plans, and for whom he asked the Minister to "lend them instantaneous funds to shelter them from English persecution." The second despatch, giving an account of American politics, in making which Mr. Randolph certainly assisted, attributes to Hamilton the enforcement of the excise tax, "to mislead the President into unpopular courses and to introduce absolute power under pretext of giving energy to the government." It is not necessary to enter more fully upon all that was said in this remarkable despatch, further than to state that it expressly charged Mr. Randolph with complicity in the statement, and saying, among other things: "Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the republic could have decided on civil war or peace! Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America already have their price!"

Upon Washington's arrival in Philadelphia, the despatch was shown to him, and a Cabinet meeting was held, at which the members, except Randolph, decided upon immediate ratification. This Washington assented to, and on August 14th the treaty was signed by him. The preparation of certain other papers was completed by Randolph, and the copies of the treaty were countersigned by him, when Washington "presented to him, in presence of the other Cabinet officers, the original intercepted despatch, with a request to read it, and to make such explanations as he might think fit."

Randolph, after reading it, endeavored to answer the allegations, denying many and claiming that he had been misunderstood and that his statements had been misinterpreted by M. Fauchet, but seeing that his explanations were not satisfactory, immediately offered his resignation. This was repeated in writing the same day, with the request that the publication of the despatch might be withheld until he could prepare fuller explanations. These were published shortly afterwards, but did not relieve his name from the stigma which was attached to it. This delay of publication of the reasons for his resignation gave rise to the speculations as to its cause in some of the letters.

Washington was much embarrassed in finding a successor to Mr. Randolph, which fact he communicates to General Hamilton in a letter of October 29th,* telling him in confidence that he had offered the office to several, whom he named, and who had refused. He continues:

"Would Mr. King accept it? You know the objection I have had to the nomination, to office, of any person from either branch of the Legislature, and you will be at no loss to perceive, that at the present crisis, another reason might be adduced against this appointment. But maugre all objections, if Mr. King would accept, I would look no further. Can you sound, and let me know soon, his sentiments on this occasion? If he should feel disposed to listen to the proposition, tell him *candidly*, all that I have done in this matter; that neither he nor I may be made uneasy thereafter from the discovery of it. He will, I am confident, perceive the ground upon which I have acted, in making these essays; and will, I am persuaded, appreciate my motive. If he should decline also, pray learn with precision from him, what the qualifications of Mr. Potts, the Senator, are, and be as diffusive as you can with respect to others, and I will decide on nothing until I hear from you—pressing as the case is."

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 53.

A. Hamilton to G. Washington, New York.

"Nov. 5, 1795.

"Sir:

"I received on the second instant your two letters of the 29th of October, with the inclosures. An answer has been delayed, to ascertain the disposition of Mr. King, who, through the summer, has resided in the country, and is only occasionally in town. I am now able to inform you—*he would not accept.* Circumstances of the moment conspire with the disgust which a virtuous and independent mind feels at placing itself *en but* to the foul and venemous shafts of calumny, which are continually shot by an odious confederacy against virtue, to give Mr. King a decided disinclination to office.

"I wish, sir, I could present to you any useful ideas as a substitute. But the embarrassment is extreme as to the Secretary of State. . . .

"I have conferred with Mr. King with respect to Mr. Potts; we both think well of his principles and consider him as a man of good sense. But he is of a cast of character ill suited to such an appointment, and is not *extensive* either as to habits or information. It is also a serious question, whether the Senate at this time ought to be weakened. . . ."

After suggesting several names, and commenting on them, he says:

"In fact a first-rate character is not attainable. A second-rate must be taken with good dispositions and barely decent qualifications. I wish I could throw more light. 'Tis a sad omen for the government. . . .

Mr. Pickering * in a letter to Hamilton, November 17th, a letter marked *perfectly confidential*, after speaking of the President's having offered the office of Secretary of State to several persons, among them Mr. King, says:

* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 67.

"The President . . . made me the tender. I declined it, as not possessing the talent so much to be desired in a Secretary of State, in the propriety and ability of whose conduct the dignity as well as the interests of the nation were so materially involved. On various grounds the President urged my acceptance. . . . I promised to consider of it . . . I made" (he says after consultation with others) "the President the following declaration. That I wished no longer to keep him in suspense, and that I would accept the office of Secretary of State. . . . I would continue my attention to both Departments (War & State), if that of War could be filled to his satisfaction, I would go to the Department of State; if a character well adapted to the latter should present, I would remain where I was. In one word, to free him from all embarrassment, I would serve in one office or the other, as the public good should require. The President answered 'That is very liberal.'"

E. Randolph to R. King, New York.

Philadelphia, Aug. 16, 1795.

Dear Sir:

As my opinions upon the *treaty itself* are known to you to be in favor of a ratification, so I think it necessary to request you to read a letter,* which I have this day written to Mr. Jay and which he will show you. My object in giving you this trouble is to prevent a possible supposition that I have receded from the ground, which I still hold tenable in spite of the objections which I have seen and heard.

With great respect & esteem, &c.,

Edm. Randolph.

* This letter does not appear among those published in Mr. Jay's *Life* or *Correspondence*, but there is an answer to it of August 20th, thanking Mr. Randolph "for the interesting information detailed in it," and making no other allusion to it.—Ed.

J. Gunn to R. King, New York.

My Dear Friend: Philadelphia, Aug. 22, 1795.

. . . Secretary Randolph has, or will in a few days, *resign his office.* I confess my regret is not in the Extreme. This man has treated the President Infamously. *He* occasioned delay and then gave assurances *that the Treaty was not signed*; which invited opposition from every quarter. . . .

Yours sincerely,

James Gunn.

R. King to C. Gore.

Augt. 25th, 1795.

My last will have informed you that the president had executed what depended on him pursuant to the advice of the Senate, to conclude the Treaty with England. The knowledge of this Fact has had a happy effect in composing the public mind.

Mr. Randolph a few days since resigned his office as Secy of State, he is now here on his way to Rd. Island. He does not explain himself in relation to this sudden measure; It will probably be suggested, that he has gone out of office from a Dislike of the English Treaty—this will be wholly incorrect. Mr. Randolph approved of the Treaty in toto; and he yesterday told me, he saw no reason to change, or alter, his opinion on that subject.

We have this morning been afflicted with the information from Phil. of the sudden Death on Sunday evening of the Attorney General Mr. Bradford—this is a serious loss to the Government.

It may be satisfactory to the Vice President to be confirmed in the information, that the completion of the Business relative to the treaty with England, is confided to his son, our Resident at the Hague.

Very affectionately,

R. King.

C. Gore to R. King.

My Dear Sir: Boston, Sept. 13, 1795.

The resignation of Mr. Randolph has occasioned many conjectures, none however favorable to him. Our curiosity is on tiptoe

to know the cause ; tho' we are perfectly satisfied that the government is relieved of the minister. We have expected every post to hear yourself announced as his successor ; and it is generally agreed that such is the critical situation of our affairs, that you wou'd sacrifice your ease for your country's service. If we are not sound and able in the executive, our chance of an orderly government, that can protect the liberties of the citizens, will be desperate. The smallest deviation from a firm and steady conduct in that department, or an inability to support its measures by strong and conclusive reasoning, will give strength to our disorganizers, and confirm and encrease the hold they now have on the prejudices and passions of the people. So far as I can learn the temper of the country on the treaty, it is right ; and so it certainly is in all our seaports, Boston excepted ; where the mob, doubtless instigated by the same men, who occasion'd the town meeting is continually attempting to burn the treaty, Mr. Jay's effigy, and to do other acts of violence. But I hope and trust that such conduct, as it seems to expose the views and wickedness of the faction, will confirm and consolidate the friends of order and government. It must convince the most timid that strength and energy is necessary to secure to them peace, liberty and property, and we find many who were among the deluded opposers to the ratification of the treaty, in the foremost ranks to oppose these sons of sedition.

The governor (Samuel Adams) is assailed in all quarters to adopt efficient measures ; but he has evaded and will evade all requests of this nature, so long as he thinks the mob aim only its vengeance against national men and national measures. Indeed this weak old man is one of the loudest bawlers against the treaty, and the boldest in proposing schemes of opposition to the federal government. It is said a plan, that has been attempted, of establishing committees of correspondence in the several towns of Massachusetts to gain a uniformity in the proceedings of opposition was suggested by him, and the fitness and expediency of the plan supported by the good it did in our contest with Great Britain. Thus we see the inveteracy and extent of opposition proposed by our antis. But if all remains right and sound at the head, there is little danger of contaminating the mass of Massachusetts at present. Tho' the most fearful apprehensions are to

be entertained in case of any adversity, or an obligation on the part of government to do anything really bearing hard on the pleasures or quiet of the citizens. . . .

Yours sincerely,

C. GORE.

FISHER AMES TO R. KING.

DEDHAM, Nov. 5, 1795.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I despair of attending Congress at the opening of the session [on account of his health—ED.], & the time when I may is both remote and uncertain. Great reflection and care ought to precede as well as conduct the beginning of business in the house. If the Democrats would agree to be silent on the Treaty in the answer to the President's speech, would it be eligible, certainly not the most eligible. I hope you and others will think beforehand what course ought to be taken.

With sincere regard &c.

FISHER AMES.

C. GORE TO R. KING, N. Y.

BOSTON, 19th Nov., 1795.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The politics of our country are really good, unless I am much deceiv'd. Every information from the interior has convinced me, that no evil is to be apprehended from the violent proceedings of the Seaports. The outrages of this town have produced a belief among the husbandmen, that very different motives than a regard for the public good have occasion'd the opposition to the Treaty.

If Great Britain shall ratify this instrument on her part, and commissioners are appointed to determine the claims of Americans, I shou'd be pleased to be one of them. . . .

My dear friend, very truly yours,

C. GORE.

CHAPTER III.

Fourth Congress—President's Speech—Mr. King reports the Senate's Answer—Debate on its Terms—Mr. Jay's Resignation of Chief-Justiceship—Mr. Rutledge's Appointment and Rejection by the Senate—Mr. Ellsworth's Appointment.

The Fourth Congress assembled on the 7th December, 1795, and the President met the two Houses in the chamber of the House of Representatives, and read his speech, which, in the Senate, was referred to a committee of Messrs. King, Ellsworth, and Cabot. The speech was a very interesting summary of the domestic and foreign affairs of the country, of which he said that they had never at any period, more than at the present, afforded "so just cause for mutual congratulation," and "for profound gratitude to the Author of all Good for the numerous and extraordinary blessings we enjoy." Among the interesting details he presented was the official announcement to the House of Representatives of his ratification of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation with Great Britain, with the advice and consent of the Senate, with a condition relative to part of one article; that the result, on the part of his Britannic Majesty was unknown; but when received, would without delay be laid before Congress.

On the 10th, Mr. King reported the draft of an address in answer to the President's speech, which was probably written by him, and is here presented as expressive of his views on the matters to which attention had been directed.

"SIR:

"It is with peculiar satisfaction that we are informed by your Speech to the two Houses of Congress, that the long and expensive war in which we have been engaged with the Indians Northwest of the Ohio is in a situation to be finally terminated; and though we view with concern the danger of an interruption of the peace so recently confirmed with the Creeks, we indulge the hope that the measures you have adopted to prevent the same, if followed by those legislative provisions that justice and humanity equally demand, will succeed in laying the foundation of a lasting peace with the Indian tribes on the Southern as well as on the Western frontiers.

"The confirmation of our Treaty with Morocco, and the adjustment of a Treaty of Peace with Algiers, in consequence of which our captive fellow citizens shall be delivered from slavery, are events that will prove no less interesting to the public humanity, than they will be important in extending and securing the navigation and commerce of our country.

"As a just and equitable conclusion of our depending negotiations with Spain, will essentially advance the interests of both nations, and thereby cherish and confirm the good understanding and friendship which we have at all times desired to maintain, it will afford us real pleasure to receive an early confirmation of our expectations on this subject.

"The interesting prospect of our affairs, with regard to the foreign Powers between whom and the United States controversies have subsisted, is not more satisfactory than the review of our internal situation; if from the former we derive an expectation of the extinguishment of all the causes of external discord, that have heretofore endangered our tranquillity, and on terms consistent with our national honor and safety, in the latter we discover those numerous and widespread tokens of prosperity, which, in so peculiar a manner, distinguish our happy country.

"Circumstances thus every way auspicious demand our gratitude, and sincere acknowledgments to Almighty God, and require that we should unite our efforts in imitation of your enlightened, firm and persevering example to establish and preserve the peace, freedom and prosperity of our country.

"The objects which you have recommended to the notice of

the Legislature, will, in the course of the session, receive our careful attention, and with a true zeal for the public welfare, we shall cheerfully co-operate in every measure that shall appear to us best calculated to promote the same."

By a resolution adopted the day before, the gallery of the Senate chamber was permitted to be opened, and in consequence we have, in the *Debates* of Congress, the heads of a discussion relative to the fourth and fifth paragraphs, which Mr. Mason moved to strike out, as he considered these two clauses would precipitate decisions in the Senate, that "the minority could not be expected to recede from the opinions" they held in the June session, and "could not therefore join in the indirect self-approbation which the majority appeared to wish for, and which was most certainly involved in the two clauses which he should hope would be struck out." If his motion was agreed to, the remainder of the address would, in his opinion, stand unexceptionable. He did not see, for his part, that our situation was every way auspicious. Notwithstanding the treaty, our trade is grievously molested.

Mr. King remarked, that the principal features observable in the answer to the President's address were to keep up that harmony of intercourse which ought to subsist between the Legislature and the President, and to express confidence in the undiminished firmness and love of country which always characterize our chief executive magistrate. He objected to striking out especially the first clause, because founded on undeniable truth. It only declares that our prospects, as to our external relations, are not more satisfactory than a review of our internal situation would prove. Was not this representation true, he asked; could it be controverted? This clause, he contended, contained nothing reasonably objectionable; it did not say as much as the second, to which only most of the objections of the member up before him applied, an answer to which he should defer, expecting that a question would be put on each in order.

The clause, he said, appeared to him drawn up in such terms as could not offend the nicest feelings of the minority on the important decision in June; it was particularly circumspect and cautious. If liable to objection, it was in not going as far as the truth would warrant.

After some further debate, in which Messrs. Mason, Butler, and Tazewell urged the striking out of the two clauses, and Messrs. Ellsworth and Read, of South Carolina, sustained the report, it was adopted by a vote of 14 to 8.

A. Hamilton to R. King.*

Dec. 14, 1795.

My Dear Sir:

An extraordinary press of occupation has delayed an answer to your letter on the subject of Mr. R.; though it may come too late I comply with your request as soon as I can.

The subject is truly a perplexing one; my mind has several times fluctuated; if there were nothing in the case but his imprudent sally upon a certain occasion, I should think the reasons for letting him pass would outweigh those for opposing his passage. But if it be really true that he is sottish or that his mind is otherwise deranged, or that he has exposed himself by improper conduct in pecuniary transactions, the byass of my judgment would be to negative; and as to the fact I would satisfy myself by careful inquiry of persons of character, who may have had an opportunity of knowing.

It is now, and in certain probable events will still more be, of infinite consequence that the judiciary should be well composed. Reflection upon this in its various aspects, weighs heavily on my mind against Mr. R., upon the accounts I have received of him and balances very weighty considerations the other way.

Yrs.

A. Hamilton.

From what a Mr. Wadsworth lately in Philadelphia tells me of a conversation between Burr, Baldwin & Gallatin, it would seem

* *Hamilton's Works.*, vi., 76.

that the *two last* Gentlemen have made up their minds to consider the Treaty, if ratified by G. Britain, as *conclusive upon the H. of Representatives*. I thought it well this should be known to you, if not before understood from any other quarter.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

16th December, 1795.

I send you Dunlap of this morning. In it you have foreign intelligence. Fenno, Dunlap and others have erroneously stated, that Mr. Warden brought the ratification of Great Britain. No official despatch has been received. Rutledge was negatived yesterday. From present appearances, the address to the President, will pass without a debate. The draft has been, by agreement in the Committee who reported it, shaped so as to reserve all points intended to be discussed relative to the treaty. The words underscored † in the inclosed draft, were offered in the committee by Mr. Madison, who agreed to concur in the paragraph, if they were added. You perceive the object.

R. KING.

Upon the resignation of Mr. Jay from the office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the President had appointed John Rutledge of South Carolina to that position. His letter of appointment reached him two days after, at a public meeting in Charleston, in which he denounced the treaty as "totally destitute of a single article worthy of approval. He even went so far as to reproach Jay with stupidity, if not corruption, in having signed it." ‡ It is to this fact that

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 77.

† "In the paragraph which declared that 'a secure foundation will be laid for accelerating, maturing and establishing the prosperity of our country; if by treaty and amicable negotiation, all those causes of external discord, which heretofore menaced our tranquillity, shall be extinguished on terms compatible with our national rights and honor,' Madison insisted, as a condition of his concurrence, that the words should be added—'and with our Constitution and great commercial interests.'"—*Hamilton's Life*, by J. C. H., vi., p. 326.

‡ Hildreth's *History of the United States*, 2d series, i., 551.

Hamilton probably alludes in his letter to Rufus King of December 14th, while the question of his confirmation as Chief Justice was pending in the Senate. He presided over the Court during one term, but was rejected by the Senate, as mentioned by Mr. King in his letter of December 16th. Mr. Cushing was offered the position, but having declined it, Mr. Ellsworth was appointed.

R. KING TO DR. SOUTHGATE.

PHILADELPHIA, 27th Decr., 1795.

DEAR SOUTHGATE:

. . . William* [R. K.'s brother] I am informed is a member of the General Court, & I am sorry for it unless his Commercial Pursuits calling him to Boston, an attendance there will not be detrimental to his Business. When he has toiled as long as I have, I think he will agree with me that it would have been wiser altogether to have abstained from political Engagements. . . .

Always sincerely yours,

RUFUS KING.

* Afterwards the first Governor of Maine.

CHAPTER IV.

Treaty with Great Britain communicated to Congress—Opposition in the House of Representatives—Demand made upon the President for Instructions to the Minister and Correspondence—Refusal of the President on constitutional Grounds to send in these Papers—Correspondence showing the Temper of the People about the Treaty—Correspondence relative to Patrick Henry's Nomination for the Presidency—Mr. King's Nomination as Minister to England—His Appointment.

On March 1, 1796, the President, having first proclaimed it as the law of the land, communicated to Congress the treaty with Great Britain, which had been duly ratified in London. This was the signal in the House of Representatives to let loose the pent up wrath against this measure, which had only been restrained until official notice of its ratification should be received. The Message was referred to the Committee of the Whole, and the consideration of it was begun the next day by a motion from Mr. Edward Livingston: "That the President of the United States be requested to lay before this House a copy of the instructions to the Minister of the United States, who negotiated the Treaty with Great Britain, communicated by his Message of the 1st of March, together with the correspondence and other documents relative to the said Treaty," which he modified a few days later by the addition of the words, "excepting such of said papers as any existing negotiation may render improper to be disclosed."

Upon a call for the reasons which prompted such a resolution, if, for instance, it was to lay the ground for an im-

peachment against any officer, Mr. Livingston answered in general

"that the House were the guardians of their country's rights; they are, by the constitution, the accusing organ of the officers employed. That the information called for they ought to possess as it would tend to elucidate the conduct of the officers. His principal reason, however, . . . was a firm conviction that the House were vested with a discretionary power of carrying the Treaty into effect, or refusing their sanction. . . . For this purpose the papers were necessary, and the House had a right to call for them."

Other reasons were put forth by later speakers, and chiefly by Mr. Gallatin, especially in answer to the argument on the other side, that by the Constitution the whole treaty-making power was with the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and that the publication of the treaty made it the law of the land.

Mr. Gallatin said * that he had no objection to follow them into the examination of the constitutional question,

"and to *rest the decision of the Constitutional powers of Congress on the fate of the present question.* He would, therefore, state his opinion that the House had a *right* to ask for the papers proposed to be called for, because their co-operation and sanction was necessary to carry the Treaty into full effect, to render it a binding instrument, and to make it, properly speaking, a law of the land; because they had a full discretion either to give or to refuse that co-operation; because they must be guided, in the exercise of that discretion by the merits and expediency of the Treaty itself, and therefore had a *right* to ask for every information which could assist them in deciding that question."

The same points were urged by all the leading members of the House who took that side of the discussion, Madison, Giles, Baldwin, Livingston, and others, and they were an-

* *Annals of Congress*, Sept., 1795–6, p. 465.

swered by Smith of South Carolina, Harper, Sedgwick, Hillhouse, and others, who based their arguments on the Constitution itself, as Sedgwick said *: "The treaty-making power, with all its effects and consequences, was solely and exclusively in the President and Senate." As the framers of the Constitution supported this construction, those who ratified did the same, and as the practical action of the government had been in conformity with it, it was clear that

"Treaties so made became in fact supreme law, and being compacts they bound the public faith, and could not be violated without national disgrace and personal dishonor. They might require Legislative provision to carry them into effect; but this neither implied nor authorized the exercise of discretion as to refusal;"

and that Congress could not revise the terms that might be made, or have any authority in carrying it out, except where money was to be had, and that then their power was limited to the best method of raising and paying the money.

Mr. Harper,† who closed the debate, stated that he opposed the resolution because "the papers to be called for were not necessary for enabling the House to execute this discretion (to withhold its aid, where Legislative aid was requisite to carry the Treaty into effect); that their decision on it was to be guided by the instrument itself, and not by the instructions or the previous negotiations, the call for which implied an opinion that the House had a right, not only to determine whether it would co-operate in carrying a Treaty into effect, but also to interfere in making Treaties." Finding the former ground could not be maintained, he said, "they now asserted a right to interference in making Treaties," which right he, as others before him, explicitly denied.

The debate was a very able and prolonged one, and of ex-

* *Annals of Congress*, 1795–6, pp. 527, 528.
† *Ibid.*, p. 747.

treme interest, as it involved a constitutional provision, relative to the powers of the Legislative department and of the Executive, the President, and the Senate acting in executive capacity. It consumed nearly three weeks, when on March 24th, the resolution of Mr. Livingston with its modification was passed by a vote of sixty-two ayes and thirty-seven nays.

The decision of the House was next day conveyed to the President, who informed the committee that he would take the resolution into consideration.

In *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 94, is a letter from him to King, March 16th, giving his views upon the call made by the House upon the President, and asserting that the President ought to take a stand against the usurpation of the House, for reasons which he gives, and closes a letter to Washington of March 28th, after considering some suggestions as to the propriety of his communicating "only the commissions and Mr. Jay's correspondence," saying that these are all that it appears to him for the public interest to send,

"But after the fullest reflection I have been able to give the subject (though I perceive serious degrees of inconvenience in the course), I entertain a final opinion that it will be best, after the usurpation attempted by the House of Representatives, to send none, and to resist in totality." *

Three days after this date Washington writes, on the 31st:

"From the first moment, and from the fullest conviction in my own mind, I had resolved to *resist the principle*, which was evidently intended to be established by the call of the House of Representatives, and only deliberated on the manner in which this could be done with the least bad consequences."

And while thanking Hamilton for the trouble he had taken to dilate on the request of the House of Representatives,

* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 98.

and "to show the impropriety of that request," he stated that after consultation with the heads of the departments and Attorney-General, he had finally sent the answer he had prepared, and which will be found in the *Annals of Congress*, 1795, vi., pp. 760, 761, which closes with this paragraph:

"As therefore it is perfectly clear to my understanding, that the assent of the House of Representatives is not necessary to the validity of a Treaty; as the Treaty with Great Britain exhibits in itself all the objects requiring legislative provision, and on these the papers called for can throw no light; and as it is essential to the due administration of the Government, that the boundaries fixed by the Constitution between the different departments should be preserved—a just regard to the Constitution and to the duty of my office, under all the circumstances of this case, forbid a compliance with your request."

Upon receipt of this Message, the House resolved itself in Committee of the Whole upon it, and after a short debate affirmed, by a vote of 57 to 35, their right to deliberate on the expediency or inexpediency of carrying a treaty into effect, and to determine and act thereon, as in their judgment may be most conducive to the public good, when the treaty contains stipulations which depend for execution upon a law, or laws, to be passed by Congress, and that it is not necessary to state in the application for such information as they may desire, the purpose for which the information is wanted. At the same time they said they did not claim any agency in making treaties, as the Constitution, in Article II., gave the power to the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate. The bill for carrying the treaty into effect was finally passed on the 3d of May, by 51 to 48.*

* Mr. Jefferson's *Anas*, vol. ix., p. 194 (*Jefferson's Works.*)

"March the 1st, 1898, Mr. Tazewell tells me, that when the appropriations for the British Treaty were on the carpet, and very uncertain in the lower House, there being at the time a number of bills in the hands of the committees of the Senate, none reported and the Senate idle for the want of them, he, in his place, called on the committees to report, and particularly on Mr. King, who was of most of them. King said that it was true the committees kept back their re-

The above sketch of the proceedings in reference to the Jay treaty is given to show the interest taken by Mr. King in the proper solution of the grave questions which were involved. He appears in harmony with Hamilton, who, though no longer occupying an official position, was still the able and trusted adviser of the President—not the director of his actions on all occasions, as some have asserted. The President's mind, as he says himself, was made up at once as to his duty; his only hesitation was as to the manner of doing it. Mr. King in the Senate, and occupying an influential position there, as the records of that body show, was able to watch events and to hold himself in readiness to meet every case that might arise and give direction to the efforts of the friends of the administration in the House also. A letter to Hamilton of 1st May, speaks of the results then accomplished and his fears and hopes for the future.*

"In committee of the whole on Friday, it was resolved by the casting vote of Muhlenburgh, the chairman, to make provision by law for carrying the Treaty with England into effect; yesterday the resolution of the committee was passed by the House by 51 against 48. A proposition to prefix to the resolution a preamble declaring the Treaty to be injurious to the interests of the United States and assigning the short duration of its temporary articles as a reason why it should be permitted to go into effect, was negatived

ports waiting the event of the question about appropriation; that, if that was not carried, they considered legislation as at an end; that they might as well break up and consider the Union dissolved. Tazewell expressed his astonishment at these ideas, and called on King to know if he had misapprehended him. King rose again and repeated the same words. The next day Cabot took an occasion in debate, and so awkward a one as to show it was a thing agreed to be done, to repeat the same sentiments in stronger terms, and carried further, by declaring a determination on their side to break up and dissolve the government."

This narrative certainly shows that Mr. King held an influential position in the Senate during this exciting period, and, if correct, that he looked with most serious forebodings as to the future, if the House refused their part in carrying out the provisions of the treaty.

* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 112.

by 50 against 49, and the resolution was immediately, and without division, referred to a committee, with instructions to prepare a bill, or bills, in conformity with the resolution. The failure of the party in their intention to denounce the Treaty, I am fearful, will not discourage them in a second attempt. A majority of five or six (if I am not mistaken) would join in a vote of condemnation, but in the shape in which the proposition was offered, some of the most inveterate opponents of the Treaty voted in the negative, because, they said, if they voted for the preamble, it would be then proper for them to vote for the resolution, which they were determined not to do. Though from the stage in which the business now is, I hope the attempt will not be made ; yet, if an independent resolution should be offered declaring the Treaty to be injurious, &c., I am apprehensive it would be adopted. This, however, would not defeat the provision for the execution of the Treaty—51 votes in the affirmative ; the Speaker's vote, with that of Mr. Freeman, of Massachusetts, both of whom are in favor of the provisions, make 53 affirmative votes, a majority of the whole number of Representatives."

J. Marshall to R. King.

Richmond, April 25, 1796.

Dear Sir :

I take the liberty to avail myself of your aid for forwarding to Mr. Hamilton the inclosed letter.*

The ruling party of Virginia are extremely irritated at the vote of to-day and will spare no exertion to obtain a majority in other

* The letter to Hamilton here mentioned is of the same date as the above, and may be found in *Works of Hamilton*, vol. vi., p. 108. It relates to the feeling in Virginia relative to the question of the adoption of Jay's treaty, and of the temper of the House of Representatives, and especially of the Virginia members, who bitterly opposed its ratification ; and speaks of the meeting called that day in Richmond by those who desired the ratification of the treaty, saying that a resolution had been passed by a decided majority, after long discussion, "that the welfare and honor of the nation required us to give full effect to the treaty negotiated with Britain." He says further : "I think it would be very difficult, perhaps impossible, to engage Mr. H. [probably Mr. Henry] on the right side of this question."

counties. Even here they will affect to have the greater number of freeholders and have set about counter Resolutions to which they have the signatures of many respectable persons, but of still a greater number of mere boys ; and altho' some caution has been used by us in excluding those who might not be considered as authorized to vote, they will not fail to charge us with having collected a number of names belonging to foreigners and to persons having no property in the place. The charge is as far untrue as has perhaps ever happened on any occasion of the sort. We could, by resorting to that measure, have doubled our list of petitioners.

I have endeavored to take means to procure similar applications from various parts of the State. Exitus in dubio est.

With very much respect & esteem, &c.

J. MARSHALL.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

Monday, May 2, 1796.

The inclosed letter will give you all the information that we have on the subject to which it relates. It seems problematical whether P. H. can be induced to agree in the arrangement. Some circumstances of which I have lately heard incline me to believe that he will not. Our session will close by the 1st of June, provided no further impediment is thrown in the way of the provision for giving efficacy to the treaty with England—and it is much to be wished that a definitive should be made before we separate.

Mr. Pinckney has asked leave to return home, and waits only for permission. To his former stock of popularity he will now add the good-will of those who have been peculiarly gratified with the Spanish Treaty. Should we concur in him, will he not receive as great, perhaps greater, southern and western support than any other man ?

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 113. In this same volume, p. 425, Mr. J. C. Hamilton says in reference to Mr. Pinckney's wish to be recalled : "This purpose was communicated by Rufus King to Hamilton, in a letter, relative to overtures which Hamilton had requested Marshall to open with Patrick Henry, to permit his name to be used at the next canvass for the Presidency."

You must know that I am not a little tired with this separation from my family and drudging in the Senate. The work now before us being finished, I think I am entitled to a dismission. It would be agreeable to me to spend a few years abroad, and if I do not misconceive the interests of the country, I think I could render some service to the public at the present period in England. Will you converse with Mr. Jay on the subject—I can through no other channel communicate with the Executive—nor do I desire that either of you should suggest the measure, unless you both agree in its propriety and utility.

Yours very sincerely.

A. Hamilton to R. King.*

May 4, 1796.

My Dear Sir :

Since my last I have received two or three letters from you. The late turn of the treaty question makes us all very happy. I hope no future embarrassment will arise.

I am entirely of the opinion that, Patrick Henry declining, Mr. Pinckney ought to be our man. It is even an idea of which I am fond in various lights. Indeed, on later reflection, I rather wish to be rid of Patrick Henry, that we may be at full liberty to take up Pinckney.

In the event of Pinckney's return to this country, I am of opinion, all circumstances considered, it is expedient you should replace him. I hope no great question will in a short period agitate our councils, and I am sure you will do much good on the scene in question. I have called on Jay, but happened not to find him disengaged. I shall quickly see him, and shall, with great pleasure, do everything requisite on my part.

We believe confidently our election in the city has succeeded ; the other party, however, claims success. Our Senator ticket seems admitted on both sides to have prevailed, and all accounts assure us of great success throughout the State. The *vile affair* †

* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 114.

† *Life of Alex. Hamilton*, vol. vi., p. 426. "This 'vile affair' was the infliction of personal chastisement by order of a Bridewell Court for insolence to an Alderman."

of whipping Burke and McCredy made our election, in the view of the common people, a question between the rich and the poor. You will easily conceive how much this must have embarrassed and jeoparded.

Yours affectionately &c.

The following letter closes the correspondence on the negotiations with Mr. Henry.

J. MARSHALL TO R. KING.

RICHMOND, May 24, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Henry has at length been sounded on the subject you committed to my charge. Genl. Lee and myself have each conversed with him on it, tho' without informing him particularly of the persons who authorized the communication. He is unwilling to embark in the business. His unwillingness, I think, proceeds from an apprehension of the difficulties to be encountered by those who shall fill high Executive offices.

With very much respect and esteem &c.

J. MARSHALL.

Endorsed by R. King:

Ansd. 1 June.—regretting &c and observing that it wd. be requisite to fix on another person without delay.

R. K.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.*

May 5, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

After reading, seal and hand in the enclosed. If such things are to be, you cannot leave the Senate. Jay is against it, at all events until the European storm is over. We must all think well of this business.

Yours affectionately &c.

The inclosed letter was for the President.—R. K.

It is probable that the inclosed letter is that of which Washington acknowledged the receipt, and which he answered on May 8th,† beginning:

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 114. † *Ibid.*, vi., 116.

"Your note of the 5th inst., accompanying the information given to G.—— M.——, on March 16th came to me on Friday. The letter he refers to as having been written to me is not yet received; but others from Mr. Monroe of similar complexion, and almost of as imperious a tone from the Government have come to hand."

The tenor of these letters indicated that France, disapproving of the treaty with Great Britain, might take decisive steps to show this disposition, and as the President says:

"*May*, and I believe, *will* send out an envoy extraordinary, with instructions to make strong remonstrances against the unfriendliness (as they will term it) and the tendency of our treaty with Great Britain; accompanied, probably, and expectedly, with discretionary powers to go farther. . . . But I cannot bring my mind to believe that they seriously mean, or that they could accompany this envoy with a fleet to *demand* the annihilation of the treaty with Great Britain in fifteen days, or that war, in case of refusal, must follow as a consequence. . . . If you have communicated this letter to Mr. Jay, I wish you would lay this also before him in *confidence*, and that you and he would be so good as to favor me with your sentiments and opinions upon both."

This condition of the foreign relations was doubtless the reason which induced Hamilton to say that Mr. King must not leave the Senate, an opinion in which Jay concurred, and not as Mr. J. C. Hamilton * says without comment or reason given. "Jay thought King should not leave the Senate." In the same spirit,† in reference to the appointment of Mr. King as Minister to England, he gives no authority for the following remark: "Washington's objections to this appointment were not merely of a public nature; he had conceived a strong dislike to King; but sedulous of the public good the President now acquiesced

* *Life of Hamilton*, vi., 426. † *Ibid.*, p. 428.

in Hamilton's wishes." There is no evidence given of the existence of this dislike. Mr. King's being a Senator was one of the causes of the President's hesitation, as the following extract from a letter of May 15th from Washington to Hamilton indicates*:

". . . With respect to the gentleman you have mentioned as successor to Mr. P., there can be no doubt of his abilities, nor *in my mind* is there any of his fitness. But you know, as well as I, what has been said of his political sentiments with respect to another form of government; and from thence can be at no loss to guess at the interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him. However, the subject shall have due consideration; but a previous resignation would, in my opinion, carry with it too much the appearance of concert, & would have a bad rather than good effect."

To this Mr. Hamilton replied,† referring, as the general index to Hamilton's works says, to Rufus King:

A. Hamilton to G. Washington.

" May 20, 1796.

". . . I observe what you say on the subject of a certain diplomatic mission. Permit me to offer with frankness the reflections which have struck my mind.

"The importance of our security, and commerce, and good understanding with Great Britain, renders it very important that a man *able* and not *disagreeable* to that Government, should be there. The gentleman in question, equally with any who could go, and better than any willing to go, answers this description. The idea hinted in your letter will apply to every man fit for the mission, by his conspicuousness, talents, and dispositions. 'T is the stalking horse of a certain party, and is made use of against every man, who is not in their views and of sufficient consequence to attract their obloquy. If listened to, it will deprive

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 122.

† *Ibid.*, vi., 125.

the government of the services of the most able and faithful agents. Is this expedient? What will be gained by it? Is it not evident that this party will pursue its hostility at all events as far as public opinion will permit? Does policy require anything more than that they shall have no real cause to complain? Will it do, in deference to their calumniating insinuations, to forbear employing the most competent men, or to entrust the great business of the country to unskilful, unfaithful, or doubtful hands? I really feel a conviction that it will be very dangerous to let party insinuations of this kind prove a serious obstacle to the employment of the best qualified characters. Mr. King is a remarkably well informed man, a very judicious one, a man of address, a man of fortune and economy, whose situation affords just ground of confidence; a man of unimpeached probity, where he is best known, a firm friend to the government, a supporter of the measures of the President—a man who cannot but feel that he has strong pretensions to confidence and trust.

"I might enlarge on these topics, but I have not leisure, neither can it be necessary. I have thrown out so much in the fulness of my heart, and too much in a hurry to fashion either the idea or the expression as it ought to be. The President, however, will, I doubt not, receive what I have said, as it is meant, as dictated by equal regard for the public interest and the honorable course of his administration. . . ."

Mr. King was soon after nominated, and confirmed by the Senate, as Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of London, and on the 23d his letter of resignation from that body was read in the Senate.* Thus closed for a time his career

* In reference to this appointment, Mr. King says in answer to questions from Mr. William Coleman in his letter of February 5, 1817: "The Mission to England I was desirous to have. I had reason to know that Genl. W. had thought of giving it to me, when Mr. Th. P. was appointed. When Mr. Py. desired to be recalled, and the mission was offered to me, I unhesitatingly accepted it.

"I lived more intimately with the public men of England, as well those of the Opposition as of the Govt., than any foreigner of my time. I frequented the society of literary men and have been in correspondence with several of the most distinguished civilians of the old world."

in that legislative body. That he had been active in the performance of his duties there, both as chairman of important committees and as a member of others, in matters relating to commercial regulations, to the various treaties negotiated, to the admission of Tennessee as a new State, which only took place after he left the Senate, and to many other important measures considered during that session, the Journal of the Senate bears abundant evidence. He had, however, for reasons which have been given, determined to retire from his position in the Legislature, and desired to seek employment elsewhere, where he thought he might do good, and in a position more congenial to his tastes. Washington thus announced to Mr. Pinckney, who had asked leave to return home, the appointment of Mr. King to take his place:

"The doubtful issue of the dispute and the real difficulty in finding a character to supply your place at the Court of London, has occasioned a longer delay than may have been convenient or agreeable to you. But, as Mr. King of the Senate, who, it seems, has resolved to quit his seat at that Board, has accepted the position, and will embark as soon as matters can be arranged, you will soon be relieved."

CHAPTER V.

Correspondence relative to the Treaty—Massachusetts Politics—Opinion of Hamilton as to Washington's Course relative to the Demand made by the House of Representatives for the Instructions to Mr. Jay—Congratulations to Mr. King on his Appointment—Some Instructions and his Suggestions—Letters from W. Smith on Affairs of S. Carolina and George Cabot on those of Massachusetts.

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO R. KING, N. YORK.

PHIL., 1st Jany., 1796.

DEAR KING :

I hope you have found your family happier than you expected. . . . A copy of the treaty and its ratification is arrived, but the Prest. will not submit it to the legislature untill he receives the original. This information I have from Col. Pickering. By whom the original is to be expected is not known. I have evidence, to my mind conclusive, that it is determined to oppose the treaty and on the ground that it is unconstitutional.

The legislature, by this however I mean only the House of Representatives, of S. Carolina,* have declared agt. the treaty, but in terms more soft and mild than the original motion. The concurrence of the Senate was not requested, and because, as the friends of the measure declared, they were convinced it could not be obtained. This I learn from a letter to Wm. Smith from his cousin a member of the house. *Barnwell behaved nobly.* . . .

Yours affectly.

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

. . . Smith's correspondent states about 30 as having retired before the vote. Himself & Barnwell *Stuck by the Stuff.*

* The action which was taken in this as in the Legislatures of several of the other States—some sustaining the treaty and others condemning it—is here referred to, as it is also in some of the other letters.—ED.

A. Hamilton to R. King.

Jany., 1796.

My Dear Sir :

If the News Papers tell truth it would appear that Massachusetts has anticipated New York. But it is intended by our friends in the Legislature to give some pointed discountenance to the propositions. It was expected that it would have been done to-day, but by the divergings of some men, who seek popularity with both sides, they have gotten into an unnecessary debate over the proposition in detail, which will lose time, but in the result a handsome majority will do right.

Lawrance is hurt and as far as I see not without some reason from particular circumstances at being left out of the Direction of the Bank. It will be balm to his feelings to be put into the direction of the office here, and I believe it will be an improvement of the Direction to do it. I wish you would endeavor to bring it about. Speak to Bayard of our city and to Wharton of Philadelphia. This is a suggestion of my own, for Lawrance rather rides a high horse upon the occasion.

Yrs. truly,
A. Hamilton.

C. Gore to R. King.

Boston, 21st January, 1796.

My Dear Friend :

You did me justice in supposing that I confided in your friendship and zeal to promote my gratification. A confidence in the affection and esteem of those we love & respect is one of the choicest blessings of heaven, a distrust of a disposition in my friends to gratify wishes not in their opinion unreasonable, wou'd be the sorest mortification I could experience. Be assured I have not lost the former, or felt the latter.

A letter from Mr. Cabot by this mail requests an explicit answer by return of post whether, if invited, I woud engage as Commissioner and go very soon to England. My answer by this post is explicitly in the affirmative. I coud settle my own affairs in one week. I shoud wish, and think it probable, that the Executive might choose, that I shoud visit Philadelphia and

receive the ideas of our own government on the manner of executing the commission. These things done, I know nothing to hinder my immediate embarkation for Europe.

Ames was in this town the day before yesterday ; he talks of proceeding to Springfield shortly, and from thence making an effort to meet his friends in Congress. He express'd a wish for me to accompany him, wh. I would readily have acceded to, if it were not for the indelicate state it woud place me in before an appointment of Commr. He acknowledged the weight of the objection. . . .

You will see in the papers Governor Adams' Speech which was received with almost universal disgust. The Senate has appointed a Committee wh. I think will respond not in unison with his Excellency. Two of the House's committee (the two branches answer separately) are deadly opposed to the Governor's sentiments : a third, I am of opinion, will not promote an echo : Jarvis and Ely will be disposed to any measures, regardless of their consequences. The disposal of the Virginia resolves, as related in the Centinel, is correct in every thing but the final vote of the house. After the question for commitment was lost, Doctr. Jarvis moved that they might lay on the table till the answer to the Govr's Speech was reported ; with great difficulty this obtained a majority of one only.

Our Senate and house are well disposed to the federal government, and it is more than probable that an effort will be made to displace Adams from the chair, and put Sumner in his stead.

With Sincerity and affection your friend

C. Gore.

John Jay to R. King.

New York, 27 Jany., 1796.

Dear Sir :

. . . Mr. Pinckney's success in Spain is an agreeable circumstance, and together with the Restoration of peace with Algiers and the Indians will tend greatly to compose and gratify the public mind.

Yours sincerely

John Jay.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING, PHILADELPHIA.

NEW YORK, 2d Feby., 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I was at this moment favd. with yours of the 29th ult., informing me that "Mr. Harper concurred in the Idea of printing by way of note my entire letter to him." My Idea was a short note referring to the letter, *subjoined* or annexed to the address.* I have no objection to either mode, my object being that the first appearance of the Letter should be in or with his address, rather than in a newspaper ; for his objections to the latter mode appear to me well founded.

The ratification will bear a little longer absence. Things seem to work together for good. Are you apprized that the preliminary articles of the peace were ratified on a copy sent by Dr. Franklin ? I suspect that the original still remains among his private papers. A hint of this to Mr. Pickering may not be improper, that he may (if that be the case) take measures for getting and placing the original in the office. I think I once searched for it there and could not find it and that the fact is as I have suggested. It seems strange Mr. Adams should have been ordered to London to do nothing, but we see strange things in our Days. . . .

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, March 16, 1796.

MY DR. SIR :

I thank you for your letter of the – —

My opinion on the resolution, when it first appeared, was that the President should answer in substance as follows, viz.

"That it could not be admitted as a right of course in the House of Representatives to call for & have papers in the Executive department, especially those relating to foreign negotiations which frequently embrace confidential matter. That under all the circumstances & upon so indefinite a call without any

* *Life of John Jay*, by William Jay, ii., 261. See letter written to Mr. Harper on his Address for approving the treaty with Great Britain—printed Boston, 1796.

declared specific object, he did not think it proper nor consistent with what he owed to a due separation of the respective Powers, to comply with the call. That if in the course of the Proceedings of the House, a question of their competency should arise for which any of the papers in question might be necessary, an application made on that ground would be considered with proper respect &c."

But after what has taken place in the discussion, if it can with propriety be got in as to form, I think a stand ought to be made by the President against the usurpation. The following propositions comprise an obvious ground.

I. The Constitution empowers the President with the Senate to make Treaties.

II. A treaty is a perfected contract between two nations obligatory on both.

III. That cannot be a perfected contract or Treaty to the validity of which the concurrence of any other power in the state is constitutionally necessary.

IV. The Constitution says a treaty is a law.

V. A Law is an obligatory rule of action prescribed by the competent authority. But

VI. That cannot be such a rule of Action or a *law* to the validity of which the Assent of any other power is requisite. Again

VII. The object of the *Legislative* Power is to prescribe a rule of Action for our own Nation, which includes foreigners coming among us.

VIII. The object of the Treaty Power is by agreement to settle a rule of action between two nations binding on both.

IX. These objects are essentially different and in a constitutional sense cannot interfere.

X. The Treaty Power binds the *will* of the nation, must within its constitutional limits be paramount to the Legislative Power, which is that will ; or, at least, the last *law* being a Treaty must repeal an antecedent contradictory law.

And XI. If the Legislative power is competent to repeal this law by a subsequent law, this must be the whole Legislative power by a solemn act in the forms of the constitution, not one branch of the legislative power by disobeying the law.

XII. The foregoing construction reconciles the two powers and assigns them distinguishable spheres of action. While

XIII. The other construction, that claiming that a right of assent or sanction for the House of Representatives, destroys the Treaty making Power & negatives two Propositions in the Constitution—to wit—I. that the President with the Senate are competent to make Treaties, II. that a Treaty is a Law.

On these grounds with the President's name a bulwark not to be shaken is erected. The propositions amount in my judgment to irresistible demonstration.

Yrs.

A. HAMILTON.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

Ap'l 2, 1796.

Thank you for yours of yesterday. I have no copy of the paper sent. The greatest part went in the original draft, though considerably reformed acccording to joint ideas & somewhat strengthened by new thoughts. A letter I have received tells me that it came to hand after the ground which was acted upon had been formally considered in Council, and that it is referred for future use in the event of an expected criticism of the Message.

I have asked for it *conditionally* to secure correct, &c. If I get it you shall have a copy. But you must take care that there is no crossing of path.

Yrs. truly,

A. HAMILTON.

C. GORE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, 14 April, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR:

By the last mail, I received notice from the Sec'y of State that the President had appointed me one of the commiss'rs under the 7. art, of the treaty with Great Britain. . . . The President's answer has been universally pleasing here, some have become so enamoured with the thing that they have had it printed in white satin, and are having it framed and glazed. . . .

Your affectionate friend,

C. GORE.

A. Hamilton to R. King.*

New York, April 15, 1796.

My Dear Sir:

A letter by yesterday's Post from our Friend Ames informed me that the Majority (57 concurring) had resolved in a private Meeting to refuse appropriations for the Treaty. A most important crisis ensues. Great evils may result unless good men play their card well & with promptitude and decision. For we must seize and carry along with us the public opinion; and loss of time may be loss of everything.

To me our true plan appears to be the following (I suppose that a certain communication has been made).

1. The President ought immediately after the House has taken the ground of refusal to send them a solemn Protest. This protest ought to contain reasons in detail against the claim of the House in point of Constitutional right & ought to suggest summarily but with solemnity and energy the danger to the interests & Peace of the country from the measures of the House. The certainty of a deep wound to our character with foreign Nations, and essential destruction of their confidence in the Government, concluding with an intimation that in such a state of things, he must experience extreme embarrassment in proceeding in any pending or future negotiation which the affairs of the U. States may require, inasmuch as he cannot look for due confidence from others, nor give them the requisite expectation that stipulations will be fulfilled on our part.

A copy of this protest to be sent to the Senate for their information: the Senate by resolutions to express strongly their approbation of his principles, to assure him of their firm support, & to advise him to proceed in the execution of the Treaty on his part in the confidence that he will derive from the virtue and good sense of the people, constitutionally exerted, eventual & effectual support; & may still be the instrument of preserving the Constitution, the Peace & the Honor of the Nation.

Then the merchants to meet in the cities and second by their resolutions the measures of the President & Senate, further

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 103.

addressing their fellow citizens to co-operate with them. Petitions afterwards to be handed throughout the U. States.

The Senate to hold fast & consent to no adjournment till the expiration of the term of service of the present House unless provision be made.

The President to cause a confidential communication to be made to the British stating candidly what has happened, his regrets, his adherence nevertheless to the Treaty, his resolution to persist in the Execution so far as depends on the Executive, & his hope that the faith of the Country will be eventually preserved.

I prefer that the measures should begin with a Protest of the President, as it will be in itself proper & there will be more chance of success if the contest appears to be with him & the Senate auxiliaries, than in the reverse.

But in all this business celerity, decision & an imposing attitude are indispensable. The Glory of the President, the safety of the Constitution, the greatest interests depend upon it. Nothing will be wanting here. I do not write to the President on the subject.

An Idea has come from *Cooper* of an intention in our friends in the House of Representatives to resist the execution of the other Treaties, the Spanish & Algerine, unless coupled with the British. But this will be altogether wrong & impolitic. The misconduct of the other party cannot justify in us an imitation of their principles. 'Tis best I think that the freest course should be given to the other Treaties; or at most, if a *feint* of opposition is deemed adviseable, it ought to be left to the Senate by postponement &c. But even this is very delicate and very questionable.

Let us be *Right*, because to do right is intrinsically proper & I verily believe it is the best mean of securing final success. Let our adversaries have the whole glory of sacrificing the interests of the Nation.

Yrs. affectly.

A. HAMILTON.

P.S.—If the treaty is not executed, the President will be called upon by regard to the character of the public good to *keep his post* till another House of Representatives has pronounced.

A. Hamilton to R. King.*

New York, April 18, 1796.

Dear Sir:

I thank you for your letter received to-day. Our merchants here are not less alarmed than those of Philadelphia, and will do all they can. All the insurance people meet to-day: the Merchants & Traders will meet to-morrow or the next day. A Petition will be prepared and circulated among the other citizens.

I regret that a certain communication was not made. Indeed I think the Executive will be hereafter blamed for keeping back the fact in so critical a posture of things.

Yrs truly

A. Hamilton.

A. Hamilton to R. King.†

April 20, 1796.

Dr. Sir:

Yesterday's Post brought me a letter from you which gave me pleasure. The papers will apprize you of the proceedings of the Merchants & Traders here on yesterday: there is among them also "unexampled unanimity," & as far as I can judge the current is in our favour throughout the City. Persons to-day are going through the different wards.

Yrs sincerely

A. Hamilton.

P.S.—Our friends in the House will do well to *gain time*.

A. Hamilton to R. King.‡

April 23, 1796.

Dr. Sir:

I have received your two letters and shall this day attend to the one which requires it. I see however no objection to it as it stands, and I do not now perceive how the further object you aim at could be accomplished in the manner you seem to desire.

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., p. 106. † *Ibid.*, p. 106. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

I have written to *Ames* this day concerning the course of things in our city. He will communicate to you, as I have not time to repeat. We are decidedly well. But it is intended to-day to continue the Petition in circulation & to-morrow it will be sent. I thought it adviseable to publish an extract from your letter without naming you.

Yrs. truly

A. HAMILTON.

It is much to be regretted that the letters of Mr. King referred to in the above short notes of Mr. Hamilton, and which must have given some interesting facts as well as the views of Mr. King relative to the important questions under review, are not accessible, if they are in existence, Mr. J. C. Hamilton, in his *Works of Hamilton*, publishing those above, but not the answers to them. A search for them in the United States State Department among the Hamilton papers by Mr. Andrew H. Allen, Chief of Bureau of Rolls and Library, at the Editor's request, has been unsuccessful.

FISHER AMES TO R. KING, N. YORK.

PHIL., May 30, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

I did not expect you would leave us before the end of the Session. Your sudden departure has deprived me of the opportunity I would have taken to give you my hand at parting. If I had enjoyed it, I could not have expressed all the esteem, good wishes, and real regrets I shall feel for you. I know you will not think it necessary, in order to make you convinced of my sincerity. It is, however, a pleasure to me, tho' it is a farewell, to assure you how ardently I shall ever take an interest in the increase of your reputation and happiness. I beg Mrs. King to accept my best respects—a good voyage—once more farewell.

Yrs FISHER AMES.

I go south for three weeks.

R. King to T. Pickering.

Private.

New York, June 1, 1796.

Dear Sir :

I omitted suggesting to you before my departure from Philadelphia an observation or two concerning our Consul at Hamburgh. Our merchant ships may, without violating our national impartiality, be employed in the service of the belligerent Powers —if they engage in a service prohibited by the Law of Nations, and are detected, they incur the Penalty, and the conduct is not imputed to the nation. But where any officer of the Nation does an act, which in a private person wld. be prohibited by the Law of Nations, it is requisite in my opinion that on complaint the Nation to wh. such officer belongs shd. disavow the Act and punish the offender. I am inclined to think the conduct of Mr. Parish has afforded just cause of complaint, and that although he may be a worthy man he shd. be displaced. The step may be explained to him in a satisfactory manner. The party wh. complains is in a state of irritation—the conduct cannot be justified. A compliance with the Desires of those who complain will be politic. The point is not of sufficient importance to be made a serious and solemn question between the two Nations. Besides I suspect we shd. be put in the wrong. I hope you will see this subject in the light in which I view it—in itself it is of small importance, it may become of real consequence. Should the Consul be dismissed and the ground explained to him, he would feel little dissatisfaction if he is a man of sense—and after the Peace he might be re-appointed if it should be deemed advisable.

I am Dr. Sir your ob. St.

Rufus King.

R. King to T. Pickering.

Private.

N. York, 7 June, 1796.

Dear Sir :

I do not remember to have conversed with Mr. Jay concerning the terms of the XII Article of the Treaty with Great Britain, which were intended to ascertain the articles of Import and Ex-

port to and from the W. In. Colonies. I have conceived that the Article would have secured to us a Right to carry thither every Article which *it is now lawful* to carry thither from the U. S. in Br. vessels—that the Catalogue of articles could not have been diminished : and moreover that we should have had a right to carry thither every other article, which might hereafter, and during the operation of the Stipulation, be lawfully carried there from the U. S. in Br. Vessels—the second paragraph secured to our vessels a right to export from these Colonies, only such Articles *as may now* lawfully be brought from thence to the U. S. in Br. vessels ; here again the Catalogue of articles could not have been abridged, but in case it had been enlarged in favor of Br. vessels, it is not obvious that we could have claimed a Right to receive and bring from thence in our vessels such additional articles ; and in this respect the stipulation appears unequal—whether this was accident or Design, I am at a loss ; probably the former. I have seen no sufficient reason to change an opinion that I thought well founded on the first appearance of this article ; which is that it would have been more plain as a rule of Conduct, and less likely to originate misunderstandings, and perhaps commercial losses, if instead of a reference to the Br. Statutes to find out the articles which might be imported and exported to and from the Br. W. Inds., the articles had been enumerated in the Treaty.

A clause might have been added which would have secured *to us* the advantages of any enlargement of the List of articles which the Br. Policy in future might have adopted.

Relative to Mr. Adams taking leave at the Hague, would it not be proper to intimate to the Government of the U. N. "that circumstances interesting to the U. S. have induced the President to remove Mr. Adams from the Hague to Lisbon—that it is hoped this measure will be taken in good Part, and meet with the approbation of the Gov. of the U. N. for whom we entertain a sincere esteem and friendship, and in whose Prosperity and Happiness we take a lively concern—that it is the President's intention to name a successor to Mr. Adams who will renew to the Govt. the assurances of the friendly attachment of the U. S. for the Batavian Republic."

Some course like this will conciliate the Convention and will leave the President sufficient latitude in respect to the time of replacing Mr. Adams at the Hague.

I omitted to tell you in a line I wrote to you yesterday, that I have engaged my Passage in the ship James, Conckling Master, of this Port. She is an American Ship and Master, is not to take contraband of war nor Enemy Goods. She is to sail on the 19th instant. I have engaged to be ready by that Day. She is bound to London.

Farewell my dear Sir, I am very sincerely

Yr Obt. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

WM. SMITH TO R. KING.

CHARLESTON, July 23d, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I did not leave Philad. till ten days after the adjt. and having a very tedious passage did not arrive here till the 1st inst, not in time to prepare, and scarcely in time to deliver my Oration, a copy of which I send you, with a curious advertisement of the Vender, who says that the works which have lately had the greatest run in town, are Paine's Age of Reason & Smith's Oration. You will smile at seeing any work of mine associated with Paine's & the heroic actions of the French.

Our unfortunate town has lately suffered much from fire; the last, which occurred on the 13th of June, was very destructive, having swept away several whole streets, and consumed upwards of two hundred and fifty dwellings. The contributions have been very considble. here for the relief of the sufferers, & we understand that very generous aid will be furnished from New York, Philad. and some other cities. Many of our planters and Merchts. are extremely embarrassed by the great fall of produce. Mr. Izard, who refused a great price here & shipped a part of his crop, will probably lose near £3000.

He and his family are well. I need not inform you how much satisfaction he recd. from your appointmt.; indeed I can assure

you it has met with general approbation here. . . . We have as yet no certain accot. of the President's intentions as to the next election. Before I left Philada., it seemed understood that Major Pinckney was to be joined with Mr. Adams. The friends of the former have been sounded about it, but as he is expected here soon, nothing definite has been concluded on.

Since the last session there has been a promotion in Congress; Hillhouse, Goodhue and Sedgwick having succeeded to Ellsworth, Cabot and Strong, I am happy to find that Goodhue is elected for six years from next March. . . . The Treatyphobia is completely cured here, and federal politics, when they engage the attention, excite generally approbation. Those who made such a ridiculous clamor last summer seem ashamed of themselves and are glad to throw a veil over what has passed. Mr. Rutledge, the late C. J., lives quite retired & avoids being seen; his health is said to be mended. . . . I am, Dr. Sir, very sincerely yours &c.

WM. SMITH.

G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, July 24, 1796.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

. . . I am in every sense so abstracted from the political world, that if my daily visitors did not talk over what passes in it, I should know nothing of its affairs; *as one of the people*, however, I feel it my duty to say that we are well satisfied with our government, and perceive very plainly that it has done for us much better than we shou'd have done for ourselves, if we had followed our own humour. We understand this now pretty well throughout New England, and we generally agree, that in future we ought to think before we decide on public measures, or *reflection may come too late.*

The Gazettes inform us a Mr. Williams of Stockbridge and Saml. Sewall are nominated as the successors of Sedgwick and Goodhue, and I am told that Sewall will probably be carried. Indeed the present temper of the people is extremely favorable to the choice of good men. If poor *old Gorham* had not gone off,

I incline to the opinion that he might probably have been elected Senator, but I am well persuaded that no man of doubtful politics cou'd possibly have obtained the appointment. *Several* of the Gentlemen of *that description* very prudently declined being considered as candidates.

I was ready enough to anticipate the troubles of which you speak in a prophetic spirit, but on the whole there is no appearance that our serenity will be disturbed this season. Every thing without doors *looks well*, and if Wolcott cou'd only have a moment's use of the desideratum of the alchymists, every thing would *go well*. The cursed intrigues engendered by Americans at Paris and by Frenchmen in America have occasioned some anxiety among many lovers of our Country, but these projects are evidently failing, and it may be hoped that the time is not very distant when the cares of our Allies may be more confined to their domestic concerns. . . .

Truly your affectte. friend

GEORGE CABOT.

CHAPTER VI.

Mr. King having been appointed Ambassador to England starts on his Mission —Responsibilities of a Minister at that Time, from Difficulty of communicating with his Government—Often obliged to act at once without waiting for new Instructions—Mr. Jay's Course in England left good Impressions for his Successor, which Mr. King was qualified and took pains to continue —His Arrival and Settlement in London.

We have seen in the correspondence which has been presented, that Mr. King, after continuous service in the councils of the nation for a period of twelve years, the last seven of which had been in the Senate, as a member from the State of New York, had determined to resign his position, having said in a letter to Hamilton, "You must know that I am not a little tired with this separation from my family and drudgery in the Senate."

During these years he had borne an active and intelligent part in perfecting the various measures adopted for the inauguration of the new government, his experience in the old Confederation eminently qualifying him to assist in putting into operation the new Constitution, in the formation of which he had been so prominent an agent. The different departments through which it was to operate, and the wise principles upon which, through the guidance and moulding hand of Hamilton, the financial affairs were to be conducted, had been firmly established, and the first steps had been taken to determine our relations with foreign countries by the commercial treaty with Great Britain. The government was still embarrassed by a faction at home which seemed to

be anxious to engraft upon the nation the wild schemes of French democracy and manifested a consequent hatred against England, due partly to her unwillingness or delay to fulfil her obligations under the treaty of peace. They considered the new treaty, as did the French Government, inimical to France, which used it as a ground for outrages upon our commerce and even for breaking off diplomatic relations.

There was much excuse for the dissatisfaction with England, because of her conduct towards us; for she too obstructed our commerce, especially with the West Indies, capturing American vessels and condemning them in the colonial courts, impressing seamen from our ships, and retaining her hold upon the forts on the western frontier, which she had agreed to surrender by the treaty of peace. A large number of the friends of the government and who had no great sympathy with France, was influenced by these considerations to demand from England a redress for the wrongs inflicted upon us, and could only be satisfied by the appointment of a minister to continue the negotiations who not only possessed a thorough knowledge of the history of his own country, was conversant with her resources and needs, understood the genius and character of her people, but was at the same time prudent, clear-headed, and intelligent, and thus able to cope with the practised statesmen of England, to present his country's claims with courtesy, tact, and firmness, and to render himself acceptable to the Court to which he was to be accredited.

The President could not but feel the responsibility that rested upon him, and, moved by the suggestion of Mr. Hamilton, was inclined to select Mr. King for the post. He hesitated, however, not because he had a doubt of his fitness for it, but that he feared, from "what has been said of his political sentiments with respect to another form of government . . . the interpretation which would be given to the nomination of him." His doubts were dispelled by the

letter of Mr. Hamilton, who said that such considerations should have no weight against his well known character. Mr. King then received the appointment of Ambassador and Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, resigned his seat in the Senate, and began at once to make the needful preparations to start upon his mission.

He was at this time in the prime of life,* a man among men, of athletic form and graceful carriage, handsome of feature, as represented by Trumbull in his portrait of him, and dignified and courteous in address. His mind was well stored, conversant with the literature of ancient and modern times, which was always at his command whether in conversation or in debate. For twelve years he had mingled freely with the leading men of his own country, taking a large share of the burden which had made the nation what it was, and so accustomed to deal with the large questions which daily arise in the domestic and foreign affairs, which are the business of the nation, that he felt full confidence in himself in the new position to which he was called, and believed that he might do good service for his country and promote its welfare.

It may be here remarked that the responsibility of a foreign minister in the times which are now being considered, was far different from that in the present day, when instantaneous communication may be had between a minister and his government, and information sent to him at once to meet any modifications of the instructions given him, in order to meet new aspects of a question. During the period of Mr. King's mission and long afterwards a minister could rely only upon

*Mr. William Sullivan, in the *Public Men of the Revolution*, p. 59, gives us his reminiscences of Mr. King in 1788, a few years before this :

"Rufus King at this time was about thirty-three years of age. He was an uncommonly handsome man in face and form ; he had a powerful mind, well cultivated and was a dignified and graceful speaker. He had the appearance of one who was a gentleman by nature and had well improved all her gifts. It is a rare occurrence to see a finer assemblage of personal and intellectual qualities cultivated to best effect than were seen in that gentleman."

general instructions, which could not provide for the rapidly changing events which, at that time, arose in the entangled affairs of Europe, requiring his immediate decision and action. He was often for months unable to exchange views with his government, and was compelled to act upon his own responsibility and judgment where delay or hesitation would have been prejudicial to his country's interest.*

It is, therefore, an evidence of the wisdom of Mr. King's appointment, that although his residence in England continued eight years, under Washington, Adams, and, two of

* Mr. Pickering, Sec'y of State, on the 27th July, 1796, says to Mr. King that as many questions have occurred and will continue to arise, in Mr. Bayard's agency for appeals and claims in behalf of American citizens, some of law and some of policy or expediency, the decision of which by reference to his department would cause delays and might be less depended upon than the legal opinions of the official American gentlemen on the spot—"I mean you, Mr. Gore and Mr. William Pinckney," he "has instructed Mr. Bayard to consult with the Commissioners (Mr. Gore and Mr. Pinckney) as to the measures he should adopt. With regard to questions of Policy or Expediency, those also can for the most part be best decided in the same manner. To postpone decisions of measures proper to be adopted, till advice can be sent and answers returned from hence, would generally be injurious by the delay, and often, probably, incur the loss of advantages to be secured only by prompt determinations. In great and extraordinary occasions, where the sanction of the President will be previously necessary, should any such occur, the delay will be unavoidable; in others you and the Commissioners will know when you may advise a proceeding, on a fair presumption of his approbation."

An extract from a letter of R. King, Jan'y 14, 1798, to the Secretary of State, shows that he felt the responsibility resting upon him, owing to the time which must elapse before he could receive instructions to meet new conditions constantly arising and requiring immediate attention and prompt decisions. "I shall consider this subject with attention and will exercise a discretion that the exigency seems to demand. It would certainly be more agreeable to me to have it in my power on all occasions, and especially on those of the highest moment, to find my duty in observing the well considered instructions of the President. But there sometimes occur, and more frequently at this period, than formerly, events so wholly unlooked for, that the subordinate agents of a nation may be called upon to act always with a sound and prudent discretion, in cases the decision of which belong to the highest department of the Government. While on the one hand I shall regret the existence of the occasion, I shall not hesitate on the other to do what, under its peculiar circumstance, shall appear to my judgment to be necessary to promote the national welfare."

them, under Jefferson, we find no instance in which he did not show a clear understanding of the questions under consideration, a large and comprehensive foresight, and a firm yet courteous presentation of the views of his government, winning at the same time the confidence of the different ministers with whom he had to deal in Great Britain; nor was his action ever overruled, nor its wisdom denied by his government at home. Indeed there is abundant evidence that his residence in London, surrounded as he was there, and intimate with the leading statesmen of the world, was used by him to raise the new country to a position of respect in the eyes of Europe, and to claim from other nations the consideration due to a power which knew its rights and was determined to maintain independence and firmness in dealing with them. He was but following the example of Mr. Jay, who, he said, had already laid the foundations for such respectful consideration.*

Having received his instructions, Mr. King sailed on June 20, 1796, from New York in the ship *James*, Conckling master, both American. The vessel "took neither contraband of war nor enemy's goods" and sailed directly to London, where he arrived on the 23d of July, as he wrote to Mr. Low on August 1st,

"after a good passage, which we all found less disagreeable than we apprehended. I am unable to tell you any news, having been

* Charles J. Ingersoll in his *Recollections* (Phil., 1861) says, p. 111:

"I have heard Mr. King describe Mr. Jay's deportment in London as not only purely and firmly, but boldly and highly independent American."

JOHN JAY TO LORD GRENVILLE.

"NEW YORK, 4th of June, 1797.

". . . My respect and esteem for your Lordship remain unabated, and I flatter myself with the pleasure of becoming a better correspondent. It will give you satisfaction to know that the letters I have received from Mr. King and Mr. Gore make honourable mention of the candour and good faith of your government. They both appear to be well pleased, and I am glad of it. . . ."
—*Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, iv., 227.

wholly engaged since my arrival in those employments, which are usual on like occasions"; and on August 16th: "We do not yet feel ourselves settled, and when you see my friend the Judge, tell him, I find here no such house as I left in New York."

His family at this time consisted of his wife and four boys, the eldest eight years old, and his youngest brother Cyrus as his secretary. He was particularly attached to this brother, who had been carefully educated by him, was at the time preparing to enter the bar, and had given strong evidence of the high ability, which, in his subsequent career, made him a prominent man in the councils of the nation. It may here be said that he remained in London about a year, profiting in many ways by his association with his brother, and then returned to America to resume his studies.

There is little doubt that Mr. King's arrangements were much facilitated by his friends Mr. C. Gore and his wife, who had preceded him to England, the former as one of the Commissioners under the 7th article of the treaty with England. A house was taken at first at 18 Baker Street, where he remained some time; but by the beginning of the next year we find him established in Great Cumberland place, his residence during the time he passed in England. Through his friends, Mr. Richard Codman and Mr. J. Pitcairn, he purchased much of the china and glass for his table in Paris, as well as the French wines for his use, and thus began to prepare to take the place in social life which his own merits and his position as Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States entitled him to hold. It may here be mentioned that he soon found that the pay he received from the Government would not enable him to meet the demands upon him, and his correspondence with his friend and agent in New York, Mr. N. Low, shows that he was obliged to draw upon his private funds, which were ample for all his wishes. His letters, which follow, to Mr. J. Q. Adams and Col. Monroe show his kindly feelings to those who were in the diplomatic service of his country

and which, as will be seen, marked his intercourse with his fellow ministers during his residence abroad, and were manifested in return by them to him.

R. KING TO J. Q. ADAMS.

LONDON, July 24, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I arrived here last evening, and by a conveyance wh. our friend Mr. Hall informs me is perfectly safe, I send you a letter from the Department of State. I have only time to congratulate you on yr. appointment to Lisbon,* and to assure you of the perfect esteem & respect with which I am, Dr. Sir, yr. ob. servt.

R. K.

WM. STRICKLAND TO R. KING.

YORK, July 29, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I have this day received an account of your arrival in England & take the liberty of congratulating you on the occasion.

The minds of each of our countries have for some time wished in your hands the appointment you now hold but despaired of seeing it accomplished, apprehensive that your presence would be too valuable in your own country for it to be there dispensed with ; fortunately it has proved otherwise and I am satisfied to the mutual advantage of our kindred countries.

I have much pleasure in the thoughts of renewing in this country an acquaintance commenced with so much satisfaction to myself on the other side of the Atlantic ; & shall therefore take the earliest opportunity of paying my respects to you whenever I come to London, but which I fear will not be before the next Spring, having left it not more than six weeks since. You will no doubt, while here, endeavour to see as much of the country as you can ; this I must strongly recommend to every one from the United States, who knows how to turn the many new objects he

* Before Mr. Adams entered upon the duties of that office he was appointed Minister to Berlin.

would meet with to the benefit of his own country ; the Metropolis is the seat of pleasure & of Politics, but a just estimate of this country can only be formed by visiting the interior of it ; & there only can observation be made useful in numberless instances to the circumstances of America. Should you visit this place or the neighbourhood of it, before I have the pleasure of seeing you, be assured of my possessing the inclination to be of every service to you in my power & to assist you in obtaining the object of your researches or acquiring the information you may wish for ; it is the slightest return I can make for innumerable attentions received in your country & for the liberal and friendly reception I everywhere experienced & always acknowledge with pleasure.

I shall be happy to hear that you have had a pleasant voyage across the Atlantic, & all your family are arrived in good health ; and tho' I have not the Honor to be known to Mrs. King, I beg my respects to her.

I am, Dear Sir, with great esteem & respect, your very obedient & humble Servant.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND.

R. KING TO COL. MONROE, PARIS.

LONDON, August 1, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Mr. Pinckney having desired to return home, I arrived here a few days ago to relieve him. We sailed from New York on the 20th of June, but as your information through our countrymen, who are so frequently arriving from America, is probably as late or later I presume that I can tell you nothing new or interesting. . . .

I shall be happy to hear from you, and beg you to be assured that it will afford me peculiar pleasure to render you any service that my situation in this country will permit. . . .

R. KING.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. King enters upon his Duties as Ambassador—Presentation to the King—First Interview with Lord Grenville—Statement by Dr. Edwards of the Condition of Affairs in France—Appointment of Col. Trumbull as the fifth Commissioner under 7th Article of the Treaty—Mr. Monroe's Recall from France—Treaty of Peace with Algiers—Count De la Prâde's Pretensions.

Mr. King in the following letter announces to the Secretary of State his arrival in London, his reception by the King, and his first interview with Lord Grenville:

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, August 10, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

I arrived here on the 23d ultimo; the King was in the course of a few days to go to Weymouth, where he spends the remainder of the summer. Finding it to be the desire of Mr. Pinckney that I should enter on my office without delay, I was in the course of the week that followed my arrival presented to the King and Queen.

My reception being in the usual manner, nothing occurred on the occasion that merits particular attention; the King expressed his satisfaction with the prospect of a lasting friendship and harmony between the two countries, declared that he sincerely desired to live in friendship with the United States and that he would execute with the most scrupulous good faith the Treaty lately concluded with them.

Tho' this is a season when public men in this country consider themselves entitled to some relaxation from business, and most

of them are in the country not much disposed to be interrupted, yet I thought some parts of my instructions were so important and interesting, that I ought not to delay requesting a conference with Lord Grenville respecting them. I accordingly wrote him a note on the eighth instant, requesting him to appoint a time when I should wait on him for the purpose of making certain communications to him, relating as well to the suspended portions of the late Treaty, as to some other points that are mentioned in my instructions. He appointed the next day for the interview, when I communicated to him in a concise manner our ideas respecting the points * of our conference. He heard me with attention, expressed the desire of this government to preserve harmony and good understanding with us, and said that as these were points of much consequence to their commerce and marine, he would faithfully state what I had said to his colleagues, with whom a conference would be requisite preparatory to any reply. The object of the meeting was to begin, and to make the principal points contained in my instructions. Speaking respecting the care of our Seamen, Lord Grenville expressed a wish that some notice had been given of our intention to send an agent for their protection to their West India Colonies; observing that the Governors of those colonies were not authorized to allow the residence of such a character, and that without instructions they might perhaps refuse to admit Mr. Talbot, an event, he said, that might excite unpleasant feelings on our part. I explained the course of this measure, and urged the importance of our having an agent in that quarter; intimating at the same time that an immediate instruction for Mr. Talbot's admission might arrive in season to prevent any disappointment to which we might otherwise be exposed.

Col. Trumbull is in France; he is expected here soon, but I am fearful that he will be unwilling to accept the agency for the protection of our seamen. This I shall regret, as from a recent arrangement, appplication for the discharge of our seamen, detained on board the British ships, which have formerly been made by our Consuls, must soon go through my hands. I hope to be able to prevail on Col. Trumbull to accept the ap-

* Appendix III.

pointment and continue to act until the President can appoint another person. . . .

With great respect,

R. KING.

Mr. T. Pickering, Secretary of State, in his letter of August 8, 1796, says to Mr. King:

"Our Treaty with Spain was promptly ratified, and the ratified copy has been received here a few days since from Spain. By this time all the British posts must have been delivered up to the troops of the United States, except perhaps the remote one of Michilimackinac. The deliveries, so far as we have received intelligence have been made in the most handsome manner on the part of the British."

R. KING TO COL. MONROE, PARIS.

LONDON, August 11, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

I avail myself of Mr. Tudor's visit to Paris to inform you that a few days since a paper was published in the English Gazettes, purporting to be a letter from the Directory to Mr. Barthelemi, in which the French government announces their intention to stop the cargoes of all neutral vessels bound to the English ports, and assigns as the cause and justification of this measure a recent order of the British government to stop the cargoes of all neutral vessels bound to French ports. Though I was not ascertained of the authority of this paper, yet considering its importance to our commerce, I applied to this government for information whether any such order had been issued, and I was assured in reply that no such order exists, and that no new order has been issued on this subject. I expect that it will be in my power in a day or two to send you a precise and formal document on this point; in the meantime I could not excuse myself from giving you the earliest information in my power relative to a measure so truly afflicting, should the paper in question prove genuine.

I am &c.,

R. KING.

The following statement is in Mr. King's handwriting:

DOCTOR EDWARDS, August 19th, 1796.

Dr. Edwards* called on me yesterday with Mr. Pinckney, having arrived the day before from France—he spoke of the dissatisfaction towards the U. S. which was entertained by and influenced the Government of France—that Mr. Monroe had conducted with fidelity towards the U. S., that he had vindicated the measures of our Government, and, though he did not like the Treaty, that he had contended that in no respect it violated our Treaty with France—that the Government there were elevated with their successes, and said though we might not have broken the Treaty, that nevertheless by the late Treaty with England, we had broken our Friendship with France—that the late order for stopping neutral vessels was aimed in a great measure against England—that however they were disposed to treat us not as an

* Through the assistance of Mr. F. D. Stone, Librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, the editor has been enabled to identify Dr. Edwards with Dr. Evan Edwards, of Philadelphia.† He was born in 1757, and received a classical and medical education, was an earnest participant in the Revolutionary war, and especially during the British occupation of Philadelphia, having been an aide to Lord Stirling. After the war he held many important positions in Pennsylvania, and was a Judge from 1791 to the time of his death in 1802.

Frenno's Gazette is quoted, saying:

"He possessed talents which eminently qualified him for a public station, a sound understanding, good sense improved by habits of reading and reflection, an intimate knowledge of mankind, incorruptible integrity with popular and engaging manners. . . . His affable and amiable manners and cheerful conversation . . . procured him the esteem and good-will of all who conversed with him." Mr. Charles Biddle, in his *Autobiography*, p. 309, gives an interesting account of him. He was very sick in Paris, and spoke in the warmest terms of the kindness of those who cared for him, wondering how these people—French—could "be guilty of crimes so disgraceful to human nature. It has often been said that Mr. Monroe encouraged Thomas Paine to write the infamous letter he sent to Genl. Washington. The Doctor often told me that Monroe sent him to Paris, and did everything in his power to prevent his sending or publishing that letter. Paine told him that anything Mr. Monroe wrote, it was of no consequence whether it was suppressed or not, but what he wrote was for posterity."

† *Penn. Magazine*, ii., p. 74; also ix., p. 325; Miss Sally Wister's Journal

Enemy but as a Nation who had shown a Preference for their rival & Enemy—I met Dr. Edwards in the city to day and walked home with him—the Temper of France towards our Country was again the Topic of conversation. He said T. Paine had been writing a Book agt. the President—that Monroe, while T. P. was in his House, expressed his disapprobation of the measure, and that Paine immediately removed to other Quarters—that the work was very abusive,—he had seen it, and a young Virginian who came over with him from Havre had the Copy, which he was charged to deliver to Bache for Publication—that in a conversation he had with the Members of the Directory, speaking of their sentiments respecting America, he attributed all the circumstances of coldness and caution respecting which they complained, to the operations of Genet ; Reubell replies that undoubtedly there was the first Error ; but Barras said perhaps it was to be regretted that Genet had been recalled—that Monroe had been much respected—that he was believed to be honest, frank, and a zealous friend of the French ; that for a Time he rec'd marks of Preference and Distinction, but that latterly such was the temper towards us, that his situation was less agreeable—that at a Dinner given by La Croix to the foreign Ministers, he gave out, turning to Del Campo (of Spain) our new ally, and to the Prussian ambassador, our old and faithful ally, that Monroe suspected T. Paine of having done him an injury with the Directory—that he was therefore on bad terms with Paine ; that La Croix expressing his Disapprobation with us observed, that they had no intention of treating us as an Enemy ; once he said they had resolved to send an Envoy Extray. to demand certain explanations, and, in case they were not satisfactory, to immediately withdraw—that this Project was abandoned, and they had resolved to permit their resident Minister Adet to return home, and to leave with us a Chargé des Affaires to take care of their People and Concerns in our Country.

Doct. Edwards mentioned various circumstances to shew the haughtiness of the French, flushed as they were with Victory—the refusal of the Swedish Chargé des Affaires, the sending away the Tuscan Minister, and the language they held on the subject of peace and particularly of a Peace with England—he said that Monroe had been made uneasy with the declar'on of a Character

supposed to be confidential, or employed by Reubell of the Directory—who lately intimated to Monroe, that the Directory had been deceived by his Representations of the Temper & Dispositions of our Country—that Monroe suspected T. Paine, with having been the source of the Information that had led the Directory to doubt his Representations, that he had applied to Reubell and his Colleagues on the Subject, and asked whether T. Paine had given them Information contradictory to the Representations—that he had not been perfectly satisfied on this Point —that in conversation concerning their temper towards us he had said that it would disserve them, that every country has its Parties, that this was the case in America—that the Friends of France must be silent, or join those of England, if France persisted in an unfriendly conduct towards us——

After a desultory conversation on these points—he spoke of Monroe having formerly been much influenced by Hichbon; that he had finally suspected & thrown him off—that Hichbon spoke of the corrupt Character of some of his countrymen, and of the application of English Money to procure an influence in America, that he himself had been Offered a Bribe & that the Money and Offer came from Lord Dorchester.

That Monroe was made uneasy by a Report that his political Opponents were combining to Effect his Recall—that he hated Jay & Hamilton, especially the former, concerning whom he told a story of his having very soon after Monroe coming into Congress, in a private conversation attempted to engage him to concur in a Proposal of appointing a committee of Congress to instruct him Jay respecting the negotiation of the sp. treaty; the Object of wh. was to shut up, as Monroe supposes, the Mississippi—that he from that moment suspected Jay's integrity & Patriotism—that he made a memorandum of the overture in his Diary, and showed it to Henry Lee who would now recollect it—&c. &c.—

Dr. Edward's idea respecting the Order agt. the neutral commerce seemed to be this—the Commerce of Amer. centres in G. B.—it is of immense consequence to that nation—Fr. cannot affect G. B. in any way but by assailing her commerce—if she can shut her out from the various Ports of Europe she will severely wound her—if she can moreover embarrass her Commerce with

America, she may do her a still greater injury—The order therefor is more aimed against G. B. than America &c. &c. Speaking of the President he said he was truly unpopular in France—that the conduct of G. Morris had paved the way to his unpopularity —that when G. M. was recalled, Monroe carried him a private Letter from the President, which was delivered to Morris at a Dinner where there was much Company, and several Members of the Government—that G. M. publickly read the Letter in which the President told him that his recall arose from no dissatisfaction that he had with his Conduct—but because the french Govt. had requested it—that besides, the Directory had a letter from the Pr. to G. M. which had been intercepted, and wh. was written after the Ratification of the Treaty with England, in which he says "so desirous have we been to preserve our Neutrality and remain at Peace, that though he disapproved of some parts of the Treaty he had ratified it—that he hoped this conduct would have its Effect in procuring to us the friendship of England, and he wished G. M. to let Lord Grenville know his Opinions in this respect."

August 30th, 1796.

Mr. Pinckney told me that conversing with Doctr. Edwards, he told him that inasmuch as he did not on his way through France to Spain, solicit the aid of the french Government in the negotiation with Spain, they had revoked an instruction which had been given to their Minister at Madrid to facilitate our wishes—that they were displeased with the Treaty and said that it sacrificed *their Interest*—Mr. Pinckney said he did not ask the interference of France, because he supposed them displeased with our having concluded a Treaty with England.

R. King to N. Low.

August 16, 1796.

We do not yet feel ourselves settled and when you see our friend the Judge, tell him, I find here no such house as I left in New York. I dare not write to you respecting politics, because I can form no conjectures that are entitled to any consideration. . .

By a letter of the 24th of July from Paris, I am informed that our fellow citizens so long held in captivity at Algiers have been released and have arrived at Marseilles: through the same channel we learn that the American Schooner Eliza captured by the Tunissians has been given up. Mr. Barber employed for that purpose by Col. Humphries having effected a treaty with the Bey, previous to her capture.

Yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON. *

LONDON, August 25, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

It would have been agreeable to this government, if we could have agreed to the appointment of Doctor Swabey as the Commissioner; he is really a very candid and honorable man. But for the same reason that we could not satisfy the Commissioners on the part of Great Britain with the appointment of our countryman, Colonel Trumbull, an equally candid and honorable character, they have been unable to convince us, that under all circumstances, it would be advisable that we should accept Doctor Swabey.

The utmost propriety of conduct has been shown on both sides; and out of several names proposed by each, the British Commissioners selected Colonel Trumbull, and our Commissioners Doctor Swabey, as the names to be put in the urn. The lot has decided in our favor, and Colonel Trumbull, who is on the spot, is the fifth Commissioner. † The Board being now complete, will proceed to business without unnecessary delay.

Knowing the immense importance of this Commission to our Commerce and navigation, I take the earliest opportunity to give

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi. p. 146.

† In the treaty with Great Britain, negotiated by Mr. Jay, two of the Articles provided for the adjustment of claims by private individuals against the two Governments, the sixth Article for claims preferred by Englishmen against the United States, and the seventh, by American citizens against England. The claims were to be adjusted by five Commissioners under each Article, two of each set to be chosen by the respective Governments and the fifth by lot cast by the four. Those under the sixth Article were to sit in Philadelphia, those under

you this information. The surrender of the posts which has taken place, and the very explicit assurances that I have received from the highest authority in that nation, of a resolution to carry into effect the treaty, with the most scrupulous fidelity, make me anxious that nothing should take place on our part, that would furnish even a pretence, much less a justification, for arresting the further and complete execution of the treaty. The very extraordinary situation of Europe at this moment, should inspire us with great caution, and those whose property depends on the treaties being permitted to go into full effect, should feel and be influenced by this reflection. Farewell, &c.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Aug. 29, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

I beg your care to transmit the inclosed Letter to Mr. Monroe. The object of it is to inform him of his recall, of which it is desirable to give him notice, prior to the arrival of his successor. Mr. Monroe's own communications in February and March last laid the foundation of his recall. They manifested the great uneasiness existing in the French government in relation to the United States, especially on account of the Treaty with Great Britain. His former letters had predicted this consequence of the Treaty; and the good reception of Mr. Fauchet, who left this country with strong prejudices against it, was likely to aggravate every cause, real or imaginary, of dissatisfaction on the part of France. The necessity of obviating complaints, of stating facts, of explaining the conduct and declaring the principles of the American government had been apparent; and for these purposes Mr. Monroe had been amply furnished with documents, the last of which he acknowledged, in his letter of December 6, 1795,

the seventh, in London. The Commissioners under the sixth Article were Thomas Fitzsimons, and James Innes, who died, Samuel Sitgreaves being appointed in his place, Americans, and Thomas McDonald and Henry Pye Rich, with John Guillemard, the fifth, Englishmen. Those under the seventh Article were Christopher Gore and William Pinkney, Americans, and John Nickoll and James Anstey, afterwards Maurice Swabey, Englishmen—John Trumbull being the fifth. The history of these Commissions will appear in the correspondence.

that he had received. Yet he appears to have been perfectly silent, until on the 15th of February last he was alarmed by a project of the Directory, announced to him by the Minister, M. De La Croix, to send an Envoy Extraordinary to this Country. This he endeavoured to prevent and manifested his readiness to vindicate his Government. He had an audience of the Directory; and the project was suspended to give an opportunity to receive their complaints and make his answer. The result was not received here until the 18th July, in a letter from Mr. Monroe, dated the 2d of May. But this only covered M. De La Croix's statement of complaints and Mr. Monroe's answer; the effect of the latter remained to be learnt. The objections made were feeble and perhaps we may hear no more of them. But the dissatisfaction and uneasiness produced by Mr. Monroe's Letters of February and March, concurring with divers other causes, had determined the President early in July to recall him. The President immediately wrote to General Pinckney, requesting him to accept the mission to Paris. He has accepted; and is daily expected here from Charleston.

R. King to the Secretary of State.*

Sept. 8, 1796.

Dear Sir:

Mr. Trumbull's appointment as the fifth Commissioner in the capture question has prevented his acceptance of the agency for the relief and protection of our seamen. His duties must devolve on me for the present; and, I hope by a careful attention to the cases that shall come to my knowledge assisted by the several Consuls, whose vigilance on this subject is great and meritorious, that I shall be able to relieve many of our countrymen from the hardships and injustice to which they continue to be exposed. If I shall find occasional aid requisite for the purpose of extricating any of our seamen detained on board the British Ships of War, I

* It should be stated that the correspondence with the Secretary of State which is given in these volumes is contained in the Letter Books of Rufus King, and consists of press copies from the letters, while that with foreign ministers and other official persons is either in the original letters from them or copied answers to them.—Ed.

shall not hesitate to compensate the persons I may employ out of the money destined for this Service.

A practice has prevailed among our Consuls to grant Certificates of Citizenship, or Protections as they are called, to our seamen and I am informed that they have been efficacious in securing those who possessed them from Impressment. Some abuses are unavoidable, and it is said have been discovered ; in consequence of which these consular Certificates have in some instances been disregarded, and in a late conference with Lord Grenville, he asked me whether our Laws, or the President's Instructions gave to our consuls authority to grant these certificates ; observing that it was not within the ordinary Functions of Consuls to issue Documents of this nature. Perceiving the importance of this enquiry, I told his Lordship that I would enquire concerning the authority of our Consuls, & give him an answer as soon as I should have obtained satisfactory information respecting it. The Fees taken for these Certificates may have some influence in rendering the Consuls less critical than would be proper in the examination of Evidence; but no complaint of this nature has been made, and as the Practice of granting these Certificates is not peculiar to our Consuls, but common with the consuls of other nations, and our Sailors are frequently found here without a certificate of citizenship, whereby they are exposed to impressment, I cannot take upon myself to instruct the Consuls to discontinue the practice, though I should find no positive law or instruction that authorizes it.

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO B. WOLCOTT, JR., ESQ.

Private.

LONDON, Sept. 9, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Col. Humphries having authorized Mr. Donaldson * to draw on the Mess. Barings for Sterling sufficient to purchase at Leghorn 400,000 Dollars, and Donaldson having drawn for a part

* Mr. David Humphreys, United States Minister to Portugal, was authorized to make a treaty of peace with the Dey of Algiers, in the manner customary in those days. During an absence, Mr. Donaldson, who had been left by him in

and given notice that he should probably draw for the whole of that sum, Mess. Barings after sending me a statement explaining the probable deficiency of the public money in their hands, a copy of which is enclosed, asked my opinion whether they should pay Donaldson's drafts for a greater sum than the estimated amount of the public money in their hands. They manifested no disinclination to make the advance should it be requisite, but desired advice. As Col. Humphries is fully empowered on this subject and has authorized Donaldson to draw, I told Mess. Barings that I thought it adviseable that they should pay Donaldson's drafts, adding that I was convinced their conduct would be approved and the advance which they might make faithfully reimbursed by the U. S. They will pay the drafts should they exceed the funds appropriated for this object; I mean the amount of their sales added to the estimated value of the unsold stock in their hands.

I intimated to Sir Francis Baring a wish that the sale of the residue of the stock might not be forced, especially at a time of such general depression in the prices of all Funds. I understood him that they could without inconvenience make the requisite advance and that the 6 pr. cents unsold would not be sold under 90 for 100, without consulting you on the subject. I hope the Algerine Treaty may finally be effected, though hitherto it has been attended with a series of disasters. The low price of Stocks here and the high price of dollars at Leghorn make the present operation a very unfavorable one.

Though it is no relief, it is an argument against bad management to know that great embarrassments accompany all money operations at this period. Even here great difficulties are encountered and burthensome terms submitted to to make their loans.

Farewell yrs. very truly & sincerely

RUFUS KING.

Algiers, concluded on the 5th September, 1795, a treaty of peace with the Dey, by which a payment of about 800,000 dollars was to be made in cash, besides an annual tribute, and goods to the value of $24,000 a year. The treaty was ratified by the United States and the money had to be borrowed by a sale of bonds for $800,000 through the Messrs. Barings in London. The allusions in this letter and in several others refer to this transaction. Before the Dey was satisfied, an agreement was made to give him a frigate and more money.—ED.

Le Cte. de la Prâde having on the 17th September, 1796, written to Mr. King a letter stating his services to the United States, that he had been made a member of the Cincinnati, that he proposed returning to the United States, and asking him certain questions based upon these statements, was answered as follows:

R. KING TO LE CTE. DE LA PRÂDE.

LONDON, Sep. 18, 1796.

SIR:

I have recd. the letter you did me the honor to write to me on the 17th instant, and regret that my answers to your enquiries will be less satisfactory and agreeable to you, than I could wish them. The members of the Society of Cincinnatus do not receive any pensions from the U. S.; indeed no person is allowed a pension except such officers and soldiers as are disabled by wounds received in war. The Military Establishment of the U. S. has always been small & since the peace lately made with the Savages, this establishment has been made less; so that no vacancies exist either in the infantry or cavalry. The U. S. have lands for sale, and at moderate prices; but they do not grant any lands gratuitously; neither do they supply or defray the Expenses of Passages to foreigners inclined to become American Citizens.

With great respect &c

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER VIII.

French Order against neutral Vessels—Mr. Monroe's Statement relative to it—Complaints against British Cruisers—Washington declines a Re-election—Mr. Adet's Reception in Boston—M. de Liancourt's Opinion of French Designs on Neutrals to destroy British Power—R. King's Letter to Messrs. Baring relative to the Funds for Barbary Purposes—To Mr. Bayard relative to the Costs in Cases of Claims decided by the Admiralty Courts—To Mr. Monroe, Report that Genl. Pinckney had been appointed to succeed him in Paris—Letter to Mr. Pitcairn relative to the French Debt—Negotiations with England at a Standstill—American Affairs—Secretary of State on Impressments—Washington's Address—Letter from R. King to him on European Affairs.

R. King to A. Hamilton.*

London Sept. 10th, 1796.

Dear Sir :

I received this morning a letter from Mr. Monroe, dated Paris, August 28th, of which the following is an extract :

"As soon as the order of this government, as notified by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to Barthelemi, the present ambassador at Basle, appeared in the papers, for it was never notified to the foreign Ministers here, I applied for information whether orders were issued for the seizure of neutral vessels, stating equally as the motive of my application a report, apparently well authenticated, that one of our vessels had been lately taken near our own coast ; and was informed, that no such order was issued, and further, that none such could be, in case the British did not seize our vessels. I am happy to give you this information, because I flatter myself the knowledge of this fact may be useful in respect to our commerce with the country in which you reside.

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 150.

I have in a former letter told you that the British government deny that any order has been lately issued, or that any order exists, authorizing the seizure of neutral cargoes bound to the French ports, as was alleged to be the case in the letter from the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to Barthelemi."

The foregoing extract is all I know from Mr. Monroe respecting the resolution of the French government, communicated by their Minister of Foreign Affairs to their ambassador at Basle, you will have seen the letter to Barthelemi, which is undoubtedly authentic; and you have now what Mr. Monroe reports as the result of his application on the subject; I make no comments nor inferences. You have the materials, and can make your own interpretations.

Very sincerely yours

RUFUS KING.

This same extract was communicated to the Secretary of State, and is referred to in his letter of Oct. 26, 1796, to Mr. King.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Sep. 22, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

In this letter relative to complaints of injuries and insults from the British Naval officers, and a fresh one, of which he encloses affidavits and protests, Mr. P. says "It must be painful to you to receive such repeated complaints of this kind, and unpleasant to lay them before the British ministers; but their number and frequency may serve to rouse them to some exertion to prevent a continuance of such outrages, while a few solitary instances might be passed over in silence . . . You will make such use of information of the kind here presented as you shall think most likely to produce a remedy for the evil. . . ."

JOHN LAWRANCE TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Sept. 24, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR:

We have heard of your arrival, and having had a closet audience. . . . Nothing material has happened, relative to your

Friends here, since your departure, or on political matters ; except the address of the President, who declines another election. His address contains very good advice, and, if followed, will make our Country a great and happy one. Indeed we enjoy peculiar felicity at present, and every day adds to our prosperity. It is said Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney will be voted for on one side ; on the other Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Burr are mentioned. You can determine as well as myself, who, it is probable, will be the successful persons. We are all well. Mrs. Lawrance joins me in best wishes for Mrs. King's health, and all with you.

Yours very truly,

JOHN LAWRANCE.

GEORGE CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, Sept. 24, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR :

The public papers announced to us the day before yesterday your safe arrival in England and your presentation at Court. . . .

A Mr. Maund of Virginia who is here and seems to be well informed is very confident that Patrick Henry will come into the Senate in Mason's place at the next election. He also strengthens our hope that a strong party is formed in that State in favor of government, & which in future will be active. You will see by the newspapers that Mr. Adet was yesterday entertained at Concert Hall ; altho' he associates with Jacobins only, yet the friends of order were the promoters of this measure. As I go to town scarcely once in a month, I was not apprized of the intention of our friends until it was in execution ; but I was extremely mortified to see this sort of testimonial in favor of french politics given by the best citizens, when it is known that the undue influence of that nation among the people already endangers the union and government of the U. S. I wish Mr. Adet to receive all the individual attentions which hospitality can require, but I consider Ox Feasts as acts of supererrogation and as tending to confirm in the minds of the people erroneous opinions, which are extremely mischievous.

A few days ago Mr. Liancourt assured me that as soon as the french had subdued the Emperor and given peace to Germany,

they intended to cut up the roots of the british power (their commerce and manufactures). He says they are resolved "that all ships of whatever nation wheresoever from, or whithersoever bound, having on board any of the products or manufactures of the british dominions, shall be captured, and such product or manufacture (at least, if not the vessel) confiscated." I told him such an outrage on the rights of nations wou'd render the french universally detested & wou'd confirm to all the world, what many already believe, that they are animated by the most vindictive and daring spirit that ambition had ever engender'd. He acknowledged his fears that the measure wou'd be deemed extraordinary & that it wou'd be unjustifiable if there were any better way of destroying the English. This inveterate hatred of the English, increased by the pride of conquest is now the strongest passion frenchmen feel, and if their successes continue must occasion serious inquietudes among the English. Is it therefore possible that this nation shall disdain to engage in its defence every auxiliary in its power? I have always thought that the true policy of England wou'd be to invite every neutral nation to a participation of its commerce *during the war*, by which means her trade wou'd be uninterrupted, & she wou'd be enabled to man a navy sufficient to annihilate the marine of *all her enemies*. This expedient too long neglected might even now be resorted to with advantage. It is intimated by English emigrants in this country, that Mr. Pitt will find it difficult to procure money sufficient to maintain the contest: Is it so?

Your sincere & affectte. friend

G. CABOT.

R. KING TO MESSRS. I. & F. BARING & CO.

LONDON, Oct. 6, 1796.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received with much satisfaction the information you have been so obliging as to give me respecting your agency in the application of the funds placed in your hands for Barbary purposes. And though this business exclusively belongs to Col. Humphries, yet as a Servant of the U. S. I think it due to the occasion to express to you my approbation of the liberal and

skillful manner in which you have assisted Col. Humphries in a very critical operation. I have written to the Secretary of the Treasury on this subject and shall communicate to him the assurances that I have given to you of my conviction that the U. S. will entertain a proper sense of your Services in this Business and moreover make speedy dispositions to re-imburse any advances you shall make on this account.

Should it finally appear requisite to advance a greater sum than we have heretofore thought probable, I flatter myself that you will be able to make such arrangements as will obviate any disappointment, which at this stage of the Business might hazard all that has been already done.

Although a sale of the stock, in the present depression of the market, would be somewhat unpleasant in reference to the credit of the U. S., yet that must be done, rather than risque the refusal of any of the drafts which Donaldson may have negotiated in the course of his agency. I hope however that his drafts will not be found to exceed the Estimate that we have heretofore made of their amount.

With perfect regard &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO S. BAYARD, Esq.

LONDON, Oct. 6, 1796.

SIR :

I perceive by Mr. Slade's letter to you and by the papers you left with me some time since, that he has furnished you with the amount of several Bills of costs, in cases stated to have been finally decided in the Admiralty, and likewise that most of the many causes that you have confided to his care, are or soon may be at a stage in their progress, at which he expects a further advance of Eighty Pounds sterling in each. As the payment of a single Bill will constitute a precedent for all future cases, it appears to me proper, before such precedent is made, that the items and regularity of the Bill should be critically examined. I therefore desire that you will receive from Mr. Slade the Bills of costs in such cases under his management as have been terminated, and that you will transmit them to me in order that I may make such enquiries respecting them as may be requisite.

The public money at my Disposal applicable to various objects does not amount to a sum sufficient to satisfy even the expectations of a single Proctor. I have however advanced to you one Thousand pounds Sterling, which you will apportion among our Proctors according to the number of cases in their respective hands, having regard to the stage in which they are. These payments should be made on account and without being applied to any particular cases or classes of cases. This will be productive of no inconvenience to the Proctors and will give time to consider and decide the manner in which the Business must ultimately be conducted.

No precise understanding exists on the subject of the Expenses which attend the prosecution of the claims of our citizens in the Courts of Admiralty. In most instances the public have, & will probably continue to advance the money that may be requisite. Though under all circumstances such advances may be reasonable, it appears to me just, that ultimately these advances should be re-imbursed by the claimants. Where the costs are paid by the Captors, the claimants have no title to them, except to repay the public advances. Where the costs are charged upon the claimants, it must be on the principle of their delinquency ; and for that reason they ought to be paid by them and not by the public. In these cases, however, we have no means in our power to recover such costs ; except in the instances of a restoration of the Property claimed and a condemnation of the claimants in costs. In such cases, as well as in all cases where the property is restored and the captors condemned in costs, it will be in your power to retain sufficient to reimburse the public advances. This I think it will be proper that you should do.

With much esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. MONROE.

LONDON, Oct. 7, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I was extremely sorry to receive the information contained in your last letter, that there was reason to believe that the French Government has, contrary to the stipulations of our Treaty, issued

orders to their cruizers & Corsairs to seize Enemy goods on board American vessels. These orders are the more extraordinary since they are excused by no circumstance of necessity and as they violate the Doctrine that free Bottoms make free Goods, at a period when France proclaims herself the friend of liberal commerce and the advocate of the Freedom of the seas. The injury that the enemies of France may experience by the execution of these Orders will be small indeed : but the Damage and mischief to her Friends, and especially to the U. S. will be great and serious. These orders furnish to private cupidity a Pretence for the interruption and spoliation of our Trade, which France, as our Friend, cannot desire to see, and which must prove extensively mischievous to our Navigation and Commerce. I hope my dear Sir, that those representations that I am persuaded you have made, to demonstrate the impolicy and injury of this measure, will induce the Revocation of the Orders, if they have in fact been issued.

I mention to you a report which is in circulation here among some of our countrymen, because you may possibly hear of it, and think it singular that I had given you no information on the subject. It is for this reason only that I am induced to communicate to you a Rumour that General Pinckney of S. Carolina has been appointed to succeed you at Paris. I have letters from Mr. Pickering as late as the 15th Aug., and likewise from several friends in different parts of America, and in no one letter have I the slightest intimation of General Pinckney's appointment or of a change being meditated in our Legation to France. Mr. Pinckney my predecessor, who is still here or rather on the sea side waiting for his ship, knows nothing of his Brother's having been appointed and has heard only the London rumour to which I have alluded above.

With Sentiments of Esteem & respect, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING to J. PITCAIRN, PARIS.

LONDON Oct. 9, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . You have been erroneously informed, when you were told that a portion of the debt we owed to France has been paid

in *assignats*. I am at a loss to conjecture to what circumstance such an opinion owes its origin. The instalments and interest were regularly paid, and *in solid coin;* and we made advances both to Mr. Genet and Mr. Fauchet by way of anticipation of future instalments, when the demands of France were pressing, and often with much inconvenience to ourselves. In the year 1794 Congress passed a Law to domesticate, if I may so say, the foreign debt, or so much of it as the foreign Proprietors should be willing to change from a foreign to a domestic debt, the annuities in which, and the final reimbursement whereof, should be payable at the Treasury of the United States.

Under this Law in June or July 1795, Mr. Swan came forward with full powers from the French Government to subscribe the whole of the remaining instalments of the debt due to them—amounting to something over 2. Mills. of Dollars—and a new stock bearing an interest of 5½ per cent. for as much as bore an interest of 5 pr. cent. and 4½, for as much as bore an interest of 4 p. c. was offered to Mr. Swan, who I presume has sold the same for cash to satisfy such engagements as he had entered into for the French Government. This was a measure of choice on the part of France. The instalments would together with the interest have been regularly paid as they fell due. France preferred to change this shape of the debt, for one bearing a half per cent. higher interest, and possessing a transferable quality—we were willing to make this change with respect to the French debt, as well as the whole foreign debt, because instead of foreign commissions and expensive remittances, which would be requisite to discharge the annuities and reimburse the capital of the foreign debt, we pay both at our Treasury after it is changed to a domestic debt. It is possible that the discharge of what remained of the French debt in 1795, by issuing to the agent Mr. Swan 5½ and 4½ per cent. certificates of stock, may be what you heard called a payment in assignats—but this is unfair and unfounded—We were bound to pay by instalments; we did regularly pay as fast as pay day arrived. This was not as fast as France wanted the money. We then offered to change the nature of the contract; to make the foreign a domestic debt and to add ½ per cent. to the annuities and make the capital transferable. France had the option to stand to the old contract, or to change it for the new—

she preferred the latter—we have gained nothing by it. If she has sold this stock at a loss, we have not gained the difference. In short nothing can be more uncandid than to represent this measure adopted for the benefit of France without the least advantage to us, as a profitable or unkind proceeding on our part. I send you a printed statement on this subject presented to the House of Reps. in January last, by which you will see that our debt is paid off.

I shall be happy to hear from you often, and if you think it prudent to give me a little news and politicks, I shall be glad to receive them. Make my compliments and congratulations to Talleyrand.

Farewell Yrs &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

BAKER STREET, 10th Oct., 1796.*

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and incloses for his Lordship's information a letter that he has received from Mr. John Haven, a citizen of the U. S. of America, stating the capture of the American ship Strafford laden with a valuable Cargo, the property of the said John Haven & regularly cleared at his Majesty's custom house and bound from London to Lisbon.

Mr. King takes the liberty to request Lord Grenville's interference, in order that this case may speedily be examined, and if the statement of Mr. Haven is well founded, that the said ship & cargo may with the least possible delay, be restored and permitted to proceed on her voyage.

R. KING TO MR. STRICKLAND.

LONDON, Oct. 14, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I owe you, my dear Sir, a thousand apologies for not having before answered your very obliging letter, the receipt of

* As a specimen of the complaints, which were now frequently received by Mr. King, and of the manner in which he treated them, the above is introduced.

which within a few days after my arrival, afforded me so much pleasure. I have the more regrets on this subject, as without employing terms of civility, I can with truth say that no foreigner who has visited America, has left more favorable impressions, and that to no one with whom I have had so short an acquaintance should I have been so unwilling to have appeared wanting in those tokens of respect and esteem, which I feel to be due from me to you.

When you visit London, I shall hope for the pleasure of seeing you, and of making you acquainted with Mrs. King, who with our young family are with me. In the course of the next year, I flatter myself, that I shall be able to see different parts of your charming country, and I assure you it will give me peculiar pleasure to meet you where you reside.

With perfect and sincere esteem your faithful & ob. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

JOHN LAWRANCE TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Oct. 15, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . It gave us pleasure to hear you were all safe. . . We hope that now and then some information we can rely on will reach us. What is to be the result of all, I have done conjecturing. The late events have so far exceeded my expectations, that I am lost in astonishment.

We are somewhat alarmed at the report of the design of the French interfering with the vessels of neutral Powers, coming to and going from the ports of their enemies. This may embarrass our trade exceedingly, and, I suppose, if carried into execution, produce serious losses; however we have escaped serious dangers heretofore, and I am not without hope we shall get through without much inconvenience. We must mind our own concerns and take care of ourselves; could we do these things we should not be tangible. . . .

Hamilton, Henderson & myself made an excursion to Long Island for 5 days, the beginning of this month. We got a few grouse, and the ride restored Hamilton's digestion. He was not

well. I remembered, when at Nicolls Mill, the execution you did with the aid of your spectacles. Hamilton is gone to attend the term at Albany. . . .

Yours sincerely,

JOHN LAWRANCE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Oct. 16, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I wish it was in my power now to give you a more satisfactory account of what will be the decision of this Government respecting our trade with their West Indies and relative to an equitable agreement for the security of our seamen. I have before communicated to you that soon after my arrival here, I asked a conference with Lord Grenville, in which I explained to him what would be satisfactory to us on these points. He engaged to confer with his colleagues and to give me an answer; but here the business has stopped, his Lordship not having yet furnished me with his promised answer. I know that this Government are almost exclusively employed in the very interesting affairs in which they and the principal powers of Europe are engaged. These may divert their attention from objects which we consider as very important to us, and I have no doubt that the delay that I shall experience is in some measure to be ascribed to this cause; but I am not certain that other considerations may not have their influence in postponing for the present any definitive step on these subjects.

If they should decline forming such an article relative to the West Indies as we would accept, they may prefer, as I think they would, not to design such decision at this juncture. A like policy may operate in respect to our Seamen: though I cannot allow myself to believe that ultimately they will decline entering into a reasonable convention on this subject. But as they believe that their national safety depends essentially upon their marine, they feel unusual caution relative to a stipulation that by mere possibility can deprive their navy of a single seaman, who is a real British subject, or that may even diminish the chance of obtaining the services of those who are not British subjects, but who

by various pretences are detained in service as such. Hence it is to be apprehended that they desire to postpone a convention with us on this subject till the return of peace. In the mean time their officers may show more caution in impressing our Seamen, and more justice in discharging them when claimed.

I have no reason to doubt the sincere desire of this Government to cultivate our esteem. I believe that the administration, together with the nation throughout, desire to live with us in Friendship, and I do not think they would for a slight cause disagree with us. But their colony trade and marine are topics intimately and exclusively connected with their prosperity and security and more deeply with their prejudices. If we cannot agree respecting their West Indies, we may still remain friends. The case of our Seamen is more important as well as more difficult. At present we are injured in this point. A rule of discrimination between our and their Seamen is practicable. We are ready and desirous to establish such Rule. If they decline it they increase the injury. We cannot respect the justice of a nation and at the same time believe that it will refuse to enter into a convention, that without injury to itself is necessary to prevent it to another.

I have thought prudent, as well as politic, to pursue the most conciliatory course. I shall continue to follow it and will not cease to endeavour to effect a reasonable and satisfactory arrangement, as well in respect to the West India article as well as relative to the security of our Seamen.

With great respect & esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO N. LOW, NEW YORK.

LONDON, Oct. 17, 1796.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Our Commissioners here are beginning—hitherto they have decided no important questions, though I understand they are now discussing some points of much consequence. There does not appear any reason to doubt that the results of this commission will be satisfactory.

The French Govt. have issued a new order, as I am informed, authorizing the seizure of enemy property on board neutral ships;

their treaties to the contrary notwithstanding. This is a singular proceeding at the time when they proclaim themselves the advocates of a liberal commerce and of the freedom of the seas. Lord Malmesbury has gone to Paris—whether peace will be established is thought very problematical. Some say a Spanish war is nearer and more likely than a French peace.

Farewell yrs.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. MONROE.

LONDON, Oct. 19, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

Since I wrote to you a few days past by Mr. Livingston, the rumour that General Pinckney had been named to succeed you at Paris has been confirmed ; and the letters from Philadelphia that I now transmit to you by Mr. Robert Lyle, will I presume announce this information from the Department of State. I hope there has been no misunderstanding on this subject. Mr. Pinckney, my predecessor, did not embark till within two days, and just as he was going on board ship, he received the information that his Brother was named as your successor & that they would probably pass each other on the Ocean. . . .

With great esteem yr ob & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Oct. 21, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Dr. Edwards left us a few days ago. He arrived here after an uncommon short passage ; from him I recd. much interesting Information ; among other things that you pleased and was pleased.

I am happy to find that the Board of Comrs. has been compleated, and that it consists of men, whose characters promise Justice and Satisfaction to both sides. This intelligence causes agreeable sensations in this Country, and is in many Respects interesting. It is to be wished that the Comrs. may harmonize as to principles, and the application of them.

Things remain here much in the state in which you left them. The President's Resignation has been followed by publications calculated to influence the ensuing Election. They manage in some places with very little Respect to Decorum. It is said that Mr. Jefferson has consented to serve if elected. But this Fact does not as yet appear to be unequivocally ascertained.

The handsome manner in which the Posts were delivered—the appointment of Benson to the St. Croix Commission and of Trumbull to the other are pleasing circumstances. The Return of the Governors of Canada, who were generally supposed not to have been friendly to us in regard to the Indians, is a judicious measure—especially if their successors should be prudent and conciliatory.

Very Sincerely yours

JOHN JAY.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Oct. 26, 1796.

. . . I think it is mentioned in your Instructions, that the British naval officers often impress Swedes, Danes and other foreigners from the vessels of the U. States; they have even sometimes impressed Frenchmen. If there should be time to make out a copy of a Protest lately received, it shall be inclosed, describing the impress of a Dane and a Portuguese. This surely is an abuse easy to correct. They cannot pretend an inability to distinguish these foreigners from their own subjects; and they may with as much reason rob American vessels of the property or merchandize of Swedes, Danes and Portuguese, as seize and detain in their service subjects of those nations, found on board American vessels. The President is extremely anxious to have this business of Impresses placed on a reasonable footing. . . .

Your information of the advice from Mr. Monroe in his Letter of August 28, was very gratefully received.* The note published purporting to be from Mr. De La Croix to M. Barthelemi was doubtless authentic; but it only declared the *intentions* of the

* See R. K.'s Letter to Hamilton, Sept. 10, 1796.

Directory, and no order, it is to be presumed, had been issued for capturing neutral vessels bound to or from English ports ; and as the threatened order for this purpose was made to depend on a previous similar order of the British Government, I trust our Commerce will not be subjected to new vexations. In the West Indies indeed the French Privateers are capturing and condemning our vessels ; but I believe this to proceed only from the wants of their Colonies, and the injustice of their officers in other instances, who under the pretence of public wants plunder for themselves. . . .

Your observations relative to costs in prosecuting appeals by the Agent of the U. States, Mr. Bayard, merit much attention— Mr. Pickering then proceeds to state the case as it strikes his mind, and closes " where there shall be a final condemnation of the property captured, we have a right to conclude that the sufferers were not entitled to the aid of Government, and yet these are the cases in which, as you remark, the recovery of an indemnity to the public would be extremely difficult, no previous security or stipulation being given by the claimants. Where restitution shall be decreed, the amount of the expenses may be deducted as you propose, and the balance paid over to the claimants. It will certainly be proper to adopt your advice in this case until by the proper authority the question shall be determined." . . .

R. KING TO J. Q. ADAMS.

LONDON, Nov. 10, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

We still have cause to complain of the capture of our vessels by the marine of this country. At the same time it is no more than candour to confess that some of the captures have been but too well justified. Allured by the Hope of high freights some of our people (I hope and believe the instances are few) have lent their names to cover Enemy Goods. One or two such cases having been detected, have cast a suspicion upon all our vessels employed in a similar trade. . . . Though we have reason to be disatisfied that so many of our vessels are captured, still I

think the injury and injustice we experience in the impressment of our Seamen is a more serious cause of discontent. I wish I could inform you that I have a reasonable expectation that any equitable Regulation is likely to be agreed in by this Government on this point. I will not say that I despair of their doing us justice, but being sincerely desirous to see a friendly and harmonious intercourse between the two countries, I regret that I do not discover that disposition on this very important subject without which it cannot exist.

Our latest accounts from home are to the last of September. The President has published an address to the People, in which he declines another Election. The Topics he has discussed are very interesting to our Happiness and I think the performance will add to his Reputation. The country is in great tranquillity and unless the passions of the People should be roused by any unexpected occurrence, I feel little doubt that the choice of a successor will fall where it is eminently merited, where you & I must wish it. I understand that Mr. Adams & Mr. Pinckney (my predecessor) will be voted for by the Federalists, and Mr. Jefferson and I don't know whom by their opponents. Mr. Monroe is recalled & is to be succeeded by General Pinckney, the elder brother of the gentleman you knew here. He is a very amiable and truly respectable character. I allow myself to hope that no public inconvenience will attend this change.

With sincere Esteem & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENL. WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 12, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 26th of August, and Dr. Nichols, whose advice I have asked, has been so obliging as to give me information respecting the manner in which the order of the Court of Chancery should be published. In a day or two I will procure its insertion in the proper News Paper. Some little attention will be requisite to avoid, as far as

practicable, the great Expense which commonly attends this kind of publication. The Newspapers containing the notification shall be transmitted to you agreeable to your directions.

It is extremely difficult to form a satisfactory opinion respecting the probability of peace. I meet with few persons who appear to have much confidence in the success of Lord Malmesbury. The declaration of war by Spain at a moment when England appeared to be making serious efforts to conclude a general peace, strengthens the belief of many that France prefers still to continue the war. All the internal movements of this Government, that are visible, indicate a Determination to prosecute the war with vigour. The funding of the floating debt earlier than usual and at the commencement of the negotiations with France, when its influence upon the Stocks is such as a measure so direct for the restoration of peace is calculated to produce, the augmentation of the militia by the addition of 60,000 men, and the means employed to recruit the regular army, if peace is near, would seem to be improvident and unwise. But if the war continues, 12 millions will have been funded on advantageous terms, the Government will have removed an important obstacle to the further use of their credit, and, by an increase of the internal strength of the nation, placed at their disposal, the regular Forces to be employed abroad.

France will bend all her energies against that Commerce in which England finds such immense Resources to prosecute the war, not by attacking her navy, not by attempting the threatened invasion, but by compelling the neighbouring nations to exclude the commerce of England from the great and profitable markets of Europe. England in turn will endeavour to balance the account, by conquering or emancipating the colonies of Spain and France, thereby opening new and extensive markets in another quarter of the Globe. Should the war unfortunately still grow, the meditated expedition against Canada by the Mississippi may possibly be undertaken. I think it much less probable since the evacuation of our frontier posts by the British forces. Though I cannot seriously believe that such an expedition will be attempted, still it may be the part of prudence to consider it as possible, in order to guard against its mischiefs.

Spain enumerates among the injuries received from Great Britain, the Treaty concluded with us. And France was satisfied neither with that Treaty, nor with the subsequent one, that was concluded at a fortunate moment between us and Spain. Both may have been dissatisfied from motives connected with the Project of an Expedition through the Mississippi.

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER IX.

Correspondence with the Secretary of State—Sailing of the British Commissioners Under the Sixth Article of the Treaty with Great Britain—Mr. Adet's Publication Relative to the French Decree on the Commerce of Neutrals—Mr. Pickering's Answer—R. Troup on the coming Election of President—Baron Jacobi about General Steuben's Property and Mr. King's Answer—Mr. Bingham sends Stuart's Painting of Washington to Lord Landsdown—R. King's letter to Lord Grenville about Mr. John Maxwell, an impressed American Citizen—Protest against Captain Pigot's Conduct—Letter to Hamilton on Condition of England.

R. King to Secretary of State.

London, Nov. 12, 1796.

Dear Sir :

. . . The ordinary conferences at Lord Grenville's office have been interrupted for some days past on account of the death of his sister ; in consequence of this interruption I have not been able since the receipt of your letter of the 31st of August to fulfil in the manner I prefer your instructions respecting Mr. Liston's conciliatory and friendly interference to assist Col. Talbot's agency for the relief of our seamen in the West Indies. I have no reason to believe that this interference will be disapproved : on the contrary I am persuaded that it is a pleasing circumstance to this Government that Mr. Liston's conduct has been satisfactory to us. Mr. Liston had transmitted an account of the base and humiliating treatment of Captain Jessup by Capt. Pigot before I received your letter of the 10th of September and the Lords of the Admiralty have ordered, as I am informed, a rigorous enquiry to be made into the conduct of that officer. This case is so extraordinary that I hope proper means will be em-

ployed to authenticate it in the most solemn manner. If this is done and the evidence transmitted to me I think this Government cannot avoid punishing Capt. Pigot in a manner that will deter others from imitating his infamous conduct.

Mr. McDonald and Mr. Rich will sail in a day or two for Philadelphia. These gentlemen are the Commissioners on the part of this country in the Debt Questions. The former is a Barrister of some eminence, the latter is a merchant who has resided for more than twenty years in Holland and was the British Consul there at the commencement of the war between this and that country. They are both esteemed to be liberal & upright men, wholly unconnected with the business of the Commission and well disposed to cultivate a good understanding and friendly intercourse between the two countries. I have no doubt that they will be received in a manner that will be proper and of course satisfactory.

With perfect respect, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Nov. 14, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . A very unpleasant transaction has lately taken place between the French Minister Mr. Adet and our Government. On the 28th ulto. I received his Letter of the 27th, which he published in the Aurora of the 31st, together with the Decree of the Executive Directory relative to the commerce of the Neutral Nations. His representations were of a nature to render it extremely desirable that the conduct of the American Government should be as publicly vindicated. The public sentiment appeared to demand it. Yet it was with great reluctance that my answer to Mr. Adet was sent to the press. The printed copies of these letters you will find inclosed. In his note of the 3d, of which also a copy is inclosed, he promises information in answer to the questions I had proposed relative to our Commerce ; but his reply has not yet been received. It is remarkable that in this short note, he says that the Decree of the Directory, which he notified

to me, bears no likeness to the supposed order which was the subject of Mr. Monroe's Letter of the 28th of August to you; when the *result* of both is precisely the same, to wit, that the *French* cruizers would act towards the vessels of other Nations in the same manner as these suffer the *English* to act towards them. The declaratory words in the note to Mr. Barthelemi, to which you and Mr. Monroe referred, as printed in the Paris newspapers (for the matter was not officially communicated to Mr. Monroe) were these "Le directoire executif charge, en consequence, tous les agens politiques de la republique française d'annoncer aux gouvernemens près desquels ils sont envoyés, que les escadres et les corsaires de la republique agiront contre les navires de chaque pays de la même maniere que ces gouvernemens souffriront qu'en agissent envers eux les anglais." The words of the decree, sent to me by Mr. Adet, are as follows:

"Il sera notifié sans delai à toutes les puissances neutres ou alliés que le pavillon de la republique française en usera envers les batimens neutres soit pour la confiscation, soit pour la visite, ou prehension de la même maniére qu'elles souffront que les Anglais en usent a leur égard."

As Mr. Adet's letter was published on Monday, and the election of Electors of President and Vice President was to take place the Friday following in Pennsylvania, and the choice of President was so near at hand, conjectures appeared in the newspapers of one motive for its publication.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Department of State, Nov. 26, 1796.

Mr. Pickering writing about the difficulty of communicating directly with Mr. Pinckney at Paris, says "It will be in your power to communicate earlier advices of what is passing in France than we can expect from Mr. Pinckney. I must entreat you to advert to this circumstance, and that to a recital of facts you would add such reflections as a nearer view of them shall suggest."

R. Troup to R. King.

New York, 16th Nov., 1796.

My Dear Sir :

. . . Our good friend the district Judge (John Lawrance) has been appointed to take your seat in the Senate. There was but one dissenting voice in both branches of our Legislature to this appointment. . . .

We are all anxiety about the coming election of President and Vice President. In this State our electors were appointed a few days ago. We have none but good and true men, who will vote unanimously for Adams and Pinckney. . . . I am inclined to think, and such is the inclination of our friends here, that Mr. Adams will not succeed ; but we have Mr. Pinckney completely in our power if our Eastern friends do not refuse him some of their votes, under an idea that if they vote for him unanimously they may injure Mr. Adams. Upon this subject, we are writing to all our Eastern friends and endeavoring to make them accord with us in voting unanimously both for Mr. Adams and Mr. Pinckney. It would appear from the proceedings of Jefferson's party in Pennsylvania, that Burr was to be their Vice President. But we all suppose he will meet with little support. . . . In our election for Representatives, we are and I fear we shall continue to be divided. It is most probable that Watson will be agreed on to be supported ; but if he succeeds, it will be owing to vigorous exertions. His very name is an emetic to many of our best friends.

The President's resignation has not even been carped at in a single instance that I have heard of ; all his friends consider it a second new testament.

Our friend the Governor is well but rather out of temper with the abrupt adjournment of our Legislature to meet in January next, and at Albany. We shall never, in all probability, see them again in this city ; and we suppose it will not be long before the seat of government is removed to that quarter. The northern and western interests are much too powerful for us. . . .

Your friend

R. Troup.

Baron Jacobi to Mr. King.

London, Gloucester Place, 10th Nov., 1796.

Baron Jacobi begs leave of Mr. King to apply to him in the following business. General Von Steuben, a Prussian subject being lately in the service of the United States of America, died there near New York, as it is presumed these twelve months ago.

His sister, Julianna Von Steuben, and his brother Siegfried Von Steuben are desirous to know what has become of the inheritance of the said General.

B. Jacobi would be much obliged to Mr. King if he would have the goodness to interfere in order to procure some authentic accounts about that business. He would be very thankful also if in the mean time he could get any information about the steps to be taken for procuring the inheritance of General Von Steuben to his above mentioned heirs.

Great Cumberland Place, Nov. 19, 1796.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Baron Jacobi, and has the honor to inform him in answer to his note respecting the late Baron de Steuben, with whom Mr. King had the pleasure to be well acquainted, that he served with great reputation in the American army, and by the introduction of a more perfect discipline than had before existed, rendered important and acknowledged service to the United States. At the conclusion of the American war, in addition to other compensations for these services, the Baron was allowed by Congress a yearly pension of two thousand and five hundred dollars to continue during his life—and the State of New York, where the Baron resided, gave him a valuable tract of Land, containing several thousand acres. The Baron was a man of expence and Mr. King has reason to believe, that he owed debts to a considerable amount, when he left for Europe. Some of these debts were afterwards paid by the Baron; others of them remained unpaid at his death.

The Baron's moveables, or personal estate, were at the time of his death of small value. His Lands, part of which he sold during his life, were his only property worth inquiry. As the Baron died

without issue, his next of kin capable to inherit, would have succeeded to his Lands had he died intestate. But he made a will, in which, after bequeathing his Books, Furniture and other personal estate of small value to a young Gentleman of the name of Milliken (who lived in his house and whom he had assisted in his collegiate education) he devised the whole of his Lands and other property to Col. Walker and Major North, two American citizens, who had been Aids-de-Camp to the Baron and whom he considered and treated as his particular friends. This will has been established according to the requisitions and forms of our Laws, and the next of kin to the Baron de Steuben are thereby excluded from inheriting any part of his estate. Mr. King gives this information from recollecting what was publickly understood respecting the Baron de Steuben's affairs—he has no doubt that it is essentially correct. If however, the Baron Jacobi should desire more exact and formal information, Mr. King with much pleasure, will procure from New York an authenticated copy of the Baron's will, together with an attested inventory of his estate.

Wm. Bingham to R. King, London.

Philada., Nov. 29, 1796.

Dear Sir:

I have sent by the present opportunity a full length Portrait of the President. It is executed by Stewart (who is well known in London) with a great deal of enthusiasm, and in his best manner, & does great credit to the American Artist. It is intended as a Present on the part of Mrs. Bingham to Lord Landsdown. As a warm Friend of the United States and a great admirer of the President, it cannot have a better Destination.

The Frame that accompanies it is manufactured in Philada. with much Taste & Elegance. It has been suggested that some difficulties may exist relative to its admission: in which case I must request your Interference to obviate them.

Our Elections of Electors have been so far closed as to determine with considerable accuracy the result. The Friends of Mr. Adams may calculate on a majority in his favor, but so small that, on so momentous an occasion, it would be risking too much to

trust entirely thereto. It is therefore deemed expedient to recommend to the federal Electors to give an uniform vote for Mr. Pinckney, which with those that he will obtain to the Southward, detached from Mr. Adams, will give him a decided Majority over the other Candidates.

We are unfortunate in the Election in this State: we carried only two of our Ticket. The most unwearied Exertions, accompanied by some Bribery, and not a little chicane, have been practised on this occasion by the anti-federal Party. They were very essentially aided in their Views by some of Mr. Adet's strokes of diplomatic Finesse. In the House of Representatives the federalists have triumphed at the last Election. We shall rather have an accession than diminution of strength in the Senate. Burr will not be re-elected and Butler resigns in disgust. . . .

With sincerity & esteem,

WM. BINGHAM.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 30, 1796.

MY LORD:

I have the honor to return the letter addressed to John Maxwell from his wife which your Lordship some time since transmitted to me as containing evidence of improper conduct on the part of the American Consul at Bristol. I sent this letter to Mr. Vanderhorst, the Consul referred to, with a request that he would furnish such Explanations relative to this case as should be in his power. From the communication that I have received from Mr. Vanderhorst, extracts from which I take the liberty to inclose for your Lordship's information, I flatter myself that it will appear that the unfavorable inferences that have been drawn from this letter, respecting the conduct of Mr. Vanderhorst are not well founded.

In your Lordship's letter of the 21st of September in answer to my application for the discharge of Mr. Maxwell, an American citizen impressed and detained on board his Majesty's ship Sandwich, the reason assigned against his discharge is "that he is married and settled at Bristol"; and I understand that the orders of the Commissioners of the Admiralty for the discharge of Amer-

ican Seamen usually contain a Proviso that the discharge is not to operate in favor of any person who has entered on board any of his Majesty's ships, or who is married or settled within any of his Majesty's dominions. Without admitting or contesting on this occasion the Rule of English Law, that a subject cannot divest himself of his natural Allegiance, I take the liberty to request your Lordship's attention to the diversity of practice so much to the disadvantage of American citizens that prevails in the application of this Rule.

If Great Britain requires the acquiescence of foreign nations in this Law, so far as regards the requisition of her subjects married or settled abroad, or voluntarily engaged in foreign service, is she not bound in like manner to observe it herself in respect to the subjects of foreign Powers under similar circumstances in her service or within her Dominions? If to the demand of a Foreigner in her service by the nation to which he belongs, Great Britain answers that such Foreigner cannot be delivered because he voluntarily engaged to serve his Majesty or is married or settled within his Majesty's Dominions; is she not bound by her own Principles to admit the validity of the same answer from such foreign nation, when she requires the surrender of British Subjects found in a similar predicament in the service or within the Territory of such foreign Nation? Justice, which is always impartial, furnishes the proper answer to these questions.

Admitting that the voluntary contract of an American citizen to serve on board a British Ship, or the marriage or settlement of such citizen within his Majesty's Dominions, is the foundation of a right in his Majesty's Government to refuse the requisition of the United States of America, that such citizen should be discharged from his Majesty's service, do we not thereby establish a Principle that at once condemns and puts an end to the practice of his Majesty's Naval officers in entering American Ships in search of and for the purpose of impressing British seamen, since all seamen found on board such ships are there of choice and by voluntary compact to serve in the American Employ.

But if neither of these circumstances can be considered as justly giving a Right to his Majesty's Government to refuse the discharge of American citizens, does it not result that the usual

Proviso connected with the orders for the discharge of such citizens, and which is assigned as a reason against the discharge of John Maxwell, is without any just foundation and consequently operates to the disadvantage and injury of the American citizens?

With the highest consideration & esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 30, 1796.

MY LORD:

In obedience to the instructions of the President of the United States of America, I transmit to your Lordship an account of the violent and humiliating treatment received by William Jessup, a citizen of the said United States and master of the American ship Mercury, from H. Pigot commander of his Majesty's Frigate Success. The circumstances of this outrage are so extraordinary, that, persuaded as I am of the Justice of his Majesty's Government, I cannot a moment doubt that conformable to the just requisition of the President of the United States, efficacious measures will be taken to inquire into the same, and upon the verification thereof, that the said H. Pigot will be punished as an atrocious violator of the Treaty between the two Nations.

With high consideration & esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

London, December 9, 1796. R. King on this date reports to the Secretary of State the following answers from Lord Grenville, December 8, 1796:

DOWNING STREET, Dec. 8, 1796.

SIR:

I have the honor of acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 30th ulto., and of transmitting to you the copy of a letter upon the subject of it, which I have received from the Lords of the Admiralty, and from which you will perceive that previously to any complaint having been made by yourself or the Govern-

ment of the United States to Mr. Liston, directions had been given for instituting an immediate inquiry into the Conduct imputed to Captain Pigot.

I have the honor to be, with great truth, &c.,

GRENVILLE.

ADMIRALTY OFFICE, 7th Dec., 1796.

MY LORD:

Your Lordship having transmitted to us in your letter of the 3d inst. an extract of one which you had received from Mr. Liston, his Majesty's Minister to the United States of America, together with a Copy of the Petition referred to therein from William Jesup, Master of the American vessel the Mercury, on the subject of the outrageous and cruel conduct, stated to have been exercised towards him by Capt. Pigot of his M. S. Success on the occasion set forth; and signified to us at the same time his Majesty's pleasure that we should cause a particular inquiry to be immediately made respecting the conduct imputed to Capt. Pigot and the circumstances of the transaction in question; we have the honor, in answer thereto to acquaint your Lordship for his Majesty's information, that we have sent transcripts of the Extract and Petition above mentioned to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, Commander in chief of his Majesty's Ships and vessels at St. Domingo, with instructions to make immediate and strict Enquiry into the said transaction accordingly, and to report to us the Result without delay; having however previous to the receipt of your letter, sent similar instructions to him, in consequence of a statement which had appeared in an American Newspaper dated the 25th of July last.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

ARDEN
CHARLES SMALL PYBUS
PH. STEPHENS.

Mr. King finishes his letter thus:

"If the charge of Captain Jesup shall on examination be supported, of which there can scarcely be a doubt, I think that Captn. Pigot will be punished with severity."

R. King to A. Hamilton.*

London, Nov. 30th, 1796.

My Dear Sir :

The Archduke having expelled Jourdan and Moreau from Germany, the parties are in respect to territory in that quarter, where they were when the campaign began. Bonaparte, by the latest accounts from Italy, is critically circumstanced, and it seems not improbable, that he likewise will be compelled to retire from Lombardy. The mission of Lord Malmesbury remains undecided, and though the negotiation is not promising, it does not appear as desperate as it did a fortnight ago. Paper has entirely ceased as a medium in France ; what their ability is to prosecute another campaign, you, as well as I can, may conjecture. New projects are to be brought forward in this country, and if for no other reason than that they are novelties, they will be hazardous, where the force of habit is stronger than that of reason. The minister's plan is not definitively settled ; but enough is known to authorize a belief that it cannot be approved by the moneyed men. The 3 percents are at about 56 per ct. The minister is unwilling to augment the debt, already enormous, by borrowing on such terms. He intends proposing a loan, which is to be advanced by *patriotic* capitalists, upon terms more advantageous to the government. What patriotism may do, I cannot say ; but unless there exists a real conviction in the minds of wealthy men, that their wealth is in danger, I should suspect that this virtue, pure and dignified as it is, will in this country prove an unproductive source when millions are required. It is time to make peace ; for all sides are weary with the war. We most sincerely desire it, since peace alone will afford us the tranquillity we wish, and ought to enjoy.

I do not think it prudent to write my opinions, so far as I have formed them, concerning certain subjects interesting to our rights, and respecting which you will naturally wish for information from this quarter. The casualties to which letters are liable require a caution that between friends is unpleasant, and sometimes inconvenient. You know my opinion respecting this country. We have often endeavored to explain appearances that

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 183.

we disliked, and preserve our respect for a nation who have done much to improve the condition and happiness of mankind. I still hope that I have not been deceived, and that experience will prove that the opinions of those from whom we differed were, as we believed them, partial and erroneous.

We are anxious to hear the result of the Presidential election—much, very much will depend upon that event. Farewell.

Yours very sincerely, &c.,

R. KING.

CHAPTER X.

Correspondence with Lord Grenville relative to the Conduct of the Consuls of the U. S. in granting Certificates to Seamen—Also as to the Detention of American Seamen on British Ships of War—Case of the Olive Branch—Letters from Mr. Goodhue and Mr. Hamilton respecting the coming Presidential Election in the U. S. and Mr. Adet's Communications—R. King's letters to Mr. Pinckney in Paris on French Affairs—Vindication of the U. S. in the Conduct towards France.

R. King to Secretary of State.

London, Dec. 10, 1796.

Dear Sir:

My letter of the 8th of September has given you information of what passed between Lord Grenville & me respecting the authority of our Consuls to grant Protections to Seamen. On the 3rd day of Nov. I received the following letter from his Lordship.

"Downing Street, 3d Nov., 1796.

"Sir:

"The Consuls of the United States residing in his Majesty's Dominions have for some time past been in the habit of granting to sea-faring Persons certificates under their consular seal purporting that the Bearers of them are citizens of the United States, and as such liable to be called upon for the service of their own country and that they are therefore not to be interrupted or molested by any means whatever. I have reason to believe that these certificates have frequently been granted upon very slight and insufficient evidence and in a great number of cases to Persons who were in fact British seamen.

"But independently of this abuse, I am under the necessity of representing to you on the part of his Majesty's Government the insuperable objections which apply to the Principle of a jurisdiction in this respect assumed and exercised within his Majesty's dominions by the Consuls of a foreign nation. And I must remark to you that the impropriety of a proceeding so much out of the ordinary line of consular functions, and so liable to be abused for the worst purposes, is very much aggravated by the unwarrantable assumption of a Power in the Consuls to administer oaths to his Majesty's subjects and others resident within these realms concerning the matter of the said certificates.

"I had the honor of writing to Mr. Pinckney on this subject on the 13th of July last, requesting that he would inform me whether the Consuls of the United States are in any manner authorized or instructed by their own Government to grant such certificates, and, in such case, whether any and what Rule of evidence or discretion is prescribed to them for their guidance is a duty of so difficult and delicate a nature.

"I apprehend that Mr. Pinckney's departure prevented his answering my letters; but as I am persuaded that no such authority can in fact have been given, the frequent instances of this practice which have lately come within my knowledge, oblige me now to request that you will have the goodness to notify the consuls that they are in future to abstain from a proceeding which far exceeds the limits of their office, which is neither sanctioned by the law and usage of nations, nor by any treaty between the two countries, and the continuance of which must be considered an act on their part injurious to the authority of the King's Government. The earnest desire which I feel to avoid even the appearance of a misunderstanding between the two Governments, leads me to prefer this mode of notification rather than to take any manner of signifying it to them more directly.

"And I avail myself with pleasure of this opportunity to assure you of the high consideration & esteem, &c., &c.

"I have the honor to be,

"GRENVILLE."

I thought it proper to communicate this letter to our Consuls, which I did by copies accompanied by the following letter:

MR. KNOX, AMERICAN CONSUL, HULL—CIRCULAR TO THE CONSULS.

"LONDON, Nov. 18, 1796.

"SIR:

"Inclosed I send you a copy of a letter from Lord Grenville to me respecting the Consular Jurisdiction. Hitherto I have not had leisure to consider the subject in the manner I wish to do, previous to the return of an answer. It has however appeared to me adviseable to transmit to you a copy of the letter, in order that you should be informed of the Decision of this Government on the points to which it refers. I am at present inclined to believe that the administration of oaths by our Consuls in these or any other cases to British subjects is neither necessary nor proper. The other Point is more doubtful, as well as more important, as it regards the security of our navigation and seamen. As we have no convention with this Nation, defining the Consular Powers, they must be ascertained by the Law of Nations. General usage is evidence of this Law, and some of its Rules are to be found only in the existence of such usage. I have not discovered anything explicit on the Question in any work of Reputation, and I shall be obliged to you to inquire and, as early as convenient, to inform me what is the Practice on this subject of the consuls of other Powers resident in this nation. If you can procure and send me copies of similar certificates issued by the Consuls of other nations, if such certificates are granted by any of them, I desire you to do so.

"Though I would not be understood as giving a settled opinion on this Point, I ought not to omit observing to you, that neither our Laws respecting Consuls nor the late Law for the Relief and Protection of American Seamen give to our Consuls any authority to grant Certificates of Citizenship; and I have seen no Instruction from the Executive that authorizes it. If the Power exists, it must be derived from the Law of Nations. This Government denies that it can be deduced from that source, and notifies to us that we must abstain from the Exercise of the Power, since the same is deemed to be repugnant to the Jurisdiction, and a continuance thereof will be considered as injurious to the Authority of the King's Government.

"With great respect, &c.,

"RUFUS KING."

I do not consider myself authorized to instruct our Consuls in this or in any other instance: in cases in which they ask my advice, I readily give it according to my views of their Privileges, and of the public welfare. So far as I have been informed, the Consuls do not think it prudent since this communication from Lord Grenville to grant any more protections, and in consequence thereof, I am frequently applied to by Seamen on the subject.

I did not approve of that part of the late Law for the Relief and Protection of Seamen which authorizes the Collectors to grant Protections. It appeared to me to be a measure of questionable policy, and I apprehend it has placed our Seamen in a worse instead of a better situation than that in which they were before.

One great evil of the regulation is that every Seaman who is without a Certificate, and every one who has a Certificate from any other Officer than a Collector, is considered as not having been able to procure a certificate from the Collector and is treated here as a British Subject. The Law ought to be repealed, or what under present circumstances would be better, it might be amended by requiring every Seaman, who is a citizen, to prove the same in a safe and satisfactory manner and to procure a Certificate thereof from the Collector. Another amendment should be added to prohibit every other person except the Collectors from granting Certificates to Seamen.

At present it is optional with a Seaman to procure or not to procure a Certificate of citizenship, or to procure it from the Collector or any other Officer. Hence these Certificates are granted on a variety of forms on different degrees of proof and by almost every grade of magistrates, and the consequence thereof has been that they are all in some sort disregarded.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Great Cumberland Place, Dec. 12, 1796.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and takes the liberty to inclose a list of Thirty three Seamen, who state themselves to be American citizens detained on board his Majesty's Ships of War; most of these cases are without the

usual Proofs : the laws of the United States permit, but do not oblige any citizen to procure and carry with him abroad a Certificate of Citizenship. Several of the persons named in the list state that they did procure such Certificates before they left America, but that the same have been taken from them, and are detained or destroyed. All of them are strenuous in declaring themselves to be American Citizens, and in expressing their Confidence, that on an impartial examination they shall be able to produce such Circumstances and Proofs, as will afford reasonable satisfaction that they really are so.

Mr. King is apprized that inconveniences may be apprehended from the reference of these and similar cases to a civil magistrate, or to any other & more regular Tribunal, than that which at present decides them. But on the other hand his confidence in Lord Grenville's candor, induces him to believe that his Lordship will agree with him in the opinion, that the commander of a ship of war (however honorable and esteemed, whose zeal for the public service, whose personal emulation, and whose Reputation and honor must inspire him with a strong and natural anxiety that his ship should continue ably and fully manned) cannot be the impartial Judge that these cases require.

Mr. King on this occasion finds it to be his Duty, to request Lord Grenville's interference in order that these cases may receive an impartial examination ; and though not accompanied by the usual proofs, if by Circumstances and other satisfactory Evidence, it shall appear that the same are truly represented, that the said Seamen may be discharged.

R. King to Secretary of State.

London, Dec. 15, 1796.

Dear Sir :

I think it prudent to transmit to you copies of a Letter and of the papers that accompanied it, which I yesterday received from General Ira Allen of Vermont. Agreeable to his wishes and to the accustomed course in Cases of Capture, I shall send copies to Lord Grenville with a request of his interference in order that this case should be examined, and if the statements of General

Allen should be found true, that the ship and Cargo should be restored and permitted to proceed on her voyage.

Various rumours respecting the Destination of these arms have prevailed here ; among them it has been said that they were intended to be introduced through Vermont into Canada in order to favor certain Projects that France meditates respecting that Country. It is not my business to add conjectures or speculations upon this subject. You will be able to judge of the number of the militia of Vermont, of their probable deficiency of arms ; whether it has been the practice in Vermont to arm the militia at the public charge, whether the Legislature had authorized Governor Chittenden or General Allen to make a Purchase of such a quantity of muskets & Cannon and, by examining the contracts, of which I enclose copies, you will be better able to form a correct opinion of the nature of this Transaction than I am able to do.*

Yr. obt. & faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

B. GOODHUE TO R. KING, LONDON.

PHILADA., Dec. 15, 1796.

DEAR SIR :

. . . You must, I presume, have seen Adet's Notes to our Secretary calculated to degrade the character and measures of the Executive, and to influence in the choice of another : in the latter view it had doubtless an effect to establish the Anti-Ticket of Electors in this State by a small majority, but I don't hear of any such effect anywhere else ; neither do I believe it will be possible for him or his Master, either by gasconading threats or fulsome flattery to strengthen their party or influence.

I enclose you the returns of the Electors so far as have been received ; a few days will put us out of doubt ; indeed from the

* This case is the capture of the American ship *Olive Branch* of Boston, Capt. Bryant, sailing from Ostend to New York with arms for the State of Vermont, as alleged, and captured by his Majesty's ship of war *Audacious*, Capt. Gould, on the 19th Nov., 1796, and carried into Portsmouth. It is further alluded to in Mr. Pickering's letter to Mr. King of April 6th and June 16th, 1797.—ED.

votes already in, and by the information we have, it almost is a certainty that Mr. Jefferson cannot be President: tho', probably by throwing away votes in some of the Eastern States for Pinckney to ensure Adams, he may be the V. President. His own party pretty much give up any expectation of his being President. Mr. Tichenor succeeds Gov. Robinson, Mr. Howard Mr. Potts, and Mr. Butler has resigned; from these changes with our expectation of having a good man instead of Mr. Burr after the Third of March, I think we need not fear any machinations that can affect the Senate, and poor Langdon will be the only man East of the Potomac in the Senate to save us from going to the Devil, as his phrase is. Dearborn & Lyman will be left out, and Gov. Jay & Col. Hamilton inform me they expect a better representation from your State, tho' they fear James Watson is not popular enough to oust Livingston. Those who could have done it, could not be prevailed upon to stand Candidates. There is a better representation in this State, Delaware, Maryland, So. Carolina, and a better one expected from Virginia, so that we calculate upon having a decided majority of good men in our House of Representatives. . . .

It may be expected the threatenings of Adet may occasion much spouting and foaming in the House, touching the subjects of his complaints, but never fear; we shall be steady and our Country will support us against these Disorganizers. I expect the French will practise on their Scheme of Spoliation; but if they should, I hear of no person who supposes we would get anything by going to war with them. . . .

Your sincere friend,

B. GOODHUE.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

NEW YORK, Dec. 16, 1796.

I have received, my dear Sir, your several letters of the 25th August 10th & 11th of Sept. You know my sentiments towards you too well to ascribe my Delay in answering them to any other than the imperiousness of avocations with which I could not dispense.

Public opinion, taking the Country at large, has continued since you left us to travel on in a right direction, and, I trust, will not easily deviate from it. You will have seen before this reaches you Mr. Adet's communications. We conjecture, as to the timing of them, that they were intended to influence the election of President by the apprehension of war with France. We suppose also they are designed in the same way to give support to the partizans of France, and that they have for eventual object the placing things in such a state as will leave France at liberty to slide easily into a renewal of cordiality or an *actual* or *virtual* war with the U. S. If the war of Europe continues, the efforts of France will be likely to be levelled, as a primary object, against the Commerce and Credit of Great Britain ; and to injure these she may think it adviseable to make war upon our Trade, forgetting perhaps that the consequence may be, to turn it more entirely into the channels of Great Britain. These reflexions will be obvious to you. I only make them to apprize you of the view which is taken of the subject here. Thus far appearances do not indicate that the purpose of influencing this Country has been obtained. I think in the main the effect has been to impress the necessity of adhering more firmly to the Government.

You need not be told that every exertion, not degrading to us, will be made to preserve peace with France. Many of the opposite party, however they may be pleased with appearances of ill humour in France, will not wish it to go to the length of war ; and we shall endeavour to avoid it in pursuance of our general plan of preserving peace with all the world. Yet you may depend, that we shall not submit to be dictated to, or to be forced into a departure from our plan of neutrality unless to repel an attack upon us.

Our anxiety has been extreme on the subject of the Election for President. If we may trust our information, which there is every reason to trust, it is now decided that neither *Jefferson* nor *Burr* can be President. It must be either *Adams* or *Pinckney*, the *first most probably*. By the throwing away votes in New England, lest *Pinckney* should outrun *Adams*, it is not unlikely that Jefferson will be *Vice* President. The event will not a little mortify *Burr*. Virginia has given him only one Vote.

It was to be expected, of course, that the Senators' answer to

the President's speech would be flattering to him. But the result in the House of Representatives has been better than was expected. An address which I have not yet seen, but stated by our friends to be a very good one, passed the house with only twelve dissentients, confessedly of the most fiery spirits. The address is not only *generally* complimentary to the President, but includes, it is said, an *explicit approbation of his administration*, which caused the division. Edward Livingston is in the minority.

After giving you these consolatory accounts, I am now to dash the cup a little, by telling you that *Livingston* is in all probability re-elected in this City. The principal cause has been an *unacceptable* candidate on our part, *James Watson*. There were four Gentlemen who would certainly have succeeded, but neither of them would accept. In *Watson* we could not unite opinions ; he was more *disagreeable* than I had supposed to a large body of our friends ; and yet after the declining of the four persons alluded to, we could not do otherwise than support him : for he had gotten a strong hold on most of the leading mechanics who act with us.

But in the State at large, we shall better our representation, and I hope for a majority in the next house of Representatives. As an omen of this, there are *several* new *members* in Congress from different States, who hitherto vote with our friends.

The favourable change in the conduct of Great Britain towards us strengthens the hand of the friends of order and peace. It is more to be desired that a Treatment in all respects unexceptionable from that quarter should obviate all pretext to inflame the public mind. We are labouring hard to establish in this country principles more *national* and free from *foreign ingredients ;* so that we may be neither "Greeks nor Trojans," but truly American. Adieu.

Affectly. yrs,
A. Hamilton.

R. King to Col. Humphries.

London, Dec. 29, 1796.

. . . Adet had announced to our Government, a decree of the Directory authorizing the capture of neutral vessels in like

manner and for the same causes as England captured them. Col. Pickering made a very proper reply to Mr. Adet's Note. I have not heard whether Mr. Pinckney has been recd. at Paris. I am inclined to believe that he has been, or soon will be received. The object of the apparent displeasure of the Directory no longer requires this stately behaviour, and I therefore conclude that the Directory in France and Mr. Adet in America will return to their former and more reasonable course of proceeding towards us. Nothing is more certain than that we sincerely desire to live in harmony and friendship with France; and of this Disposition we have given the most plain and solid proofs. We equally desire and are firmly resolved to be the independent Judges of our own interest and concerns. We think ourselves able to manage our own affairs, and observing Justice towards every other Nation, we are willing to be left to govern our own. If it is essential to the continuation of a friendship with France, that we should submit our Politicks and the Management of our affairs *to their Guidance* I think we shall not hesitate, or be embarrassed, in discovering our Duty. . . .

Farewell, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY.

LONDON, Jany. 2, 1797.

. . . I had thought much of your situation before Mr. Hall's arrival and I am convinced that the course you have pursued, has been the most proper that could have been adopted. It will require moderation, patience and firmness to finish the work you have so well begun. . . .

I am, Dear Sir, truly yours,

RUFUS KING.

The above letter was written in answer to a communication addressed to the Secretary of State by Mr. Pinckney, giving to him an account of the conduct of the Directory of France, in not receiving him as Minister, succeeding Mr. Monroe, and of his own course; he asked Mr. King to transmit the

same, first making a copy of it. It is an interesting statement of the circumstances connected with this refusal to receive him.

In the following letter to Mr. Pinckney, Mr. King expresses most clearly the views he held in reference to the charges so often made against him and those who acted with him, of an extreme fondness for England in the opinions they held, controlling their actions in the public affairs of the country. They could not indeed conceal their fear of the dangers to be encountered in surrendering the conduct of our government into the power of those who were carried away by a most unreasoning admiration for French methods and the French ideas then so prevalent, which had been so disastrous to other nations. Nor could they fail to see that with all her acts of unkindness and insolent assumption towards us, England was indeed the bulwark against French aggrandizement, and the nation from which we might receive in the end the fairest treatment, and which would contribute most to the growth of our commercial interests, though at the time looking most persistently and even unjustly after her own. Commercially England and the United States have always been rivals, and at this time, the younger country was only beginning to win the respect of other nations and thus to lay the foundations on which she might command and maintain it.

R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY, PARIS.

LONDON, Jany. 14, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I have received no intelligence of the public opinion respecting Mr. Adet's Notes. The News Papers suggest that they have been published in order to influence the choice of a President ; and not it is said without having in some measure answered the purpose with the Quakers of Pennsylvania. How humiliating is this Reflection ! On carefully attending to, and examining, these complaints of Mr. Adet, it is plain that no just cause of offence has been given by us to the French Government. Our

real sin, however it may be desired to conceal it, has been that neither our interest, nor inclination, led us to make common cause with France in the war against England. Most of the complaints preferred by Mr. Adet have again and again been discussed and refuted. Those which grow out of the Treaty with this Country, are built on gross misrepresentations and are quite unfounded. The pretended Vexations of French Privateers and prizes and the countenance by our Government of British Equipments in our ports are equally uncandid and destitute of support. Every man who has resided in America must recollect the great trouble we have had by repeated attempts to equip French Privateers in our Ports, and to engage our People to embark in their enterprizes so repugnant to our Interest and our Laws; and there is not a Frenchman who has visited our seaports who, if he will declare the truth, would not say that it has been impossible for the British openly to make an equipment of a single vessel in any of our Harbours. The most satisfactory answer might in my opinion be given to these notes, and such only I hope will be given; an answer which shall expose and correct the misstatements with which Mr. Adet's Notes abound; which shall demonstrate that we have been just to France and impartial to all Nations; that we are resolved to govern our own, and that we continue to be earnestly desirous to cultivate in every way compatible with self-respect, and the interest and honor of our Country, the esteem, the good-will and the friendship of France, in whose welfare and prosperity we have at all times taken not only a sincere but an affectionate concern. No step, in my belief, would have been more impolitic, none will in the end be more injurious to a beneficial connection between America and France, than that lately adopted, unless it is succeeded by one which Justice and sound Policy alike demand. I detest the idea that either France or England should really have any influence in the Government of America. I will not believe that such is our degraded condition. From causes too plain to be mistaken and too considerable not to have some influence there have existed a strong regard and sincere friendship among the people of America for those of France; but these have their limits and can be overcome. Much as France has been beloved, our own character, our honor, our national Independence not only of

France, but of all the rest of the world, are infinitely more dear to us than the interest we have taken in whatever concerned France. This will be proved beyond a doubt if France persists. But I will not tire you with observations which you must feel and know to be true. I still hope that you will witness more moderation, and experience a Treatment less extraordinary and more friendly than you have hitherto received. . . .

Truly yrs.,

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XI.

Despatches to the Secretary of State relative to the Arrest in the Proceedings of Commissioners under the 7th Article—R. Troup on the Presidential Election and American Affairs—Treaty of Commerce with Turkey—Delays in Admiralty Courts in England—Law of the United States for the Protection of Seamen—R. King to Col. Hamilton ; Estimate of Washington in England, and of the Fairness of the British Government in Meeting Questions under the 7th Article—Good Feeling in England towards America Shown in a Letter of R. King to Washington—Maryland Bank Stock—Question of Retrocession of Louisiana to France—Letters giving the Result of the Presidential Election—Suspension of Specie Payments by the Bank of England—Condition of that Country—American Merchants ask for British Convoys on Account of French Captures.

R. King to Secretary of State.

London, Jany. 14, 1797.

Dear Sir:

We sometime since were uneasy on account of certain embarrassments which for a time arrested the proceedings of the Commissioners and threatened to defeat the purposes of their appointment. These difficulties I have reason to think are overcome, a pretty full explanation of the extent of the Provision of the Seventh Article has taken place between me and this Government, and I now flatter myself that the Commissioners will not in future experience any serious obstructions to the fair and full execution of their Trust. I reserve a more detailed report on this subject to a future opportunity.* Very few American Vessels have for some time past been taken by the British Cruizers in these seas. Three or four American ships bound with rich cargoes from Surinam to Amsterdam have been sent in and are in the course

* See Appendix III.

of an admiralty trial. *Some discoveries unfavorable to the American claims have in one or two of these cases been made and operate against others in the same Trade.**

I have for some time been endeavouring to obtain from Mr. Bayard an abstract, classing in a manner I have indicated to him the whole of the American claims. I hope soon to obtain it, when I shall be able to judge what measures remain to be adopted in order that we may not be charged with Delay, negligence or wilful omission. I am not however without my fears that this business has been conducted in a manner that we may have cause to regret. The mutual Reliance of the Claimants and of the Government on each other may have prevented either from obtaining such Documents and Proofs as may be found requisite to substantiate our Claims. What our true situation is in this respect, I cannot discover because *I have not been able to obtain such a view of the agency of Mr. B. and of the cases in his care* as is necessary for this purpose. I hope *we shall not* ultimately *find that greater talents were* requisite *in this agency than* those that have been employed in it; and it will be a real relief *if I shall find* the business in such a situation *that past omissions can still be remedied.* . . . I have intended at an earlier period to mention to you the expediency of *precise instructions* respecting *the Receit, deposit and Payment to* the Proprietors of such *Sums of money as may be paid upon* the *claims under* the care *of Mr. Bayard.* I have suggested to you my opinion on the subject of costs advanced by the Governments; and I have lately learned that *Mr. Bayard* expects and perhaps will *claim a commission upon all sums paid by him to those* to whom it belongs. Having a strong and I think just aversion to the blending of *public* and *private Duties* and the *mingling of pub. with priv. emoluments*, I disapprove of this course of proceeding. In my opinion the *pay of* the *Government* ought to be considered as the *only compensation of its agents*, and all monies received by such *agents* on account of any of our citizens, ought to be paid to them without any deduction except of the advances for costs made on their account by the Government. The national character and the interests of individuals will in this manner be best secured.

* Sentences in italics are in cipher here and elsewhere.

The money when received should be deposited with some safe banker, notice should be given to the Proprietors of the amount of their respective Portions, on whose Drafts, or to whose Agents duly authorized the same would be paid without delay or deduction. It will be easy to form a proper rule on this subject, its promulgation in America will put the Claimants on their guard against improper demands, and moreover will enable them to make seasonable arrangements for the Reception of their Money.

As this Business is in some degree connected with the Duties of my office, I think it due to myself as well as to the public interest, to intimate my Ideas on the subject. Knowing that, in pecuniary concerns in which the public as well as individuals are interested, nothing short of the utmost circumspection can shield a man from suspicions that often fasten themselves upon him. . . .

With perfect Respect,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENL. PINCKNEY.

LONDON, Jany. 20, 1797.

. . . I send you a few of the latest American Papers that I have received. They contain the President's Speech to Congress, and the address of the two Houses in answer. They have afforded me much satisfaction, as I consider them as strong Testimonials of what all my letters concur in stating to be the case, that the public opinion, taking the country at large, is sound and right; the addresses of the two Houses are not only highly complimentary to the President, but they contain an explicit approbation of his administration. Principles more and more national appear in every quarter of the Union, strong marks of displeasure on the subject of foreign influence and foreign interferences in our affairs are likewise seen in the different News Papers; so that I think it will be soon perceived that we are neither *Greeks* nor *Trojans*, but truly Americans. . . .

Farewell, yrs. very Sincerely,

RUFUS KING.

R. Troup to R. King.

New York, 28 Jan., 1797.

My Dear Sir:

. . . Our election for President and Vice President has terminated. It is admitted on all hands that Adams is to be our President and Jefferson our Vice President. . . . The Eastern States were afraid of voting generally for Pinckney lest they should make him outstrip Adams; and this policy has lost us one of our Candidates. Burr was left very much in the background; even in Virginia where his greatest strength was supposed to lie he had but one vote. The antifederal party affect at present to be well pleased with the fate of the election, and they are now fraternizing with Adams and his particular friends and endeavoring to raise an opinion that Hamilton and his friends wished to bring Pinckney forward in preference to him. In this State we voted unanimously Adams and Pinckney. This was the case also with New Jersey. As the event of the election was all important and extremely critical, we judged it the soundest policy to take a double chance—the contrary policy put everything at hazard, and we have made a hairbreadth escape. Jefferson, his friends say, will serve.

The public mind is at present much engaged with the letter from our Secretary of State to our Minister at Paris, in answer to Mr. Adet's note of the 15th of November last. . . . I think Mr. Pickering has given a satisfactory refutation to all the charges contained in Mr. Adet's note. . . . Adet and his party have injured their cause by the means they have taken. I have not met a man who does not condemn his note. All the friends of peace, which constitute the great mass of our fellow citizens consider it as one of the most insulting and offensive addresses that ever was made to a government or a people. Adet having suspended himself remains suspended. . . . What is to be the result of the present state of things with France we cannot even conjecture. The general opinion is that we shall rub along without a war. An embargo has lately been talked of in consequence of the serious depredations on our commerce in the West Indies by the French; but I doubt whether the measure will be adopted. . . .

The only subject which during the present sessions (of Congress) has occasioned any warmth in the House of Representatives, is a resolution which lately passed for calling upon the *debtor States* to pay their *balances*. Lawrance writes me that he is not without hopes of a satisfactory result.

The payment of the balance due, or appearing to be due from this State is a subject much debated with us. I confess I feel awkwardly and unpleasantly on the occasion. If we are called upon to pay, our State will give an answer that I presume will go into the merits of the claim. W. Smith of South Carolina has been very active in Congress in urging the claim. Benson says he is the last man in the world to have engaged in the measure. What will be the final issue of this business is very uncertain. It certainly creates embarrassment and excites feelings that are to be regretted. . . .

Burr is now here. He has during the present session paid little, or no, attention to his duties in the Senate. It is whispered that his money engagements are embarrassing to him. . . .

By the by, do you know that I am Lawrance's successor—the fact is undoubtedly so. I have in consequence begun to powder my hair—and in a full suit of black with powdered hair I have appeared on the bench thus far with some advantage. All admire the decorum and gravity with which I conduct myself. Hamilton and Lawrance are the cause of my metamorphose. . . . You have no conception how high the necessaries of life, labour, &c., still continue. Every month brings after it some addition to prices. The pressure for money in every part of the continent is beyond example. This arises from the large sum locked up in France ; the depredations upon our trade by the French which are enormous ; the over speculations as well by merchants, as by land-jobbers, and other causes that will readily occur to you. Failures here are becoming common ; not a man amongst us that is in business but what is extremely driven for money. . . . This state of things is a source of innumerable mischiefs to us, and I pray that we may soon experience a release. . . .

Hamilton has for some time past been laid up with a lame leg, got by watching the City. Have you heard that within two months past frequent attempts have been made to burn the City ? It is the case. The like attempts have been made in Philadel-

phia. Who are concerned in them, or what in particular has led to them we cannot discover. The consequence, however, has been a serious alarm, which produced a nightly watch consisting of about 20 in each ward. From this duty no person is considered as exempt if health will permit his service. A few nights ago Col. Hamilton and Col. Troup had the honor of being reduced to the ranks, serving under Capt. Low, ci-devant Governor Low. I do not believe the watching in this way will continue much longer; the fear has lessened. . .

Very sincerely and affectionately,

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Jany. 24, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

In one or two conversations with the Turkish Ambassador at this court relating to a *Treaty of Commerce*, I should infer, *if reliance can be placed on his opinion*, that there would *not be much difficulty in our concluding a valuable Treaty with that Power*. On this subject I take the liberty to inclose a letter sent to me by Mr. Bird which has been addressed to him by Mr. Abot, who was born & has for many years resided at Constantinople. . . .

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jany. 24, 1797.

MY LORD:

From considerations perfectly respectful to his Majesty's government, it is with reluctance that I find myself obliged to represent to your Lordship the numerous complaints of the delays which have been experienced by the American citizens and which continue to prevent decisions in the causes pending in the High Court of Admiralty. These causes are very important both in number and value. Many of them for a very long time have been ready for trial; in all of them the Claimants are exposed to heavy expenses in the prosecution of their claims, and in some instances they are threatened with heavy losses by the detention of their

property, in consequence of which other of their commercial concerns are deranged and placed in a ruinous situation. I am sensible that a prompt administration of Justice by his Majesty's Courts is enjoined by the highest and most venerable Authority. I likewise know that this authority is equally obligatory upon the highest court of Admiralty as upon the other Branches of the judicial Department, in addition to which, the act commonly called the Prize act, conformable to the equitable and just Principles of public Law, prescribes and limits the time within which all Questions of Prize shall be decided by this court. It would ill become me, my Lord, to inquire into the causes of the delays complained of, if on investigation these complaints shall appear to be well founded ; but it is my duty to state to your Lordship that a long catalogue of American Causes, in which these captures took place so long ago, as the period when the Island of Martinique was conquered by his Majesty's Forces, and in which the Claimants for a long time have been prepared for Trial, remain undecided ; and that others, some of which are attended with circumstances of peculiar hardship, are likewise ready for a hearing, but no decision can be had.

Having full reliance upon the Justice of his Majesty's Government, and being likewise impressed with the belief that the subject of these complaints is not without a remedy, I take the liberty to request your Lordship's interference in order that, by such means as shall be deemed proper, future delays may be prevented, and a speedy Trial be had in the said American Causes.

With the greatest satisfaction, I avail myself of this occasion to assure your Lordship of the high consideration with which I have the honor to be your obed. & very humble servant.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jany. 28, 1797.

MY LORD :

I have the honor to send your Lordship the copy of a Law of the United States for the relief and protection of American Seamen, likewise the copy of an Instruction given by the President

to the Collectors of the several Districts, which supplies an omission in this Law and prescribes the Evidence, on which alone Certificates of Citizenship may be granted by such Collectors, and also a copy of the first section of the law of the United States prescribing an uniform Rule of naturalization. I flatter myself that your Lordship will perceive in these Documents the care and caution that the American Government have observed, in order that those only who are justly entitled should obtain Certificates of American Citizenship. It is not my present purpose to enter into an Examination of the precise limits of the Consular Jurisdiction and Functions, which your Lordship conceives do not extend to give a right to the American Consuls to grant Certificates of Citizenship to the Seamen of that Nation, who come, or are brought within his Majesty's Dominions ; I think it however my Duty to observe, that on careful Enquiry I find it to have been the antient practice of the Consuls of Maritime Nations, resident within his Majesty's Dominions, *ex officio*, to grant Certificates of this kind ; and that this practice is still, as I am informed, pursued by the Consuls of Denmark, Sweden & Portugal, and probably by those of other Nations. * I ought also to add that from the best Examination I have been able to give the subject, I cannot but be of the opinion, with becoming deference for the Sentiments of his Majesty's Government, that, under proper Regulations, the Exercise of this Power is both an important, and especially between America & Great Britain, the most material, portion of the Consular Rights. I make this observation, my Lord, not to invite a discussion of the Question, but for the sole purpose of precluding any Inference that might result from its not having been made on this occasion.

The object of this communication is to represent to your Lordship, that in consequence of the relations of Peace and friendship subsisting between America and Great Britain which give, and of the fourteenth Article of the Treaty lately concluded between them which confirms, to the People and Inhabitants of the United

* See Lord Grenville; Letter to R. K., p. 119 of this volume, denying this right and requesting R. K. to notify the Consuls to abstain from granting these Certificates as "neither sanctioned by the law and usage of nations, nor by any treaty between the two Govts."

States, a Right, securely to resort to, and to reside in his Majesty's European Dominions, great numbers of American Citizens, and especially of the class which compose the Seamen engaged in the American Navigation, are from Time to Time arriving within, and in the prosecution of their lawful concerns frequenting, his Majesty's said European Dominions, many of whom have no Certificates of Citizenship, in some instances having omitted to obtain the same within the United States, and in others the Certificates, which had been so obtained, having by the casualties of seafaring Lives been destroyed. These seamen who cannot easily be distinguished by language or manners from those of Great Britain, are while employed on board American Ships, and on Shore, daily seized, and contrary to their will, impressed into his Majesty's Service, to the manifest injury of their personal Rights, and to the material detriment and disadvantage of the American Navigation and Commerce. So long as our Consuls were in the Practice of granting Protections to American Seamen, these injuries and inconveniences were less frequent, and more easily remedied. The Laws of the United States authorize, but do not *compel*, their Seamen to take out Certificates of Citizenship, within the United States ; and the Practice is not uncommon, that they omit to obtain such Certificates ; and place their dependence upon the assistance of the Consuls in case of interruption in any of the Ports of his Majesty's European Dominions.

Some few irregularities, it is possible, may unintentionally have happened in the granting of Protections by the American Consuls, as no precise instructions for the Regulation of their Conduct in this respect, have heretofore been given to them. To avoid similar irregularities in future, and to afford the Protection which is indispensably due to the American Seamen within his Majesty's European Dominions, I have the honor to submit to your Lordship, the following propositions—

1. That the American Consuls shall hereafter grant Certificates of Citizenship, in the Form prescribed in the inclosed Law, to such American Seamen as shall prove themselves entitled to receive the same.

2. In order that no persons, except those who are so entitled, should receive such Certificates, That an instruction similar, to and founded upon that given by the President to the Collectors,

should be given by me to the several American Consuls for the government of their conduct.

3. That instructions should be given by the proper Department of his Majesty's Government, to his Majesty's Naval Officers to respect such Certificates issued by the American Consuls.

Convinced of the Disposition of his Majesty's Government to remove effectually and as fast as possible every cause of Inquietude and Discontent between the two countries and to strengthen the good understanding and friendship which subsist between them, I persuade myself that your Lordship will see no objection sufficiently weighty to prevent the early Adoption of the Propositions, which appear to me, my Lord, to be essential to the security of the commerce and navigation of my Country.

I cannot express to your Lordship in language too strong, my thorough conviction of the importance of this Subject to the Mutual Harmony of the two Countries, which it is my earnest Desire should be uninterrupted and perpetual; nor can I cease to entertain the Expectation that his Majesty's Government will, with as little Delay as possible, meet the overtures of the United States and proceed to those mutual Discussions, which, it is believed, must lead to the permanent settlement of Principles and Rules, by which the Seamen, belonging to the respective Nations, may in all Situations hereafter be known & distinguished.

This done, the Regulations that I have the honor to submit to your Lordship's consideration, will cease to be necessary.

With high consideration, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. HAMILTON.

LONDON, Feb. 6, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I have had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 16th of Decr., and I need not express the satisfaction, which the information that it contained afforded me. The probable termination of the Election of Pr., the general Temper of the Country, and the Effect likely to be produced by Mr. Adet's Notes, are such as I had not only hoped but expected: if by prudence and Firmness,

which have hitherto kept us out of this extraordinary and desolating war, we shall be able to maintain the public peace and national Honor, we shall not only increase our Reputation as a wise people, but we shall moreover establish a Precedent of inestimable worth for future Times of Trouble and Embarrassment. Nothing can exceed the applause that is given here to our Government, and no American who has not been in England can have a just Idea of the admiration expressed among all Parties of General Washington. It is a common observation that he is not only the most illustrious but also the most meritorious character that has hitherto appeared. The King is without doubt a very popular character among the People of this Nation : it would be saying very much to affirm, that next to him, General Washington is the most popular character among them, and yet I verily believe this to be the fact.

I mention these Circumstances, not only because it will give you, as it has afforded me, much pleasure to hear them mentioned, but also because they show a more liberal manner of thinking and speaking respecting us, and a more rational estimate of our affairs than formerly existed. Much credit is due to Mr. Jay on this Score, who we thought would do honor and be of advantage to our country, but who has done much more than I could have imagined, had I not seen the clearest proofs of his success. He had great difficulties to encounter, he overcame many of them, some still exist & when they will be removed I am unable to say. Time and patience are necessary to form a satisfactory opinion how far we shall finally be able to agree. In the main our affairs here are in a good train, the treaty I think will be fairly and fully executed. You remember the opinion given by certain Gentlemen upon the Construction of the 7th Article of the Treaty. We have experienced embarrassments on this subject, and for several weeks the business of the Commissioners was entirely at a stand ; the advocate of this Government having denied their Power to examine any question that had been decided by the H. Court of Appeals. The question was delicate ; the pride, and as it was alleged, the importance of men of Rank and Influence were almost enlisted against our pretensions ; and a little imprudence might have thrown the Business into the worst possible situation : this did not happen ; with moderation, caution and a conciliatory mode of

proceeding these difficulties have been entirely removed, and all is now proceeding in a satisfactory manner. The result of several conferences has been, after the manifestation of much candor and fairness on the part of this Government, a direction to the British Commissioners to unite with ours and to proceed to hear and decide every question that shall be brought before them according to the Provisions of the Treaty, which it was added it was the Duty of the Commrs. to consider and interpret. . . .

By letters received to-day from Paris, I have the unpleasant information that Genl. Pinckney was on the 28th ulto. ordered by the Directory to leave Paris, and that he intended to depart for Holland (where he will wait the orders of our Govt.) on the 31st. I cannot fully account for this step, after the irresolution that for some time has existed; whether it is to be ascribed to information which has been thought sufficient to satisfy the Directory of the Result of the Election for Pr., or whether it is to be attributed to the late astonishing victories of Buonaparte, which have latterly destroyed an army of 40,000 Austrians, I am uncertain; perhaps both have contributed to this extraordinary step.

Yours very sincerely

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENL. WASHINGTON.

LONDON, Feby. 6, 1797.

SIR:

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 22d of December. Count Rumford being in Bavaria, I have requested the minister of that country at this court, to forward your letter to the count with his next dispatch. . . .

Our affairs here relative to the execution of the Treaty are in a good train; some delays and difficulties have existed, but they exist no longer, and the Commissioners are going on in a satisfactory manner. In the Conferences that I have had with this Government upon these and other Topics, I have found them candid and impartial in as great a degree as I had expected. Several important points not settled by the Treaty still remain open; and both time and patience are requisite even now to form a safe opinion how far we shall in the end be able to agree. I think I am not deceived in supposing that a sincere and general

desire exists in this country to live in harmony and friendship with us. This disposition is however fettered and enfeebled by Prejudices and Opinions connected with the national commerce and marine, which make the Government slow and cautious in every step which has a reference to these important concerns.

Some uneasiness has been manifested here for some few weeks past concerning the situation of the British Territories in the E. Indies. It is not very easy to obtain good information upon this Subject, but there is reason to believe that much disaffection exists among the native troops in the Company's Service. The Establishment is understood to be 20,000 Europeans and 60,000 native or Black troops. Whatever the origin of these discontents may have been, and they are supposed to be of several years' standing, they have lately risen to such a pitch that the local Government of India has been compelled first to temporise, and then, as is commonly the consequence, to submit to measures they were unable to prevent. Lord Cornwallis is suddenly to be sent to Bengal, and with such extensive powers as it is hoped will enable him to restore tranquillity. What may be his success my w accurate information forbids me to conjecture. . . .

With perfect Respect, I have the honor, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 10, 1797.

MY LORD :

Long antecedent to the year 1775, the Assembly of the Colony of Maryland invested a large sum of money, *collected from the Inhabitants thereof*, in the capital stock of the Bank of England. The object of this investment was to aid the credit and promote the local welfare of the Inhabitants of the colony. This Stock for the convenience of its management was purchased, and stood, in the names of certain British subjects, resident in England. The Dividends pursuant to the direction of the Colony's Legislature, were, for a series of years, invested in the same stock, and thus the property belonging to the said Colony in the year 1775, had increased to the sum of Twenty-nine Thousand Pounds sterling of the said capital stock of the Bank of England.

The Trustees continuing to reinvest the Dividends, have thereby since augmented the said Property to a still greater sum. In the year 1783, the Legislature of the State of Maryland authorized the appointment of an agent for the purpose of receiving from the said Trustees, or their Survivors, a transfer of the said stock, together with all monies that had arisen from the same, & which had not been reinvested. One of the said Trustees having refused to join in such Transfer & Payment, a Suit or Suits were instituted in his Majesty's high Court of Chancery to compel the same. These Suits, in which his Majesty's attorney-general has been made a party, are still depending, and the State of Maryland is unable to obtain possession of the said property, inasmuch as it is alledged that the Crown has an interest in the same. In this Situation the State of Maryland made application to the President of the United States, who has instructed me to employ such proper means as should be deemed advisable, in order to obtain for the said State the possession and enjoyment of the said Property.

Without entering into a discussion of the Reasons on which the right of his Majesty is supposed to be founded, my full and perfect confidence in his Majesty's equity induces me to rely with Satisfaction that his Majesty, when he shall be informed of the nature and circumstances of this case, will be pleased to relinquish the claim to the said Property, that the Crown has been supposed to have, and that in consequence of the Request, which in obedience to the Instructions of the President of the United States I have the honor to make, his Majesty will moreover authorize and appoint, that the said Property should be assigned transferred and paid to me, by the Accomptant General of his Majesty's high Court of Chancery (in whose possession the same is) to and for the use of the State of Maryland.

From the experience that my short Residence near his Majesty has given me, of your Lordship's disposition to countenance and assist those measures which are truly calculated to increase and confirm the Harmony and good will that happily subsist between the United States & Great Britain, I feel assured on this occasion of your Lordship's good offices and obliging interference, which I take the liberty to solicit.

With high consideration I have the honor &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Department of State, Feby. 15, 1797.

. . . By the news papers you will find Mr. Monroe's information mentioned in your letter of Oct. 10th has been more than verified. The French armed vessels have captured ours not only when they had enemy's property or contraband goods on board, according to the enumeration of such goods in our Treaty with Great Britain but merely because they were going to or from a British port. This has been done in Europe. Two American vessels had been carried into Spain by French Privateers, about the 10th of September last, before even the general Decree of the Directory (of July 2d) had been made known to our Consuls, and the French Consul at Cadiz avowed his authority to condemn them, under the order of the Directory.

But in the West Indies, the proceedings of the public agents and of the Privateers have set all justice at defiance. Lanthonax and the other commissioners at St. Domingo have issued a decree explicitly directing the capture of *American* (not generally *Neutral*) vessels bound to or from a British Port. Great numbers have been taken under this order. . . .

The letters received from Col. Talbot (agent to the British W. Indies) show that his mission has been, and will be useful in liberating some of our seamen and preventing the impressment of others. Admiral Harney at Martinico and Admiral Bligh at Jamaica treated him with the utmost politeness, released the Americans found on board their own ships, and gave orders for the discharge of all found in the ships under their command. But some of the Commanders of Ships behaved very differently and reluctantly complied with the order of the Admirals, or in part evaded them ; at the same time treating Col. Talbot with disrespect. Hence we feel strongly the necessity of some other arrangement for the protection of our Citizens, and which it was hoped you would have been able to accomplish. But the subject presents many difficulties, especially when you look beyond the protection of native citizens ; and your design of using conciliatory means in the negotiation can alone be eligible.

Timothy Pickering.

T. Pickering to R. King.

In Cipher.

Feby. 15, 1797.

Sir :

We have often heard that the French Government contemplated the repossession of Louisiana, and it has been conjectured that in their negotiations with Spain the cession of Louisiana and the Floridas may have been agreed on. You will see all the mischief to be apprehended from such an event ; the Spaniards will certainly be more safe and quiet neighbours ; for her own sake Spain should absolutely refuse to make these cessions.

One of our citizens who resided many years at New Orleans, and who was acquainted with Don Galvez, who had been Viceroy of Mexico, says Don Galvez considered Louisiana, notwithstanding the distance between them, as the door of Mexico, and consequently of the highest importance to Spain to retain in her hands. We do not know what opportunity can occur to you for throwing obstacles in the way of the conclusion of this project of the French Government. We know it has been an object very dear to them ; it was expressly avowed by one of their ministers here to Mr. Randolph. Mr. Adet said "he knew that the cession of Louisiana to France was a preliminary to be insisted on by France as a negotiation with Spain." We are happy to recollect that the public Treaty between them announced only the cession of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, which we hoped was offered and accepted as an equivalent for Louisiana, and that Spain would not yield the latter. The President desires that you will keep this affair in your mind to discover whether the design exists and to counteract it by any proper ——, should your situation put anything in your power.

A. Hamilton to R. King.

Feby. 15, 1797.

My Dr Sir :

. . . You must not think I forget you because I do not write (for this is only my third letter). I am overwhelmed in professional business, and have scarcely a moment for anything else.

You will have learnt the terrible depredations which the French have committed upon our Trade in the West Indies, on the declared principle of intercepting our whole Trade with the ports of her enemies. This conduct is making the impression which might be expected, though not with that electric rapidity which would have attended similar Treatment from another power. The present session of Congress is likely to be very unproductive. That body is in the situation which we foresaw certain *Anti*-executive maxims would bring them to.

Mr. Adams is President, Mr. Jefferson Vice President. Our Jacobins say they are well pleased, and that the *Lion* & the *Lamb* are to lie down together. Mr. Adams' PERSONAL friends talk a little in the same way. Mr. *Jefferson* is not half so ill a man as we have been accustomed to think him. There is to be a united and vigorous administration. Sceptics like me quietly look forward to the event, willing to hope, but not prepared to believe. If Mr. Adams has *Vanity*, 't is plain, a plot has been laid to take hold of it. We trust his real good sense and integrity will be a sufficient shield.

Yrs. affectly.

A. HAMILTON.

R. KING TO RICHARD CODMAN, PARIS.

LONDON, Feby. 20, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I have had the pleasure to receive your favor by Mr. Whittemore and am pleased to hear that no unfavorable change in the situation of our Countrymen in Paris has taken place since the departure of General Pinckney. We have nothing new from home, but every day expect the confirmation of Mr. Adams' election to the Presidency. I regret very much the apparent misunderstanding between our country and France. As we think and act respecting National Rights and Duties different from any of the European Nations—always preferring peace to war, with the same decision as we prefer the friendship to the enmity of France, I am persuaded that we shall display in our conduct upon this occasion a wisdom and moderation which will compose an honorable contrast to the ill advised and erroneous proceedings

of those who are without a title to the character of the real friends of France or America. We shall incontestably prove, notwithstanding the sounding, and often-repeated, Professions of France, that we are in reality more sincere friends to her and her interests than she is or has been to us, and ours. Against her creeds of Republicanism, we shall place the modesty, the justice and the firmness of real Republicans. Hence I conclude that there will be no war between France and America, unless France makes war upon us, which I hope and believe she will be too wise and just to do. . . .

Very sincerely yrs.

RUFUS KING.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO R. KING, LONDON.

CHARLESTON, Feby. 21, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I have to thank you for your favor of the 19th of November enclosing sundry letters to my address. I wish I had any agreeable intelligence to communicate to you from this country, but great commercial distress in our cities, our trade much harassed in the American seas, particularly by the cruizers of the French Republic, & much party spirit prevailing within our country, form the general description of our affairs. This spirit of party was particularly called forth by the late election & I feel extremely happy that I was not called upon to sacrifice my domestic tranquillity and risk the total ruin of my private fortune by being again brought forward into public life.

I hope you are now compleatly settled to your satisfaction in Cumberland Place; the neighbourhood of our amiable friend Mr. Gore and his lady must add greatly to the comforts of your situation. Indeed I think you must feel yourself much supported in the social line by all the public agents of the United States in London. . . .

With sincere regard & esteem

Your faithful & obedt.

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Mar. 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

The unexpected and total defeat of the Austrians in Lombardy, followed by the fall of Mantua, to which the Treasure of the neighbouring country had been removed for safety, produced a serious despondency in the public Opinion of this country. The expedition against Ireland, tho' it failed, increased the public inquietude, by refuting the consoling opinion that England was safe against invasion, so long as she could maintain a decided superiority upon the Ocean. The effects of these events have been strengthened by the continuation of the *practice of alarming the Country in order that the means of prosecuting the war might more easily be obtaincd.** The consequence has been that the Fears and Despondency of the Nation have been such, as to materially impair that confidence so necessary in conducting the affairs of every Nation, and without which the means of administering this Government are annihilated. The alarm first commenced in the country, and the provincial Banks, being pressed for Specie beyond the customary demand, had recourse to the Metropolis, and the Bank of England was put in requisition to supply their wants. The National Stocks in which most of the Provincial Banks had invested a Portion of their Capitals, were in this Emergency brought in large sums into the market, for the purpose of being converted into Specie, and thereby the Funds suffered an alarming Depression. This joined to the Failure of several country Banks increased the public apprehensions and augmented the Demands for Specie upon the Bank of England. The quantity of Specie in the Vaults of the Bank is not publicly known, but without Doubt it has always been much beneath the sum generally supposed to be deposited there. The strongest objection, or at least one of them, against the Bank combination is that Bank Paper, in itself of little or no value, excludes from the country in too great a degree real money or specie, which possesses intrinsic worth. Credit has nowhere been more perfect than in England, and the Substitution of Paper, including the public stocks as well as bank notes, in lieu of Specie, been equally extensive and gen-

* Italics in cipher.

eral in any other Country, and to this cause in a considerable degree must be ascribed the small quantity of actual Coin to be found in England, compared with the sum in circulation in other Commercial Countries.

It is not extraordinary then that the principal Depository of the national Coin, when called on at a period of Despondency and of general alarm, to give it in exchange for that which had before passed as of equal value, because it was esteemed an instant power over an equivalent Sum, should be unable either from its actual deposits, or from the contributions of its Patrons and Friends to perform its Engagements. This was in fact discovered to be the Situation of the Bank of England on Saturday, the 26th of February ; and on the communication thereof to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the King was brought from Windsor on Sunday to attend a Council, which passed an Order requiring the Bank to stop the further issue of Specie ; and accordingly on Monday the 28th, the Bank refused Specie for their notes, and also to their other creditors. Committees were immediately named by the several Houses of Parliament, to examine the affairs of the Bank, which have reported the amount of the Debts which the Bank owe, and likewise of the Debts due to the Bank, together with their other effects (exclusive of their funded capital) applicable to the payment of their Engagements. The result of these Reports confirms the Declaration of the Directors, that there is a difference of more than three millions sterling in favor of the Bank, between the amount of debts they owe and that of the effects applicable to the payment thereof.

Parliament have passed two Bills, one enabling the Bank to issue notes for any sum less than £5. ; the other enabling the Manufacturers, Bankers and others, to issue small notes payable on Demand, which by the existing Laws they were prohibited to do. The object of the first has been to enable the Bank to supply the Absence of Guineas by 20/ and 40/ notes ; and of the second, to allow the Manufacturers who employ great numbers of workmen, whom they pay weekly, to give them their own notes in lieu of Specie. Parliament will probably go on, and pass another Bill sanctioning and continuing for a limited Time the Prohibition upon the Bank to issue Specie ; they will likewise make Bank notes receivable in Payment of Taxes, and also by the public

Creditor in Payment of the Annuities, or Dividends upon the National Debt. Associations have been formed in London, and throughout the Kingdom to receive and circulate Bank Notes; and for a time this may secure to them a general currency. But unless they can be converted into Specie, they will depreciate: indeed they are at this moment at a depreciation, by the Preference that universally exists of Gold and Silver, which have disappeared and are no longer in Circulation.

This Depreciation is proved likewise by the sudden rise of foreign Exchange and also by the Demand for the American Stocks, which have risen since the Bank stopped payment in Specie. Bank Stock from £103 to £117 per share. Six per cents from 80 to 90 per cent; three per cents from 49 to 55 per cent: while the British three per cents have vibrated between 50 and 52 per cent. It is commonly said that this Embarrassment will be but of short Duration, and that the Bank will soon resume its former course of payments; but I do not see the subject in this favorable Light. What influence the event may have *on the Duration of the war, what changes it may effect in the Ministry*, in short what *misfortunes this event will draw down upon this nation, is beyond human foresight to discern.* I see but little *chance against a National Bankruptcy; an event that the progressive accumulation of their public Debt has menaced but which no one seems to have supposed so near at hand.**

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, March 12, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . We are embarrassed to decide how far the french Government will carry their measures of vexation towards our Commerce: Though but few Instances of Captures have occurred in these Seas, yet these joined to the apparent misunderstanding

* Italics in cipher.

between us and France, have imposed a heavy Tax upon our Commerce with this country by the enormous increase of Premiums demanded and given to insure our Ships & Cargoes. . . . The persons principally concerned in the American Business, as well as the underwriters upon the American Ships & Cargoes *have been desirous that our Ships and Cargoes should take a British Convoy ; a committee of merchants have applied to this government on the subject. This was all without consulting me, an opinion being entertained, as I am informed, that it would not be advisable that I should be consulted, since it was supposed that I should not think myself authorized to give the measure my support. From several indirect suggestions I had seen that the Government would order a Convoy if I should ask it. I had therefore well considered the subject before this movement among the merchants occurred. I saw it to be a measure too important to suffer my opinion respecting it to be misunderstood. I went therefore to Lord Grenville's office, and said not only that the project was without my approbation, that moreover I desired to be understood as explicitly objecting to the measure as one too decisive to be adopted except upon the plain and direct application of the American Government. Having since heard little of the scheme, I suppose that it has been laid aside.* I however think that it would *be proper that I should know the President's way of thinking upon this* subject, *should* unfortunately *a state of things* exist *that would make such a* measure *more proper than it would be under present circumstances.*

Mr. Adams will inform you from the Hague of what is passing in that quarter : but least his opportunities of writing should be less frequent than mine, it may be proper to state, that I have reason to believe, tho' the *French Government* assigns *our Treaty with England as the cause of their maritime conduct towards us,* they have recently *demanded of Hamburgh and Bremen to suspend* all *commerce with England. These cities* have not yet *complied,* and the *French Minister has been removed from Hamburgh.* The same *demand has been made at* Copenhagen, *and the refusal has produced a sharp diplomatic controversy ; these powers have made no late Treaties with England.** . . .

With perfect respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

March 8, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

On the 28th ult., the Bank of England stopped payment in specie and since every bank in Great Britain has followed its example.† . . . Many whom I meet profess to believe that the bank will soon be able to resume their former course of payments. But I see so few of the causes (if they exist) which are to effect this restoration, that I am somewhat skeptical, and my want of faith is in some measure excused by circumstances that I think will for the present prevent the return of the golden age. No nation has supported a more perfect credit than England. None has been able to substitute in so great a degree paper in lieu of coin—and in no country, therefore, is the quantity of specie comparatively so small as in England. This fact was not practically believed. The Bank has now proved it to the conviction and dismay of the country. . . .

Farewell yours sincerely.

P. S. Since the capture of Mantua, the Austrians have notified this court of their resolution to prosecute the war—relying on the co-operation of Great Britain. What effect the pecuniary state of England may have upon their disposition to persevere, I will not conjecture. Without moneys the Emperor will not be able to go on. Thus you see a very interesting subject brought within a narrow compass. France will harass and waste our commerce, regardless of justice. She makes our treaty with England the pretence. Had we made no treaty her conduct would have been the same. She has recently required of Hamburg and Bremen to suspend and prohibit all commerce with England—and yet she has not succeeded in her views, though she has recalled her minister from Hamburgh. The demand has likewise been repeated at Copenhagen, and a refusal to comply has produced a diplomatic altercation, as pointed perhaps, as that between Colonel Pickering and Mr. Adet.

Our affairs in the Mediterranean are settled, or nearly so. Col. Humphries informs me that we stand well with Algiers. We have

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 211.

† The details of this suspension are seen in the letter to the Secretary of State, March 5, 1797.

concluded a treaty of peace with Tripoli, and it is probable we shall soon make a similar one with Tunis. The Dey of Algiers having invaded the Tunissean territory—principally, says Col. Humphries, to compel the Bey to conclude a peace with the United States of America, for the accomplishment of which the Dey offers to advance the money from his own treasury, and engages to guarantee this treaty as he has done that with Tripoli. Strange event.

CHAPTER XII.

Sedgwick's Letter on the presidential Election and Inauguration—Cabot on Relations with France—King to Dr. Southgate—Private Affairs—To Hamilton on new French Arrêt—Affair of the Olive Branch—Wm. Smith's Letter on French Depredations—Pinckney's Despatches Relative to Conduct of the French Causes the President to call a special Meeting of Congress—General Statement of American Affairs—Hamilton's View of the Duty of the Country.

Theodore Sedgwick to R. King, London.

Stockbridge, 12th March, 1797.

Dear Sir:

. . . The scenes which have passed here, since you left the country, to every man who is interested in its welfare, have been highly important. The retirement of Genl. Washington from the Presidency, and the subsequent election have produced an ardor far exceeding all former experience. Men of a character the most congenial to your own, and in whom I believe you have the most confidence, thought that in our critical situation the object of most importance was to exclude the *Virginia Philosopher* from the chair, endeavored, as they might, to exclude him by impressing their own sentiments on the electors and inducing them to vote homogeneously from the Delaware eastward for Pinckney & Adams. Had those views, and in them I concurred, prevailed, the former would have been President and the latter continued in his former station. What effects that arrangement would have produced can now only be a subject of conjecture. The attempt however has afforded abundant matter for jacobinical intrigue. The first display of this was a letter from Mr. Jefferson to his friend Madison, which was disclosed, *in confidence*, within one or two days after the event of the election was certainly known. In the letter the writer states that he may be placed in three situa-

tions in relation to this subject. The first, and that which would be most grateful to himself, that he may not be elected to, or a candidate for either of the offices of Prest. or Vice Prest. ; the second, that he may be the competitor of Mr. Adams, & the competition to be decided by the H. of Representatives, in which case he earnestly requests that his own pretensions may be withdrawn in favor of the preferable ones of his rival ; and the third, (which he most dreads) that he may be elected President. Concurring in this system of insidious deception, the faction have been industrious in declaring that *it was evidently the intention of Hamilton & his party* (so when speaking on this subject they denominated the friends of the Government) *that Mr. Pinckney should be elected as President, because him they believed they could govern, and Mr. Adams they knew they could not.* You will perceive that Mr. Jefferson is profering the same objects in his speech to the Senate, when he took his seat as Vice Prest. It is really to be regretted that these Ideas had not occurred to the " Friend of the People " a few weeks sooner ; he might then have spared the good man, whom he so highly reveres, much unmerited abuse, and his friends much painful anxiety.

The late session has been one of the most unpleasant which I have known. Our friends in the House, knowing their adversaries to be a majority, have despaired of effecting any public good, and have, therefore, permitted the Session to pass without one generous effort. The same impression as to the character of the House, has given the same apprehension of indolent inactivity to the Senate.

Two objects of importance present themselves, the one, an improvement of revenue, and the other, giving to the executive the means of checking the depredations on our commerce. An increase of revenue I do not believe to be immediately *necessary* to discharge existing demands. It was however most certainly *desirable* in our critical situation. In this all parties were agreed. but as to the means, there was not a majority for anything except a paltry increase of imposts, which will produce, probably between 2 & 300,000 dols.—a sum less than the diminution by French robbery. To check the insolent oppression of the french the most obvious, and I believe the most effectual measure which could have been adopted, would have been to have authorized the

President to lay an Embargo, either general or special. There was little hope such a measure would have passed the House, but its friends entertained no doubt of its success in the Senate ; but to our astonishment the Bill was lost on the final question by an equivote. Several gentlemen, who did not take the trouble, previously, to explain themselves, afterwards declared that they voted against the Bill, because they thought it would place the President in too delicate a situation, *for he having been charged with improper prejudices for the british and against the french ; it would be said that he had been influenced by partiality to adopt a measure, which in its effects would benefit the former and injure the latter.*

The circumstance of a new administration would of itself in some degree tend to check the virulence of faction. This will be the more encreased by the attempt which is manifestly made to seduce the President, by impressing him with a belief that he has been deserted by his friends. This attempt, I trust, will be ineffectual. At all events, while they are making their efforts, they will suspend all personal attacks.

In the newly elected house of Reps. we flatter ourselves that there is a majority of good men—friends of national liberty, of their country and of its government. It is, however, if at all a majority, a small one. If our expectations are not disappointed, the next session will be a very important and I hope a productive one ; much remains, respecting our internal police, to be done, to give to the government the best chance of success. I have been long convinced that even on the principles of our federal Union, much more might be done than has even yet been attempted. This will possibly induce me once more to sacrifice my quiet and happiness by attending another session of Congress.

There is much distress, in this state, among the adventurers in the Georgia Speculation. A committee of Senate have made an elaborate report, which had not been printed when I left Philadelphia, which is well founded, and, whether it be so or not I am ignorant, will show that Georgia is restricted within much narrower limits than I had supposed.

The inauguration of the President was a scene the most august and sublime I ever beheld. Mr. Adams behaved with

dignity. The company was numerous, respectable, and behaved with that decent gravity which the solemn occasion demanded; but the circumstance the most interesting was the presence of the late President. He came unattended and on foot, with the modest appearance of a private citizen. No sooner was his person seen, than a burst of applause such as I had never before known, and which it would be as impossible for me to describe, as my own sensations produced by it, saluted the venerable Hero and Patriot, while the animation of countenance which accompanied it gave the most pleasing, as well as the most convincing evidence, that all the lies which malice has invented, have been ineffectual to injure the character of this great and good man. . . . I am, dear Sir, most sincerely & affectionately

Your friend,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

R. KING TO R. SOUTHGATE, ESQ.

LONDON, March 17, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I am reluctant in saying anything more respecting Emery's claim,* having so often troubled you with the expressions of my concern upon that subject, but having heard that Emery has been recently baffled in an attempt to procure a legal decision in his case; I feel that I do him an injustice in suffering the circumstance of my absence to deprive him of the exercise of a perfect Right that he has to demand a judicial Examination of his Claim. I have therefore authorized Cyrus [R. K.'s brother and secretary] who is returning home to consent to a suit against me, in case you

* In a letter dated Jany. 14, 1794, S. Emery had written to R. K.:

"I have endeavoured to settle the matter respecting the farm at Scarborough which you sold my father with Dr. Southgate till I am quite tired out; he will not settle upon any principle which I think just . . . therefore I am obliged to write to you or take what he pleases to give. . . ."

Enclosing this letter to Dr. Southgate, R. King writes, Jany. 27, 1794:

". . . I had hoped that by some arrangement convenient to all branches of the family, the Heirs of Mr. Emery had been satisfied. It will remain with you to do what is proper on this Subject. I have written to Mr. Emery in my answer to his letter that the claim will not be denied and that you will do all that justice which I sincerely desire should be afforded. . . ."

and Emery continue to be unable to agree in an amicable Settlement. I have a great Repugnance to legal controversy, and should therefore be gratified in being exempt in this instance from disputing with a man who I think has just grounds of complaint against me. The Difference between his demand and what you would be willing to pay I understand to be small and unimportant; and I had much rather pay it myself than be drawn into a lawsuit, in which I must in the End be in the wrong.

We are so far apart and both at a period of life at which we are liable to occurrences that may prevent our reunion, that I feel the force of that uncertainty, which darkens the prospect of our meeting. I hope for the Pleasure of the Event, and flatter myself that it will not long be postponed. Where I now am I am not quite my own master, but it is not my intention to remain long in England; and it will be one of the earliest pleasures of my return home to visit and embrace those branches of my family from whom I have been so long separated. I hope you enjoy health & Happiness. These Blessings I likewise wish to my beloved Sister. God bless you, her and yours.

Forever and affectionately yrs

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING, LONDON.

BROOKLINE, March 19, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I hope your conjectures respecting Mr. Pitt's supplies will not prove as well founded as your political opinions usually are, for I have never yet thought a peace practicable, & with Burke, I think any peace wou'd be unsafe while the power of *Societicide* or rather *Staticide* remains unbroken. That the welfare of the United States will become precarious, if G. B. yields, most of our thinking people perceive pretty plainly. The feelings of our merchants are greatly irritated & their fears not a little excited by the depredations committing by the French. But what is to be done? The great extension of our maritime commerce has rendered us extremely vulnerable while our aggressor has nothing upon the sea thro' which a blow could be returned.

By the pieces, entitled "the Warning," which from their ex-

cellence I attribute to Hamilton, you may see our affairs with France are converging to a critical point. How we shall behave at last you can foresee as well as I; for living out of the world as I do, and having no other communication with it than the visits of a dozen friends, which are not frequent, my knowledge of what passes is chiefly derived from the Newspapers. Our public servants however will ordain the course to be pursued and I hope they will do right, and be fully encouraged by us their masters.

Some pains have been taken, and I think with considerable success in this quarter to explain the nature of our controversy with France. I fully agree to the superior estimate you make of the present enjoyments and future hopes of our country, as compared with others, but I can't avoid suspecting you of a little too much despondency on another topic. Perhaps we *always* overrate absent blessings, and generally, *present* difficulties.

You will be glad that Adams is elected, and that the prospect of our Government continuing steady is good. For a while things will go well and we must do everything in our power to give permanency to every good disposition. I am nevertheless mortified to see Jefferson Vice-President after so much exertion among the agents of a foreign nation to secure his election, and I cannot discard my fears that he will have an influence that may be unpropitious. It occurs to my mind frequently that the hostile conduct of France towards this Country, *may* suggest to the British Government new schemes of policy that might extremely embarrass us; but it wou'd be the most short-sighted project that folly ever adopted if their conduct should become *un*conciliatory now that we are breaking off that dependent connexion with their enemies, which they ought always to discourage, but which their disdainful spirit had contributed to produce. I reflect with infinite satisfaction that you are placed in a situation to demonstrate the ill tendencies of these crooked politics, which erroneous views of this country cou'd alone have recommended.

What do Sweden & Denmark say to the outrages of the French! They must be uneasy under such treatment as we receive; but at what point will they begin to repel? Presuming that Pinckney will not be received, I expect an official notice of this will be followed by a summons of Congress, & if it shou'd, I hope they will have spirit enough to declare all Treaties between the 2

nations annulled by the gross and avowed violations of our rights under them. But all these affairs are with the constituted authorities & while I rejoice that I am not among them, I am happy that many better heads are devoted to those services, which our country needs & deserves. . . .

Yrs. faithfully

G. CABOT.

R. KING TO SIR JOHN SINCLAIR.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Ap. 1, 1797.

SIR:

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 29th ulto. informing me, in very obliging terms, that the Board of Agriculture had been pleased to admit me, as a "Foreign honorary member" of that Society. I request the favor of you, Sir, to present to the Board my respectful acknowledgments of the honor conferred upon me by this admission. I ought at the same time, Sir, to observe to you, that my very moderate acquaintance with agricultural subjects, forbids me to hope that it will be in my power to afford the society any valuable information in the prosecution of their patriotic and important researches.

With great consideration and esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, April 2, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

As Mr. Church is the bearer, I refer you to him for what it would take many pages to relate, and will only say, that, notwithstanding the injuries we continue to receive from France, I still hope the same policy that has hitherto kept us out of the war, will continue to influence and decide our government.

How the new President will conduct himself in a situation thorny and embarrassing, remains to be seen; the first step is very important, and therefore should be deeply and extensively considered.

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 227.

Everything looks like an active and, to a certain degree, a vigorous campaign; yet, with all these appearances of the continuance of the war peace may be near. But what will be the consequence of such a peace as alone can be had at this time?

A late arrêt of the Directory gives notice to all French citizens that the Treaty of February 1778, between France and the United States of America, has been (of full right) in virtue of the second article thereof, so modified as to conform to the stipulations contained in the treaty of 1794 between the United States and Great Britain. The arrêt proceeds to specify the modification.

This says Mr. King, demanding in its fourth article that our ships should have

a rôle d' équipage en bonne forme, such as is required by the form annexed to the treaty of the 6th of February 1778 . . . will render *all our ships* liable to capture, and, if acted upon, to condemnation, since no American vessel has on board the document required. . . . Mr. Church will show you a copy of the commercial Treaty with France, printed in London in 1783, which has the form of a passport rôle d'équipage, &c., annexed . . by which you will see that none of our vessels are exempt from capture; if this copy is that referred to in the late arrêt. Indeed it seems too absurd in some things to be genuine, yet I suspect it is the model or form referred to and required by the fourth article of the arrêt.

Farewell yours,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 6, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I have written to Vermont for information about the arms and cannon captured on the Olive Branch, with Governor Ira Allen, and carried into England. Whatever answer I obtain shall be communicated to you. In the meantime there appears to me to be little room to doubt of their real destination such as you mention to be suggested in London. It is incredible that

Governor Allen should undertake to purchase 20.000 muskets and 24 brass cannon with their appendages for the *militia of Vermont* at the *request* of Governor Chittenden. Nothing but an *Act of the Legislature* would warrant the measure or provide the funds. is well known that Allen was destitute of property. . . .

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, 12 April, 1797.

. . . The French continue their depredations on our commerce in the West Indies; and by the accounts almost daily published in the newspapers, frequently commit the most flagrant piracies and robberies, even in their own ports: so that the insurers at Baltimore (as I am this day informed by a letter from thence) have ceased to underwrite upon American vessels bound to *French* ports; while they insure at war premiums those bound to *English* West India ports.

WM. SMITH TO R. KING, LONDON.

PHILAD., April 3, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Capt. O'Brien arriv'd day before yesterday & brought as the acct. of Sir J. Jervis' victory over the Spaniards, which has assisted in raising our depressed spirits. It is a melancholy and a humiliating consideration that we are compelled to derive consolation from the successes of other nations. Under present circumstances we must rejoice at the victories of G. Britain, tho' we may fear they may hereafter be turned to our disadvantage. The haughty conduct of France, which increases with her tide of prosperity, makes us rejoice at the defeat of herself or her allies; we look for safety in her depression, for we cannot expect to find either from her justice & our wisdom. Her late outrages have however kindled a good spirit, but it is uncertain how long it will be kept alive, and there is reason to fear that the same capricious disposition, which so quickly changes from love to resentment will from trifling causes change back again.

The active and incessant manœuvres of french agents in this Country, make me apprehend that any inconsidble. change in the measures of France favorable to us will drive the great mass of knaves & fools back into her arms. What indeed have we not to apprehend from the multitude which for four years has, with so little reason, avowed such a devoted attachment to that insidious nation? If the present temper can be steadfastly maintained, the losses from their spoliations will scarcely be regretted; they will be well compensated by our deliverance from gallic thraldom.

The eyes of a great many are now opened to the real views of France, and the public mind is thereby become more open to receive impressions favorable to England; nothing will be so conducive to the complete establishment of our independence, as a conduct on the part of G. Britain at this crisis, marked with sincere good will to this country. This will do away with those antipathies which are still lurking in a great many breasts and produce a general disposition to view that nation as connected with us by the strongest ties of mutual interest. It has been so much a fashion of late years to call parties here by foreign names, that many conceive we cannot be alienated from the French without throwing ourselves á corps perdu into the arms of the English; and unfortunately many of the ci-devant English merchants here, yielding without due reflection to an habitual impulse, encourage this degrading idea; it is important that it should be banished from our sight and that we should forcibly inculcate the sentiment, that if we are alienated from the French, it is because we cherish our independence and have determined to form no connexions but those which unite indepent. nations for their common interest.

It is a fortunate thing for us that the Representatives of the respective nations are at this present juncture so peculiarly gifted with those rare and valuable qualities, which at the same time remove every distrust and strengthen a growing friendship. Mr. & Mrs. Liston are much liked, so much so as to be, in the eyes of the Jacobins, *dangerous* people. I am much pleased with the promises of Abercromby & Simcoe; the british Govt. may, with little trouble & no expence, do many things which wo'd produce the most happy effects here. There never was so favorable an opportunity; but they must understand the footing on which our

connexions are to rest—the most complete independence on our part.

I was about to return to Charleston, when the late disagreeable intelligence from Gen. Pinckney compelled the Executive to convene Congress on the 15th May. I must therefore stay here. The successes of Buonaparte will probably give the Directory a still more haughty tone, unless their internal affairs sho'd produce something favorable for us. Congress are to meet this day six weeks—something may occur of an important nature before that period. The operations of the French cabinet have been so fluctuating & their danger relative to foreign and neutral powers so sudden & violent, that I am not without hopes that when they find their prospects blasted of overthrowing our Government & cancelling the British Treaty, they will suddenly wheel about and generously forgive us. There is only this yet wanting to complete their character for generosity & magnanimity, so much dinned in our ears by their adherents.

We shall pass a new Law next Session relative to Seamen; your suggestion on that subject will be carefully attended to. Major Lenox, the successor of Trumbull, sails for London in a few weeks. The Commrs. for the 6th Article are arrived here. I have not yet seen them.

Our Treaty with Sweden expires in about fifteen months; the Executive have it in contemplation to propose a revival of it. Have you turned your attention much to this subject? What think you of a commercial connexion with Denmark? Those two powers have a common interest with us, whenever the great maritime nations are at war; it seems therefore strange that we sho'd have a Minister Plenipotenty. in Portugal with whom we have no Treaty and little commercial intercourse, and no relations with Denmark & Sweden, whose interests in time of war are so homogeneous with ours and with whom we might have extensive commercial intercourse. . . .

The accounts from the Mediterranean are highly pleasing. The Treaties with the Barbary powers have cost us a great deal of money and vexation. I trust they will realize the benefits you justly anticipated. This new source of commerce will indemnify us for the abridgement of our Commerce in the W. Indies.

The change of the Executive here has been wrought with a

facility and a calm which has astonished even those of us who always augured well of the governt. and the general good sense of our citizens. The machine has worked without a creak. On the 4th of March John Adams was quietly sworn into office, George Washington attending as a private citizen. A few days after he went quietly home to Mt. Vernon; his successor as quietly took his place, and in the same house last Tuesday I saw him well dressed, in a full suit, sword, bag &c. at his first levée, which was a very crowded one. The Jacobins are flattering him and trying to cajole him to admit the V. P. into the Council. Jefferson lodged at Francis' hotel (with Adams) while here, attended the Philosophical Society of which he is President, made a dissertation about a Lion's claw, and soon after returned to Monticello.

Our friend Murray sails for Amsterdam shortly; he will do credit to the appointment. I shall intrust to his care a copy of my little work on the Constitution for you, which I have had interleaved to receive those judicious remarks which will I am sure occur to you on perusing it. When this is done, I shall request you to return it to me, in exchange for a copy of a new edition on a more enlarged & useful plan.

Farewell, yours very affectly.

WM. SMITH.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

April 8, 1797.

I thank you, my Dear Sir, for your letter of the 6th of February. The Intelligence that the Directory have ordered away our Minister is every way unpleasant. It portends too much a final Rupture as the only alternative to an ignominious submission. Much public feeling has been excited. But the Government, I trust & believe, will continue prudent, and do everything that honor permits towards accommodation. 'Tis however to be feared that France successful will be too violent and imperious to meet on any admissible ground.

Congress are called together. I can give you no conjecture as to what will be done. Opinions are afloat. My idea is another attempt to pacify by negotiation, vigorous preparations for war

and *defensive* measures with regard to our Trade. But there never was a period of our affairs in which I could less foresee the course of things.

I believe there is no danger of want of firmness in the Executive. If he is not ill-advised, he will not want prudence. I mean that I believe that he is himself disposed to a *prudently firm* course.

You know the Mass of our Senate. That of our House of Representatives is not ascertained. A small majority on the right side is counted on. In Virginia it is understood that *Morgan* comes in place of Rutherford, & Evans in place of Page. The whole result of the Virginia election is not known.

The conduct of France has been a very powerful medicine for the political diseases of the country. I think the community improves in soundness.

Adieu, God bless you

A. HAMILTON.

CHAPTER XIII.

Opposition to France growing more popular—Reliance on the Firmness and Prudence of the President—England's commercial Policy should be a conciliatory one—Jacobi on Negotiations between France and Prussia—R. King to Secretary of State—French Captures—English Politics—The Nation tired of the War—Austria her only Ally—Question of Peace—France refuses to acknowledge Passports granted by American Ministers—French Depredations in the West Indies—R. King writes to the Secretary on Carelessness in getting Testimony in Cases of Capture by Mr. Bayard—Secretary of State relative to Convoys.

G. Cabot to R. King, London.

Brookline, April 10, 1797.

Dear Sir:

I see by the style of your Letter of the 25th of Jany that you are more happy and if you had not told me expressly that you had surmounted your difficulties, I shou'd have inferr'd it. Our Campaign here is soon to open, & I think may prove a more important one than any we have seen. Both parties are active in endeavouring to preoccupy the popular mind, and if a judgment were now to be formed, it wou'd be that the friends of order and good government will be successful. The aim is to rouse the country as much as possible *without inflaming it*, & by exciting a due attention to the public danger it is expected that *we the people* shall be reconciled to some new burthens which may become necessary, & shall be disposed to strengthen the Govt. by a ready support of the measures it shall adopt. The President, I am assured, will not yield to the insolent dictates of France; but on the contrary will propose to Congress measures which will satisfy the men who elected him. If the House of Representatives shou'd be well composed, the national dignity will be supported at any rate (& probably peace maintained); but if a majority

there shou'd be wrong, disgrace may be expected. The weakest men generally follow the popular sentiment, & I am persuaded that opposition to the tyranny of France is every day growing more popular. To me it wou'd seem a wise policy in G. B. to seize upon this moment for breaking off our French attachments. A steady course of liberal treatment wou'd render this Country an inestimable customer to G. B. for a long time. We shou'd continue to buy of them what a quarrel or even coldness may oblige us to make for ourselves. I have been for many years convinced that the true interest of Great Britain required a relaxation towards us of the vigorous commercial system she ordinarily maintains. We are not, and probably never shall be her Rival in Naval power. The extensive territory we possess forms an interest that *must* countervail it for many years, & it is hardly to be doubted that *before many years* shall elapse, we shall divide or be divided. A constant & adequate market for their manufactures is infinitely important to the support & prosperity of *England proper*, & to enable the parent stock to circulate without impoverishment or redundance of the nutriments of the immense cyons engrafted in the 2 Indies. But quitting a figure almost unintelligible, is it not clear that the prosperity of England depends more than ever upon her power at Sea? Her wisest provisions for the support of this power are calculated to keep at all times the greatest possible number of Seamen employ'd: the intention is proper but it is not well fulfilled. It is in navigation as in other branches of industry; they who work cheapest will have most employment. The English laws which recognize no Ship as British except such as are built within the British dominions, prevent Englishmen from freighting in many countries where they might, if allowed to use the cheap Ships they cou'd build in the U. S. To whatever extent this is true, England *sacrifices her greater interest* in sailors, to a *minor interest* in shipwrights. Besides every facility of payment which England gives to the U. S. must tend to increase our consumption of her goods; and if the facility costs her nothing, she certainly derives a clear profit on the increased consumption. Many other considerations occur to me which ought to produce in G. B. the most conciliatory policy, but these, as well as those suggested, are all familiar to you. The condition of the British nation is certainly critical & requires to be propp'd up by every

auxiliary they can obtain. A commercial intercourse with us establish'd on the most liberal principles wou'd be a firm & lasting support to them & might be highly useful to us. . . .

Your faithful friend,

G. CABOT.

There is an interesting paper in the handwriting of Mr. King containing a statement of the negotiations between France and Prussia, made by Jacobi, the Prussian Ambassador in London, which is here given:

"April 16, '97.

"Jacobi told me that the King of Prussia had been applied to by France to aid in restoring peace with Austria; that he had declined all interference unless in favor of a general peace and the integrity of the German Empire. Thus, said Jacobi, it is evident that the Rumours of a Design in the King to break in upon the Rights of the Empire are disproved; and it is equally plain that the account of his having guaranteed Belgium is unfounded. The French offered to give him Hanover long ago, wh. he refused. If Bavaria sh. be attempted to be annexed to Austria, the King of Prussia wd. object, nay he wd. be obliged to take a portion equivalent of some part of Germany contiguous to his Dominions. I have consd. Jacobi notified to this Court the refusal of the King to assist in a separate peace, France wants peace—she will not insist on the Rhine as a boundary, but she will adhere to the union of Belgium. England will not agree to this sacrifice to obtain peace. The Emperor will therefore refuse to make any peace—he will even quit Vienna and retire to Hungary, where he will make still great exertions to expel the French from his Dominions."

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

LONDON, April 19, 1797.

MY LORD:

Having learnt that a Packet soon sails for the West Indies, I take the Liberty to send to your Lordship copies of a letter and its inclosures that I have lately received from Mr. Talbot, who is the Agent appointed by the President of the United States for the

Relief and Protection of American Seamen in the West Indies. It gave me much pleasure when I had last the honor of meeting your Lordship to express to you the satisfaction with which the President had been informed, that Mr. Talbot had been received and treated in a friendly manner by his Majesty's Naval officers in the West Indies; and that there was a fair prospect that his agency would prove successful in relieving such of our Seamen as had been impressed and were detained on board his Majesty's ships in those seas. I have great regret in perceiving by Mr. Talbot's report, that there is an appearance of a Temper, somewhat different from our just expectations on this subject, on the part of the Commander in Chief, Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, and (it) is my Duty to request your Lordship's interference to obtain an order from the proper Department of his Majesty's Government for the Discharge of the American Citizens named in the list remitted by Mr. Talbot, and also instructions to the Commanders of his Majesty's ships of war in the West Indies to discharge all other American citizens, that have been impressed and are detained on board any of the said Ships.

With high consideration &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, April 19, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

You will naturally suppose that I must be anxious to be informed what measures the President shall adopt to arrest the depredations that France is committing upon our commerce. The Arrêt of the 2nd of March, if executed, will subject all our Ships to capture and condemnation, since none of them are furnished with such papers as the 6th Article thereof requires.

Hitherto the captures in Europe have not been numerous, though several of our valuable ships have been carried into France, and in a few instance the Masters and other Officers of our vessels have been treated in a barbarous and cruel manner by the French Cruizers, who have put them to the torture to compel them to make such Declarations relative to the property and destination of their ships and Cargoes as were desired. I send you the protest of William Martin, Master of the Cincinnatus of Balti-

more, who lately arrived here, after having fallen into the hands of a French Cruizer, which obliged him to leave his own vessel and to go on board the Cruizer, when he was tortured for more than three hours. Captain Martin's thumbs, which I examined, bear the marks of the screws, and the scars will go with him to his grave.

It is impossible that these barbarous outrages should be authorized; indeed the concealment observed by the Perpetrators of them, who refused to tell their names, or the Port of their Equipment, evince that they are not so. A general Peace, if concluded on a basis of reciprocal Justice may secure to us an exemption from the System of Plunder and Barbarity into which Europe seems in danger of relapsing.

The elections in France, so far as Results are known, have been favorable to the friends of moderation; but Victory & Conquest are advantageous to their opponents, and will elate both. The Emperor of Russia avoids, even in a greater Degree than his Mother did, taking any share in the war. Prussia adheres to the maxims that have long influenced her, and will *make no efforts except to augment her own Territories or to weaken those of* * her neighbours. Some recent successes *confirm the past character of this Court and increase our Detestation* of its principles. Germany is disjointed, dispersed and in some degree revolutionized; it cannot therefore be depended on at a time, when union, courage and zeal could alone be of any advantage. *England must soon have no option; her wealth and her Navy have been her glory and her safeguard. The former is found to have limits; the latter by an extensive and successful mutiny of her Seamen* has recently *received a wound of the most dangerous consequence. The Nation is weary of the War and there is a general despair of any* advantages from the prosecution *of it.* The Ministry have been supported for the last twelve months by the opinion *which they* assiduously propagated that the continuance of the war was *against their wishes and* owing to the disinclination *of the French to make Peace.*

The public discontents *increase daily* and there is reason to believe, *notwithstanding the strong personal desire of the King to go on with the war*, that nothing but the dread of the consequences *to his authority from Mr. Fox's coming into office, prevents a change*

* Italics in cipher.

of Ministers. If an administration could be made without Mr. Fox it is supposed that an immediate change would take place. There is however a circumstance of considerable weight that is favorable *to the continuance of the present Ministry. A change of Ministers, it* is apprehended, would require *a change of the House of Commons.* The present is the first session of a new Parliament, *and the seats are too expensive to be soon given up. Hence the friends of the Ministers,* though *they wish for Peace* and would recommend a surrender of all the National Conquests *to obtain it desire that it should be made by men whom they have supported and not by those whom they have opposed.* In this situation of the Allies, the burthen of continuing the War falls upon Austria. The Emperor, it is true, whatever we may think of his wisdom by his firmness and constancy excites our admiration. The nobles of Vienna since the late Defeat of the Arch Duke have surrounded the Throne with Petitions for an immediate Peace, as the only means of saving the Capitol, or preserving the Monarchy. To this advice, nothwithstanding past Disasters, and the tide of success on which Bonaparte advances, the Emperor has answered that he could not consent to make Peace, without his allies, that Vienna was not the Monarchy, that the Monarchy would survive, beloved and defended by his loyal subjects, when even Vienna should have surrendered to the enemy. Though this courageous firmness in the Chief of a warlike nation, if accompanied with more propitious Circumstances, would perform Prodigies and might save a sinking State, yet in this instance the affairs of Austria are so deranged, her armies so reduced and dispirited, her subjects so depressed by the Burthens and misfortunes of the war, and the conflict so apparently hopeless, that it is even doubted whether the Emperor will be able to hold out till the person who has been sent from this Country to Vienna, to join in the negotiations, shall arrive there.

Should he conclude a separate Peace, & whether separate or joint its terms will be much the same, it must be one in which France dictates the conditions, and consequently too unequal and humiliating to be lasting. This view of the Situation of the war recommends to us in a forcible manner the Policy of continuing, if possible, in peace. We have been wronged and greatly so, but it is only by negotiation and by persevering in the moderate but

manly representations of the injustice that has been done to us that we shall be likely to obtain satisfaction. There certainly is nothing heroic, nothing that excites admiration in this *march*; on the other hand I hope there is nothing really humiliating in it; since it is one that promises to obtain for us, with more certainty than any other, that satisfaction for the past and security for the future which in a different way the greatest and most powerful Nations in Europe have attempted but utterly failed to obtain.

With great respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. The public Papers announce an arrêt of the Executive Directory of the 10th instant which directs that the Passports granted by the Ministers and Diplomatic Envoys of the United States of America, and Passports certified by them, shall not be admitted nor acknowledged by any authority; the arrêt is ordered to be printed and the Minister of *Police* is charged with the execution of it.

I am at a loss to conjecture the motives to this Regulation. You know that in time of war, it is by Passports only that the Merchants are enabled to pass from one country to another in the transaction of their business. This arrêt will be embarrassing to such of our countrymen as, being in Europe, might be desirous of following and claiming their Property captured and carried into France.

I shall recommend to those of them who are going to France from this Country to take a Certificate of Citizenship from our Consuls here; having sometime since understood that Mr. Skipwith, our Consul at Paris, was permitted to grant Certificates of this nature. But whether this precaution will answer, or whether we shall avoid still greater mischief than hitherto I have apprehended, I confess myself at a loss to determine.

I have this moment received a letter from Mr. Pitcairn, dated Paris April 8, 1797: he begins by saying that "Mr. de Clerck fils, the Chief of the *Comptability* of the National Treasury, informed me yesterday that two days before the Directory had laid an *opposition* to prevent any payment being made to the American Government or any of the people, founded on the law of Reprisals." Mr. Pitcairn makes a query whether Private Debts could be confiscated. . . .

T. Pickering to R. King.

"Department of State, April 26, 1797.

"Dear Sir:

"... To-day I received your letter of March 5th, and notice the immediate causes and effects of the stoppage of cash payments from the Bank of England. I should presume on the spirit and patriotism of British subjects, to make sacrifices proportioned to the present extraordinary emergencies. It is an obvious remark that if you contend with a nation which uses new weapons or new manœuvres, to which your own are unequal or inapplicable—to fight on a par, you must change your own and adopt corresponding means of attack and defence. What would France have effected in the present war, had she relied on the ordinary means of France when a Monarchy? With even a small portion of the immense sacrifices of that nation under her Revolutionary governments, Britain might yet maintain the conflict. Her bitter resentments and national antipathy and revenge towards a people whom she has long called her natural enemy, joined to her national pride, it might be imagined would furnish the extraordinary means which the unexampled state of things demand.

"The depredations of the French in the West Indies continue. Mr. Adet, a few days since expressed to me his opinion that they are not authorized by the French Government; remarking that it is impossible to restrain Privateers from irregularities. But it happens, unfortunately, that nearly all the vessels or Cargoes, or both, which are carried in by their Privateers are condemned by their civil officers on shore. Besides when he mentions unauthorized captures, he cannot refer to the multitude which we complain of as made in direct violation of our Treaty with France, or of the law of nations, but which he himself declared would be made pursuant to the Decree of the Directory on the 2nd of July last."

R. King, London, to T. Pickering.

Personal and Private.

Ap. 29, 1797.

Dear Sir:

... I submit to you whether it would not be advantageous, if you shd. send me 10 or 12 Copies of the State Papers from your

office which are from time to time published: a distribution of them among the foreign Ministers here & others, would in my opinion contribute much to the extension of correct opinions concerning our Policy and national Characters. Your late letter to Genl. Pinckney has been very serviceable in this light; it has been well received by every one, and obtained, as it deserved, the approbation and praise of sensible and impartial men.

Mess. Gore and Pinckney will write to you on a subject on which I have had, and still suffer, much anxiety—unless a more systematic attention is given to the procuring of the seasonable and requisite Evidence in cases of Capture, I see little prospect in obtaining the reasonable satisfaction for our Losses, which with proper diligence & skill in the Agency, and with the present views of this Government, we might rationally expect to receive. It is unpleasant to say so, but it is my opinion, that we shall ultimately meet with serious Losses, and give occasion to complaints among our people, unless we can induce Mr. Bayard to examine each case (instead of turning them over without examination to a Proctor) and wherever there is a defect of proof, to point it out and take immediate measures to supply it. If Mr. Bayard is unable or unwilling to take this trouble, which ought to have been taken a year ago, we shall endeavour to fall upon some plan of having the business done by some other person.

I hope soon to hear from you respecting the manner of keeping and paying to the Claimants the Monies awarded to be paid by this Government. I am persuaded that a precise regulation must be given on this subject; and I am likewise in hopes to receive your Opinion concerning the Commission which may be claimed to be deducted by Mr. Bayard (for his own emolument) from such sums as he shall pay over to the Claimants. I can't say that Mr. Bayard will make this claim unless he has the consent of the claimant, but I have reason to suppose that it has not been a difficult matter to obtain their consent; various motives may have induced Merchants and others in America to agree to such proposal. I have before observed to you that I wholly disapprove of it.

With great Respect & Truth
I am, Dr. Sir, yours &c.
RUFUS KING.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Department of State, May 9, 1797.

Dear Sir :

On the 6th, in the evening, I received your letter of the 12th of March. . . . The State of affairs relative to French Captures of American Vessels, at the date of your Letter no doubt rendered your disapprobation of the project of a Convoy very proper. I mean for vessels of the United States sailing from the ports of Great Britain ; but the piratical conduct of their privateers in the American seas, and even on the coast of Spain, must render any measures of *protection* and *defence* both eligible and lawful. If therefore the British Government, on the request of the Merchants trading to America, or of the underwriters, or on their own Motion, order convoys for the American vessels under a change of circumstances which show that our commerce is in more danger than when you expressed your disapprobation of the measure, the convoys are certainly not to be refused.

After illustrating the question by some suggestions Mr. P. says : " What *legal* consequences can result from accepting a convoy in any case, except that of its being a cause of condemnation in cases of capture, altho' the vessel should really be neutral? It would then seem to be a matter of calculation, whether to accept or decline a convoy." He then presents some decisions by English authorities on the subject of the causes of forfeiture of a vessel under convoy, and says : " But here the cause of forfeiture is not the simple act of going under convoy ; but the attempting in a *neutral* vessel to shelter the goods of an *enemy* by means of a convoy ; and therefore, if this distinction be correct an American Vessel, with an American Cargo, may innocently go under Convoy. Because a belligerent power, without regarding Treaties or the Law of Nations makes prize of such Property. If however such unwarrantable captures are not made (and this I suppose you judged to be the fact in respect to our vessels trading with Great Britain and Ireland) there can be no reason for seeking convoys, and the doing it might give offence to the Government against which it was requested. But whenever that Government has no scruple to interrupt and injure our lawful commerce, by means of her armed vessels, we can have no scruple

to accept protection from the Convoys of her Enemies. *The question will be whether the Government shall personally request convoys. This is a question of some delicacy, as it regards the foreign power to whom the request shall be made, on the score of obligation. But if, for the sake of preserving lucrative or necessary trade, that power voluntarily offers, or on the request of individuals, grants the requisite Convoys, are we to refuse them? Certainly not, and such is the sense of the President.**

With perfect esteem, &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

* Italics in cipher.

CHAPTER XIV.

French Designs as affecting the U. S.—Public Temper in the U. S. improving in reference to these—Causes of the Mutiny in the British Fleets—Paid Agents of the U. S. cannot demand extra Compensation from Awards to Claimants—General Allen's Claim for the Restoration of Arms captured and detained in England—Kosciuszko thanks Mr. King for assisting him in obtaining a Passage to America.

G. Cabot to R. King, London.

Brookline, May 9, 1797.

Dear Sir :

It is abundantly evident that the designs of France as disclosed to me by Mr. Liancourt * last summer were real, and if they do not already exceed them fully, it is only because their successes have fallen short of their calculation. I fear it will prove unfortunate for our country that their successes have been lately so great. The fall of Mantua and the appearance of pecuniary embarrassment in England have revived the spirit of Jacobinism, which had been declining very fast. Still however it may be relied on, that public opinion in relation to foreign politics & the affairs of France particularly, is infinitely more correct than it has ever been since the Devil was let loose. You will feel, as we all do, great anxiety for the measures which Congress shall adopt : our friends have hope, & even expect that things will all go well, but you know I always expect the contrary, and if the power of faction is not sufficient to direct the movements of Government, I am persuaded they will *obstruct them.* Their schemes have so far developed themselves as to convince us that they will favor every kind of concession to France, and will endeavor to charge all our troubles, and even the disgraceful submission they would make

* See letter of Sept. 24, 1796.

to France, to the British Treaty. Our best security against them, is that their projects are well understood by the Executive & will be resisted there. My own opinion is to avoid giving provocation to the pride of France and to hold ourselves ready to conciliate on any terms not *dishonorable ;* but as they are encouraged to insult and injure us by a contempt of our power, I wou'd make a show of the Spirit and resolution of the country, that shou'd compel them to expect resistance, if they advance. . . . After all I think our tranquillity essentially depends upon events on your side the water & the fate of England especially. If Englishmen do not forfeit the just character of their ancestors, they will perish sooner than submit to France, & altho' it must be confessed they have immense difficulties to struggle with at home, yet if they feel the same inveteracy toward their rival, which this feels toward them, they will certainly conquer at last. England has the means to defend herself on the sea against the whole of Europe and I shou'd imagine with these means in possession, the nation will always reject the idea of submission under *every vicissitude of its internal affairs.* Our Expectants of Compensation for captur'd property begin to feel impatient at the delay which they can't easily be persuaded is unavoidable.

Your faithful and affect. friend

G. Cabot.

N. Webster, Jr. to R. King, London.

New York, May 30, 1797.

Sir :

I take the liberty to enclose you my opinions on the relative interests of Great Britain & the United States.* If you agree with me in opinion, you will make what use you please of the Letter. The present moment is important, and tho' I reprobate a connection with any European power, which shall necessarily involve us in their broils, yet it is hardly possible for a commercial nation not to be implicated more or less in the contentions of other powers. Prudence and safety seem to require that we should be on good terms with the greatest naval power in Europe, as I

* Paper alluded to published in New York, 1802 ; see *Webster's Essays*, dated June 1, 1797.

apprehend, in case of hostility, naval aid will nearly supersede the necessity of any other defense.

In the ideas I have suggested, a few friends to whom I have communicated them, most heartily concur. And as we are probably approaching a rupture with France, we are to calculate upon the event, & be prepared to meet it. If we can escape it, so much the better. I sincerely wish the British Ministry could be convinced of the utility of conciliating the attachment of the Americans & of the extreme folly of irritating them by taking little advantages at sea. This policy had nearly thrown us into the arms of France in 1793. You know with what firmness Govt resisted, and you was among the foremost in the ranks on that occasion. The French interest is yet considerable, but much weakened, since the seizure and confiscation of our vessels in the West Indies. The tide has turned and the current is setting strong agt. the French Govt. The northern States wish peace as much as ever, but the losses of property already sustained, & the insolent conduct of the French Govt. toward ours, has united them in the opinion that war is probable, and they are ready to meet it with firmness.

Never was there a more favorable moment for the British Govt. to remove the prejudice & regain the confidence of our citizens; & what extreme ill-policy in the Ministry not to embrace it. . . .

With great respect your obedt. Servt.

N. Webster, Jr.

John Jay to R. King, London.

New York, June 3, 1797.

Dear Sir:

. . . The newspapers contain the Debates and Proceedings in Congress. Public opinion respecting the true policy of this country is gradually becoming more and more correct. Injurious Treatment from foreign nations, whether followed by peace or war, will encrease our Wisdom. It seems Experience must generally be purchased, and sometimes at a high price. . . . I am happy to find that the Comrs. go on well, and that the british Govt. act candidly.

The late session of our Legislature was a temperate and in

several respects an useful one. The Security and Lassitude of the Federalists at the late election was such in this City and some other Places, that the present House of Assembly will be more chequered than the last. . . .

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING, LONDON.

June 8, 1797.

I thank you, my Dear Sir, for your two letters lately received from you. . . . I feel very guilty for my negligence—but how can I help it?

The public prints will inform you of the course of public proceedings hitherto. You will perceive that the general plan is analogous to what was done in the case of Great Britain, though there are faults in the detail. Some people cannot learn that the only force which befits a government, is in the *thought* and *action*, not in the *words*, and many reverse this golden rule. I fear we shall do ourselves no honor in the result, and we shall remain at the mercy of events without those efficient preparations which are demanded by so precarious a situation, and which not provoking war, would put us in condition to meet it. All the *consolation* I can give is that the public temper of this country mends dayly & that there is no final danger of our submitting tamely to the yoke of France.

Yrs. affectly.

A. H.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, June 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The Mutiny of the Navy is ascribed to the intrigues of Emissaries employed to mislead and corrupt the Seamen, and a Bill has been brought into Parliament for the Punishment of those who shall be detected. It is possible that the Seamen may have been tampered with, but practices of this sort could not well escape detection, and it is not easy to conceive that this general insubordination should have been produced in this manner.

There are other and more obvious causes to which it may be attributed. The Naval Force of the Enemy has been held in Contempt by the British Fleet. France has had neither Fleets nor Commerce against which the Navy of England could be employed. The men of war have therefore passed most of the time in Port; discipline has been neglected; the officers have lived on shore; and the Ships have been left under the command of young, inexperienced and very subordinate officers; besides the Times have been feverish and critical, and men of all, including the most subordinate, conditions have heard so much of the Equality and Rights of Man, that the dependencies of Society, instead of being acknowledged and submitted to by habit, have been questions for determination and proof.

This, in my belief, is nearer the true solution than that which is publickly professed.

The Situation of Ireland is still hazardous, and must necessarily be the subject of great inquietude. The Bank of England continues to make their operations solely with Paper, and it seems improbable that they will be able with safety to resume their ancient mode of payment before the return of Peace: an event that the present distresses of England may induce the French Government to postpone in hopes of a more ample gratification of their resentment and hatred against the only Nation which they own as a Rival.

The supposed accession of Moderation in the new third added to the election of Barthelemy, have however decided the British Government to make another effort to terminate the war, and a Message has been Sent to France to ask a Passport for a Minister to be sent from this Country direct to Paris.

With perfect Respect & Esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO N. LOW.

LONDON, June 6th, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . It is not easy in a short letter to give you an adequate idea of the situation of this country. Ireland is in a very disturbed and critical condition, and government is there maintained

alone by military force, although your kinsman, Mr. Wallace, who is at present in London, says things are not so bad in Ireland as they are represented.

The late mutiny in the Channel on Lord Bridport's fleet, after a negotiation carried on between delegates on the part of the seamen with the Lords of the Admiralty, was quieted and the fleet is now at sea. But the ships at Sheerness joined by a portion of Admiral Duncan's fleet from the north seas (which have confined their officers and separated from the fleet) are in a state of Revolt and indeed Rebellion.

Negotiations have been attempted with them but their demands are deemed wholly subversive of the discipline and government of the navy and therefore not to be admitted. The consequence has been that the mutinous ships, consisting of about twenty sail, eleven of which are of the line, have blocked the mouth of the Thames and detain and plunder all vessels which pass. All communication with them is forbidden ; the neighbouring shores are put in a state of defence ; and the alternative seems to be submission or the carrying of the ships to the enemy.

The Bank will not resume their former mode of payments till peace. It is believed that their operations are prudent ; the first embarrassments which followed in stopping specie payments have in a great degree vanished. Specie circulates in small payments, and very large sums have been obtained from abroad and lodged by the Bank in their vaults.

The nation despairs of advantage from a continuation of the war ; they therefore desire peace, direct and new efforts to obtain which have been lately made by this government, who have sent a messenger to France to obtain a passport for a Minister to go to Paris. The moderation that has prevailed in the election of the new third, joined to the election of Barthelemi as a Director, are favorable to the conclusion of peace ; but the very great embarrassment of England has a contrary influence and may induce the Directory to defer an event so much desired in hopes of seeing England, their only rival, reduced still lower.

We who are nearer the war than you are earnestly hope that America will persevere in that course of moderation and prudence which has kept her out of the war. I think the late change in France furnishes an occasion that, if improved, will probably

terminate our disagreements, or at least so far terminate them, as to enable us to maintain peace with the preservation of pub. honor. The dreadful scenes which have been exhibited in Europe, and which are still to be exhibited, should decide us to reject the advice of those who may advise us to war. Farewell—

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 9, 1797.

"DEAR SIR:

"I have recurred to your letter of January 14th, in which you state your ideas relative to the monies which shall be recovered as indemnifications to our citizens for the losses sustained by British captures. They are indisputably just, and the agents of the United States employed and paid by the government in prosecuting and establishing those claims, can form no rightful demands for compensation beyond their fixed salaries; but after deducting the costs of prosecution, which shall have been advanced by the United States, the remainder to be wholly paid to the claimant or his agent.

"If however, the claimants *choose* to appoint either of the public agents (Mr. Bayard or Mr. Cabot) to receive their reimbursements there will be no objection made to it. Many of the sufferers have no connections in London, and such will doubtless prefer the public agents to receive their monies. Mr. Cabot will probably have authority from many of the claimants in New England to receive their dues, and with this view in part they solicited his appointment; and I know that the expectation of this benefit was a principal inducement with him to accept the public agency. Where the claimants have correspondents in England to receive their dues, there can be no pretence for any demand of commissions by either of the agents. Neither ought they to make any such demands when their monies can be safely lodged with some safe bankers, subject to be drawn for by the claimants without any expense. But there will be some risk in this mode of depositing the money, and whose shall it be? Instead of drawing the monies from the British Government, will it not be most eligible to let

them *remain in the Bank of England* to be paid at the times fixed by the commissioners or pursuant to the Decrees of the Courts? For this purpose you will be pleased to make an arrangement with the British Government. . . . With this information of the intentions of the Government, you will consider yourself authorized to take, in forming the proposed arrangement, that full latitude and discretion, which the security of the property of our citizens and their receiving the same with the fewest possible deductions, shall appear to you to require."

T. Pickering to R. King.

"Department of State, June 15, 1797.

"Dear Sir:

". . . The Senators and that Representative (Mr. Lyons) from Vermont (the other Representative was not chosen when the present session commenced) have shown me a Letter from Governor Chittenden, desiring them to seek the aid of the British Minister in favor of General Allen's Claim for the restoration of the arms and cannon he procured from France and which were carried into England. I have handed that Letter to the British Minister, together with a Letter from each of these gentlemen in which they concur in one opinion that those arms and cannon were really destined for Vermont. They say that General Allen was embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, for relief in which he has pledged real property to a large amount; to redeem which was the object of his voyage to Europe, by some important speculation, to which his genius was well adapted. Governor Chittenden advised him to speculate in *arms* for the purpose of supplying the militia of Vermont, who by the law of the State were required to furnish themselves, or, if paupers, their respective towns were to supply them; the penalty for not being furnished was considerable.

"General Allen, being successful in obtaining arms in France, gave notice of it to Governor Chittenden, who formally communicated the information to the Legislature of Vermont, last Fall. In consequence of the expected arrival of these arms, the Legislature suspended the law above mentioned, to give the militia this

opportunity of arming themselves before the penalty should be exacted. Other circumstances relative to the character of General Allen and the nature of this speculation lead me to think that the real objects of it were to arm the militia of Vermont with arms which cost General Allen (or rather for which he made a bargain in form with the French minister of war) twenty five livres, but which he could readily sell to the militia for fifty livres to the number of ten or fifteen thousand in that State, and the residue to the militia of the neighbouring States or to the Government of some of the States ; and thus relieve himself from his incumbrances on his lands, which those Gentlemen assure me are extensive and worth perhaps two hundred thousand dollars, but a great part of which he has already forfeited, and will forfeit much more by means of the detention of the arms in question, unless they should be immediately restored, and his creditors, whose forfeitures are already incurred should from equitable views relinquish their strictly legal rights.

" The Gentlemen assure me that the most friendly intercourse has taken place and is increasing between the inhabitants of Vermont and those of Canada [for whose benefit it has been suggested these arms were intended.—Ed.] and nothing would be more impracticable than to induce the former to aid an insurrection against the British Government in that Province.

" Upon the whole, it is the real wish of the Executive of the U. States that the arms and military stores in question may be restored to General Allen, to be brought to the U. States, where they are much wanted. By General Allen's Letter to Capt. Gould, of which you sent me a copy ; the General offered to give caution for the landing of the arms &c, in New York. Upon such security I hope there will be no difficulty in restoring them. . . .

" We have this day a report by Letters from Boston, that the French Directory have proposed to the Council of 500 to declare war against the U. S. and the Council rejected the proposition. No act of the Directory can any longer excite surprise."

" Le Gl. Kosciuszko a l'honneur de remercier S. E. M. L. Envoyé des Etats Unis de l'Amérique de toutes les peines qu'il a eu la bonté de se donner pour lui procurer un batiment faisant

voile pour l'Amérique. Son ami M. Niemcewicz aura l'honneur de faire sa cour a S. E. demain vers le Midi ; il sera l'interprête des sentiments de reconnoissance et de vénération que le Gl. Kosciuszko lui á voués pour la vie.

"Le 3. Juin 1797."

T. Kosciuszko to Rufus King.

Bristol, 16th June, 1797.

Sir :

I feel great satisfaction in answering your last favour, being able to express my warmest thanks to you for the trouble I have given you during my stay in London. Your generous heart has found no limits, and you have continued your kind care at Bristol and America. I am under the greatest obligation to you, and more forcibly not having deserved it. Be convinced of my everlasting gratitude to you and of the honour I shall always feel in signing myself with great Respect and Affection your obedient humble servant.

T. Kosciuszko.

P. S. I have been particularly desired by Mr. Vander-Horst, American Consul, and his amiable Family to accept a Lodging at their house, where I am more tenderly treated than if I had been a Member of their Family. You can not conceive what Cares and friendly attentions are shown to me. It grieves me much that I am not able to shew them a degree of Gratitude equal to my feelings on that Occasion and which would perfectly correspond with their Tenderness to me. Be so kind as to give them Thanks for me.

I shall have the honour of writing to you from *Philadelphia* where I am going with *Captain Lee* on account of his ship being more comfortable for the Passage for a man in my Situation. I will follow your advice and will do every thing as you will order me. Receive once more my most grateful and respectful Thanks.

CHAPTER XV.

Mr. Pickering's Account of Spanish Duplicity about southern Boundaries—Apprehends France means to regain Louisiana—Arrest of Major McLane and others for alleged treasonable Practices against Canada—Sedgwick on Relations with France—Gerry's Appointment as Commissioner to France—Washington on the Political Situation in U. S.—R. King to Hamilton on French Affairs—Impeachment of Gov. Blount—Mr. Liston's Letter—Bingham's Letter about Stewart's Portrait of Washington to Marquis of Lansdown—And about Gov. Blount—R. King to Wm. Hindman.

T. Pickering to R. King.

"Department of State, June 20, 1797.

"Dear Sir:

". . . The President sincerely desirous of adjusting by negotiation all our differences with France, declared his determination to pursue that course; but the issue being uncertain strongly recommended preparatory measures of defence. In the Senate these assumed a form; but the House of Representatives have but partially concurred. The session however continues, and as the aggressions on the part of France are multiplying daily, and Spain by her agents in Louisiana, has discovered an inclination to postpone and apparently to evade the execution of her Treaty with us, at least respecting the Boundary Line, and the withdrawing of her Troops from our Territory—perhaps the preparatory measures may at last be adopted.

"The correspondence between Mr. Ellicott, the American Commissioner and the Spanish Governors, the Baron de Carondelet and Gayoso, on the subject above mentioned, you will find in the Packet which accompanies this letter. The miserable pretexts, evasions and prevarications of Governor Gayoso are astonishing. We should expect from any man claiming any degree of consideration, and especially from an officer of rank, even if deficient in moral principle, that for the sake of *his reputation in the world*, he would have some regard to consistency and truth.

But the Baron de Carondelet is still more eminent in rank; he is the Governor General of Louisiana, and has, the Spanish Minister here informed me, been appointed lately to the Government of Quito in South America. Yet the Baron has written to the Minister on the subject of the Boundary and the Spanish Ports, and the Minister literally translating it, as he said, read me the Baron's Letter in which he makes some complaints against Mr. Ellicott, frivolous indeed, and one palpably false. He complained that Mr. Ellicott had not informed him of his arrival at the Natchez as the Commissioner of the U. States for running the Boundary line! I showed the chevalier d'Yrujo the Letter of Mr. Ellicott dated the 27th February to the Baron, three days after his arrival at the Natchez, and doubtless by the first conveyance to New Orleans, informing him of his arrival in the character of American Commissioner, and the Baron's answer of the 1st of March, congratulating Mr. Ellicott on his arrival. The Chevalier was confounded, but said he supposed the Baron did not consider Mr. Ellicott's Letter *as official!* . . .

"The Windsor (Vermont) Paper of June 9th informs that a Major McLane from Rhode Island and his brother and Thomas Butterfield of Vermont, have lately been apprehended at Quebec 'upon something more than a suspicion of treasonable practices against the Government of that province.' That Major McLane had a commission from the French Republic, was under pay, and for about two years had been faithfully employed whispering sedition in the ears of the French Canadians; and that upon examination this appeared to be a branch of an extensive plan of operations settled in the French Cabinet; that upon the arrival of a Fleet in the St Lawrence the magazines were to be blown up—the French inhabitants were to rise in a mass and exterminate the English. It is added that several characters in Vermont are implicated in the business, and the whole (says the Editor) 'We learn by undoubted authority.' Probably Mr. Liston may have received official intelligence of this affair. The discovery corresponds with prior facts and circumstances indicating the designs of France to repossess Canada by a force from Europe, an insurrection of the Canadians and aid from numerous adherents in the United States. In the expectations from the letter, I have no doubt France would find herself essentially disappointed.

Whatever might have been done three years ago when we were suffering under British spoliations and saw threatening appearances of hostility from that power, France can form no reasonable hopes of assistance in the U. S. except from a few corrupt men, a few desperate adventurers, and a few, who apparently would be willing to sacrifice even their own country to their malignant passions. The Vermont Gentlemen in the Senate, who you know are persons of information and stability, assure me that the Inhabitants of their State are perfectly well disposed towards their neighbours in Canada and the British Government there established.

"We are not without apprehensions that France means to regain Louisiana, and to renew the ancient plan of her Monarch, of *circumscribing* and encircling what now constitutes the Atlantic States. To the execution of such a plan, so dangerous to our union and peace, every real American must be firmly opposed."

T. Sedgwick to R. King.

My Dear Sir: Philadelphia, 24 June, 1797.

. . . The Convention of the Legislature was generally, I believe universally, approved by the friends of government and *declaredly* by all the Jacobins. The former, at the commencement of the session, warmly approved the sentiments expressed in the Prest's speech. War must, if possible, be avoided; a redress of our injuries must be obtained. For these purposes, a new attempt must be made to negotiate, & to render its success probable, manly preparations must be made. This was the language held by all our friends, and altho' the reasons for such a system of measures have been strengthened and increased by events, which, since that time, have been disclosed, and altho' men of good disposition, are in fact a majority, yet all things dictated by our situation have been left undone.

To account for these apparent contradictions, I am sorry to state a fact, which to my mind is the principal & perhaps the only operative cause, *a dread of the power & vengeance of the terrible Republic*. Some almost explicitly declare it: they talk of our divided councils,—that France elated with victory will be irri-

tated by any attempt to coerce—that resistance in Europe is at an end, and that in the event of peace now certain, she can have no motive to quarrel with us, but on the other hand will hope to participate in our commerce, as the means of reviving her own, —that therefore she will be disposed to conciliate &c. &c. Concomitantly with arguments of this nature, the authors of them dwell on the necessity of avoiding expence, and indeed to justify themselves declare that any incurred at present for defence or protection would be a waste of money. The session is now drawing to a close and we shall separate after having given to the world the most conclusive evidence that the contempt in which France holds our power of resistance, which is her motive for aggression, is a sentiment well founded.

Our friend Gerry is the third of our joint and several ministers to France. No appointment could, in my opinion, have been more injudicious. In justice to the President's council, I ought to tell you, that the nomination was not the result of their approbation, and in justice to myself, I declare that it received my negative. However painful, for reasons which will be obvious to you, it was to withhold my consent, I could not reconcile to myself to approve an appointment so highly improper. Messrs. Read, Marshall, Ross, Tracy & Goodhue also voted against it.

I have frequently seen the british commissioners ; and am much pleased with them, particularly Mr. McDonald. I believe they have a disposition to conduct liberally.

The House of Representatives did not reelect Mr. Beckley as their Clerk. This was resented not only by himself but the whole party, and they were rendered furious by it. To revenge, Beckley has been writing a pamphlet mentioned in the enclosed advertisement. The "authentic papers" there mentioned are those of which you perfectly know the history, formerly in the possession of Messrs. Monroe, Muhlenberg & Venable. This conduct is mean, base and infamous. It may destroy the peace of a respectable family, and so gratify the diabolical malice of a detestable faction, but I trust it cannot produce the intended effect of injuring the cause of government. . . . With much sincerity and esteem

Your affect'e friend

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

G. Washington to R. King, London.

Mount Vernon, 25th June, 1797.

Dear Sir:

I have been honoured with your letter of the 12th of Novr. of the last, and 6th of Feby. & 26th of April of the present year; and feel myself much obliged by your kind & prompt attention to the publication of the Decree of the High Court of Chancery, of the State of Virginia; the evidence of which you were pleased to forward in the London Gazette.

As you will have the Political situation of this country transmitted to you from the proper Department, and, no doubt, will be informed of the causes wch. have produced it and which create a continual opposition to the Administration, detailed with more accuracy by such of your friends as are at or near the fountain of intelligence, than I could do, I shall say but little more on the subject of Politics, than that matters are pretty much in the train you left them; and that it is my firm belief that *no* occurrence or event, of whatsoever kind or nature it may be, will change the sentiments, or (which perhaps would be more correct) the conduct of some characters amongst us.

However much to be regretted this is, by those who think differently, yet, having taken my seat in the Shade of my Vine & Fig tree, I shall endeavour to view things in the "calm lights of mild Philosophy"; persuaded that if ever a crisis should arise to call forth the good sense & spirit of the People, no deficiency in either will be found.

For the interesting details you have had the goodness to communicate in your several letters, I pray you to accept my thanks. It is reported, and with a confidence which gives it a currency, that the preliminaries of Peace between France & Austria are actually signed. For the sake of humanity, I hope it is true, but it is an accommodation of the differences between the former & Great Britain, that is to produce harmony in this country; for nothing short of that, while there is a party determined to advocate French measures under *all* circumstances, & to withdraw this country from that tried neutrality, which its policy adopted & the administration has adhered to, can effect this purpose.

Let me ask the favor of you to present me in respectful terms

to Mrs. King, and that you would be assured of the great esteem & regard with which

I am, Dear Sir, your most obedt. Hble. Servt.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, June 27th, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

Lord Malmesbury will leave London in three or four days for Lisle, where the conferences between this country and France are to be held. Opinions fluctuate concerning the probability of peace. A struggle evidently exists in France between the Directory and the Legislature; in the latter of which bodies it is supposed there is a sincere desire of peace.

Some late proceedings in the Legislature, or rather in the Council of Five Hundred, give occasion to hope that our affairs are in train to assume a more friendly appearance.

If, as many assert, the public opinion is friendly to America, it will be employed by the Legislature against the Directory, which at this moment is viewed as a rival power. We have just received the President's speech: it has arrived at a critical hour. You will perceive by newspapers that all Italy will be overturned. Venice is no more; and Genoa has been completely revolutionized by Citizen Faypoult, the Minister of France.

Portugal sees, but seems unable to escape her fate.

Though these are days of wonder, still one dares not believe all we hear. The march already made by France has astonished and confounded every beholder—and we are told that she meditates and will attempt projects still more gigantic than those she has executed—plans which will operate a change in the whole face of Europe, and which extend to every other quarter of the globe. Russia may be able to preserve her dominions from the fire that is passing over the neighbouring countries. This nation has lately renewed her commercial treaty with Russia, and by an arrangement of their mutual interests may strengthen their common defence. It may be worth remarking that during this negotiation Russia never even proposed the project of the armed

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 260.

neutrality, so that the omission of the requisite provisions on that subject may be considered as an abandonment of the system by Russia.

Russia is to be treated in the British ports upon the same footing as the most favored European nation. Farewell.

Yours, &c., &c.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, July 8, 1797.

"DEAR SIR:

" . . . The letter from Governor Blount to Carey has been considered by both Houses of Congress. . . . This intended Impeachment induced Governor Blount and his friends to endeavour to postpone a decision on a question of expulsion (from the Senate) until the trial on the Impeachment should be had; when, if found guilty, his removal from office would be a part of his sentence. . . . But the impropriety of suffering a Senator incontrovertibly guilty of the crimes exhibited in his Letter to Carey, to retain his seat was stated with great force and justice; and after hearing Governor Blount by his Counsel (Messrs. Ingersoll and Dallas), the Senate this day pronounced the Sentence of Expulsion with only one dissenting voice, Mr. Tazewell's—25 Senators were present. Mess. Mason, Stockton, Schuyler, Paine and Langdon, together with the Vice President were absent. Mr. Bradford was President pro tempore.

Precisely to understand the nature of Governor Blount's offence, it will be necessary to remind and inform you that Col. Hawkins (whom you well know) is the actual Superintendent of the United States for the four Southern Indian Nations; that Dinsmoor is a particular agent of the U. S. residing among the Cherokees; that Byers is the factor charged with the public store at Tallico-Blockhouse, for carrying on trade with the Indians, and that Carey, to whom the Letter was written, was the Interpreter regularly appointed and in constant pay of the United States for the Cherokee Nation. Carey had been employed in the same capacity during Governor Blount's Superintendency, and doubtless was

supposed by the latter to be devoted to his interest, and absolutely subject to his direction. Chisholm also used to be an agent of the Governor and was often employed by him in Indian affairs, carrying messages into their nations and repeatedly conducting the Chiefs to and from Philadelphia. Chisholm came on here last winter with a party of the Cherokee Chiefs. You will see by Mr. Liston's note to me, dated the second instant, that several persons were concerned in offering to him the project exhibited in Governor Blount's Letter. But their names are not yet known. . . ."*

The following letter from Mr. Liston will be interesting in this connection as showing the circumstances under

* "Along with the papers transmitted to Congress in relation to the Spanish business was the copy of a letter from William Blount, late Governor of the Territory south of the Ohio, and now one of the Senators from Tennessee, addressed to a recently appointed Indian agent (Carey) among the Cherokees, by whom it had been communicated to the President. It appeared from this letter, as well as from information furnished by Liston, the new British Minister, of whom explanations had been asked, that Blount was engaged in an intrigue for transferring New Orleans and the neighboring districts to the British by means of a joint expedition, Britain to furnish a naval force, and a co-operating corps of backwoodsmen and Indians to be raised on the western frontier of the United States. Desperately involved in extensive land speculations in Tennessee, and wishing to relieve himself by getting up an English company for the purchase of his lands, Blount dreaded the re-transfer to the French, a military and not a commercial nation, of the outlet of the Mississippi, a transfer expected, and indeed supposed by some to be already made. Conceiving that it would be for the interest of the Western people, as well as for his own private benefit as a land speculator, that Louisiana should pass into the hands of the English, he relied upon his influence with the backwoodsmen of Tennessee, and with the Southern Indians, among whom he had long acted as agent, to raise a necessary force. He had engaged as his chief co-operator one Chisholm, a wild backwoodsman, well acquainted with the Spanish posts, and who had conceived against the Spanish authorities, from some collisions with them, a bitter hatred and an ardent desire of revenge, and, in his letter, laid before Congress, he had sought to engage in his schemes the Indian agent to whom it was addressed. . . .

"It did not appear that the British minister had given to it any other countenance beyond yielding to Chisholm's earnest request to be sent to England to lay the project before the British ministry, by whom it was rejected on the very ground that it might interfere with the neutrality of the United States."—Hildreth's *His. of U. S.*, 2d Ser., vol. ii., pp. 88–90.

which he introduced Mr. Chisholm to his correspondent in England.

R. Liston to J. H. Goverts, Esq.

Philadelphia, 16th March, 1797.

Dear Sir:

I beg leave to recommend to your attention and good offices the bearer of this Letter, Mr. John Chisholm, a native of Scotland, but settled from his early years in this Country. He goes to Europe to dispose of certain Lands situated in different parts of America, but particularly in the South: and if you can in this point render him any service, you will personally oblige me. I beg however that before you do anything definitive & particularly before you either advance or even promise money, you will naturally consider the long letter I wrote you on this subject on the 13th of last month. This I say so far as it regards myself; as to others I give you full liberty to do, and to allow him to do, whatever you please.

My injunctions on this subject are the more positive, as I have lately seen Capt. W, from the Genessee Country & listened with a pleasure mixed with regret, which I cannot describe, to his description of the new Settlements he is carrying on there. Upon my honour, it is enough to make a man go stark staring mad. However, mum! I do not hold this language to my friends in London, and I beg you never may.

I do not think it impossible that Mr. Chisholm may push on to London, if he is not completely successful at Hamburgh. If so, and if he applies to you for a recommendation to any of your correspondents in London, I beg you will not refuse it to him. I do not intend he should return *re infecta*, and I am well acquainted with your goodness. . . . The damned French Rogues are playing the Devil with this country, as they have done with all the world; but, as you used to say, when things are at the worst, they must mend. Amen, so be it.

With perfect truth, your most obedient and faithful humble Servant,

R. Liston.

Wm. Bingham to R. King.

Philada., July 10, 1797.

Dear Sir :

I received your Letter of April 26th, with several inclosures from the Marquis of Lansdown, who, I am pleased to find, is much gratified with the Portrait of the President. Stewart has been much disappointed in his Hopes relative to Profits, which he expected to derive from this Picture. He had wrote to his friend West, requesting him to engage an able artist to execute an Engraving therefrom, which, from the general admiration the picture attracted, might have been disposed of to great advantage in this Country. He has not heard from Mr. West, & he is fearful that Lord Lansdown's obliging character may induce him to permit some other artist to take off the Impression.*

Congress has finished its Sessions. Its acts during that Period, partake strongly of a Disposition towards Peace, thro' friendly Negotiation. Many of our Friends, who believe war with France inevitable, wished the public councils to assume that appearance. In the meantime our Commerce is much molested, & Bankruptcies are already happening in our great Towns. A stagnation is taking place in business of all kinds ; the Wages of Labor are lowering ; Property of all kinds is much diminished in value ; Disappointment in their views, joined to a great scarcity of money, has put an end to the various extravagant Speculations, which disgraced the Country ; many of those, who engaged deeply, are ruined & involved great numbers in their Misfortunes.

A general Hope prevails, that Peace will take place in Europe as the result of the present Negotiations. This alone will heal our Misunderstanding with the French Republic. A Commission of Envoys extraordinary has been instituted ; it is questionable whether they will be received, & still more doubtful whether, if received, their Negotiation will be successful. If war should ensue, I dread the Disorganization and extreme Disorder which will arise out of it, especially in the Southern Parts of the Union.

The public papers will inform you of the Expulsion of Gov. Blount from the Senate. A Letter, which you will find published,

* This happened, and thus Stuart lost the benefit.

he wrote to the Interpreter of the Cherokee Nation was the Cause of it. A Project was set on foot, ostensibly to engage & encourage the British to attack the Spanish Settlements. But it rather appears that the real object was to alarm the Spaniards, and when the Agents in this Business had created serious Apprehensions in their Minds, then to offer their Services to arrest or oppose its Progress, from which they expected to derive immense advantages. This nefarious Scheme was dark & intricate, & the full Extent of its Views is not yet unravelled. It has defeated the Provisions of the Spanish Treaty, as relative to the Cession of Territory, near the Boundary Line, & without great Prudence, at the present moment, on the part of our Government may involve us in a war with that nation.

I will write to Baron Hompesch on the Subject of his Proposals relative to the Transportation of his Germans to this Country : I do not think that I can offer him much Encouragement. Such an arrangement can only succeed after a Variety of necessary Measures have been pursued preparatory to their Arrival. However I will present the Matter to him in different Points of View, so that he shall be fully acquainted with the Subject & be able to act with Confidence.

With great sincerity yours,

WM. BINGHAM.

R. KING TO WM. HINDMAN.

LONDON, July 15, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

It was some time after my arrival here that I received the Letter that you wrote to me just before my embarkation. My Brother accompanied me as my Secretary, but as he is destined to the Profession of the Law, and had not been admitted to the Bar when he left America, he has returned home in order to pursue his Studies. This has occasioned a vacancy in the place of my Secretary, which I am willing should be filled by Mr. Helmsley. Inclosed is a letter for him which I request you to deliver. Mr. Helmsley will be one of my family in all respects, except that he will not lodge in my house. This was the footing on which Mr.

Deas was with my Predecessor. . . . My table will be that of my Secretary, and his servant will eat with mine. I mention these small circumstances that no misconception may take place respecting them. If I have but a very slight knowledge of Mr. Helmsley that indeed has left favorable impressions of his character; I rely essentially upon your knowledge and recommendation of it. I shall be inclined to treat him as a friend, if he will put it in my power. . . .

Farewell, my worthy friend, and accept
the assurance of my sincere Esteem and Friendship,

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XVI.

Maryland Bank Stock—Mr. King advises no partial Regulations relative to the Detention of Seamen—Provision of Money to meet Obligations under Treaty with Tunis—Sir Joseph Banks asks for Passport for Mr. Masson to go to America to collect Plants—Letter of R. King to M. Talleyrand, introducing Col. Trumbull and Asking his friendly Influence to aid in removing the Troubles between France and the United States—R. King to the Secretary of State—France probably owns Louisiana—Genl. Allen's Claim—T. Pickering on Gov. Blount's Conspiracy—R. King to A. Hamilton—Gloomy Views relative to Affairs in Europe—Letters from G. Cabot and Wm. Hindman—R. King to T. Jefferson—S. Williams relative to Genl. Lafayette.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Great Cumberland Place, July 19, 1797.

My Lord:

I have the honor to send your Lordship inclosed copies of my Letter of the 10th of February and also of a Letter that some time ago I wrote to the Lord Chancellor respecting the Maryland Bank Stock. I have the satisfaction to add that the Lord Chancellor lately informed me that the Certificate (which for many years has been in the Court of Chancery) is now in a situation in which a Transfer of the Stock could be made to me, provided his Majesty under his Sign Manual would give an order for that Purpose.

Since the date of my Letter to the Chancellor, I have ascertained that the other persons who claimed to be indemnified from the Fund for their Losses in Maryland, have as American Loyalists been compensated for these Losses by his Majesty's Government, so that the Claim is freed from those demands, which are supposed formerly to have obstructed the Transfer. I take the Liberty to request your Lordship's interference for the Purpose of Compleating, in such manner as shall be deemed adviseable,

the Transfer of the said Stock to me for the use of the State of Maryland.

With perfect Consideration & Respect, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 20, 1797.

MY LORD:

From what has taken place in the Court of Chancery, I flatter myself that there no longer exists any objection agt. the Transfer of the Maryland Bk. Stock: my only remaining concern is, that the Business should be finished without Delay. Since the Transfer is to be made, I take the liberty to express to your Lordship my earnest wish, that it may take place as soon as possible. I think I do not deceive myself in supposing that the satisfactory settlement of this Affair at the present juncture may be attended with consequences mutually beneficial to both Countries.

I presume that the order will enjoin the Accountant General of the Court of Chancery to pay over such Dividends as he may have received since the Stock has stood in his name, and which may not have been invested in further Sums of capital Stock.

I intreat your Lordship's attention to this Subject before the King goes to Weymouth; and beg you to accept the assurance of the sincere Respect and Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, July 27, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I was a few days since informed that Instructions were by the last vessel sent to Mr. Liston to propose an article to be added to the late Treaty, which should stipulate that all Deserters from the Army and Navy of the two countries should be delivered up and obliged to return to the service from which they deserted. This Instruction, it is understood, has been given in consequence of

the inconvenience experienced by the British Ships of war in our Ports. We cannot with propriety object to such just and convenient Regulations as may be calculated to promote and secure a good Understanding and friendly intercourse between us and other Nations. But that proposed embraces only part of a Subject of great Extent and Importance; and it does not appear to me that it would consist with good Policy to enter into any partial Stipulations respecting it; more especially when our repeated Overtures to adjust the entire Subject on Principles of liberality and mutual advantage, if not neglected, have not been received in a manner we had a Right to expect.

I have received a letter from Col. Humphries, dated the 21st of June, in which he informs me that it is probable that our Peace with Tunis has been concluded and that for the purpose of compleating our Treaties with the three principal Barbary Powers, he may be obliged to draw on the House of Barings for 170,000 or 200,000 dollars; he adds that he has no other resource but the Credit of the United States in London, and that a failure in the procuring of this Sum, may put at Risque what we have already expended to accomplish this object. The House of Barings are already in advance a few Thousand Pounds beyond the Funds remitted to them. You are sensible that I have no authority to enter into any engagements upon this Subject, the whole concern having been committed to Col. Humphries.

I have not however on that account omitted to employ the best means in my power to make a provisional arrangement for the advance of this money, should Col. Humphries be under the necessity of drawing for it. Accordingly the Mess. Hopes and the House of Barings have agreed to accept and pay Col. Humphries' Bills. The Business will be conducted by the House of Barings. I have informed Col. Humphries of this arrangement and shall in a few days be able to send you Copies of the Letters between Col. Humphries and me and between me and the Mess. Barings; these will give you full information of the terms upon which the money will be advanced by the Mess. Hopes & Barings. . . .

My letter of the 26th of June will apprise you of the Regulations I have presented to Mr. Bayard concerning the Receit, Custody and payment of the Monies. (Paid under the Decisions

of the Commissioners for settling claims & damages against England.) The affairs of some of the Claimants have been deranged and their Creditors employ every means to seize their property wherever it can be found. Among these means they have served attachments upon Mr. Bayard to arrest any property which may come into his Hands. This circumstance joined to an opinion that my Superintendance of the Payments might be advantageous have induced me to deposit the Money received on the Awards in the Bank of England to my Credit. I have at the same time by procuration appointed Mr. Bayard to draw for and pay the Money to the respective Claimants. This Arrangement will disappoint the Schemes of Arrestation that otherwise might have been practised, and as the Receit Book will show the sums drawn and the names of the persons to whom paid, this check will be in favor of a correct execution of this Trust.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

SIR JOSEPH BANKS TO R. KING.

SOHO SQUARE, July 29, 1797.

SIR :

The King having been graciously pleased to give orders that Mr. Francis Masson, a Botanic Gardener who has for many years been employed to collect Plants for the Royal Gardens at Kew in Various parts of Europe, Africa & America, do proceed to upper Canada to collect and transmit from thence to Kew such Plants as he may discover which have not yet been described by Botanical Writers ; and it having been represented to his Majesty that the most commodious Rout Mr. Masson can chuse is by the way of New York, I have his Majesty's command to solicit your Excellency to furnish him with the necessary Passports for his intended journey.

I beg leave at the same time to state to your Excellency that it appears to me very desireable that Mr. Masson should during the time of his Residence in upper Canada, visit the immense Tract of high Land between the Lakes Michigan and Huron, from whence numerous rivers take their Rise, some of which discharge their waters into the Western & some into the Eastern Lakes,

provided that the States of America are not likely to make any objection to his undertaking this journey, of which I beg your Excellency's opinion and also your advice how to proceed in case it is deemed proper that Mr. Masson should Receive it before he undertakes to carry on his Enquiries within the American Boundaries. I have the honor to be

with respect, esteem & regard, your Excellencies

Obedient Hble Servant

Jos. Banks.

It cannot be without interest to read the following letter to M. Talleyrand, and especially in view of his conduct towards the envoys who had been sent from the United States to endeavor to reconcile the two nations and re-establish the good feeling which had formerly existed. How entirely Mr. King misunderstood the wily and dishonest statesman at that time is only too evident.

R. King to Mons. Talleyrand, &c.

London, 3d Aug., 1797.

Dear Sir :

My Countryman and friend Col. John Trumbull is going to Stuttgard for the purpose of receiving a Plate that has been engraved for him in that City from a Picture which he painted some years since in Commemoration of a military Event that occurred in our Revolutionary War. It would very much shorten his journey if he could receive a Passport to go and return thro' France. I therefore take the liberty to state to you his wishes and if no public consideration forbids it, I think I can rely upon your disposition to gratify Col. Trumbull in his request. If the Passport is lodged with the Mayor or Municipality of Calais, he will without difficulty find it on his arrival at that Place.

I cannot suffer the present occasion to pass, without offering you my congratulations upon your appointment to the office of Foreign Affairs, a department always and in every country important; but nowhere so much so as with you at the present Juncture. Neither will I affect to conceal from you that the satisfaction with which I have heard of your choice has not been

purely disinterested. We have been accustomed to converse on every subject with the greatest freedom ; and though I ought to impose upon myself a reserve that official situation on both sides may seem to recommend, yet I prefer to express my sentiments with that frankness which you approve and practice and which always belongs to important occasions.

You know, because you have resided among us, that we desire to have neither attachment nor aversion to any Nation. France has no cause to believe that we prefer any other to her, and you can pronounce, if we had an aversion to any Nation, that it would not be to yours. Not yet recovered from the Derangement in our affairs produced by our Revolutionary War, busily employed in watching the operations of our new organization, and in gaining by our Union Strength and Consistency, we were forbid by all the Duties of Patriotism from suffering ourselves to become Parties in a war in which from situation, we could afford little aid, and should be certain to suffer great, if not irreparable Evils. Our Policy has, therefore, been by practising Justice to all and by observing the most scrupulous and exact neutrality, to establish and confirm our State, to remain in peace. Unfortunately our success has not corresponded with our Expectations ; you witnessed the Posture of our affairs when we suffered by the British Depredations on our Commerce, and you saw its influence upon the public opinion, and you also perfectly understand the motives which guided us in the Measures we adopted to procure Compensation for our Losses and to maintain our National Peace.

The afflicting Events which have since occurred are notorious: but their extent and tendency are, I apprehend, greater and more consequential than has been supposed. It is neither France nor America which will be benefitted by the angry Passions which so many causes unite to provoke. This is a fruitful and interesting topic : to your mind it is not necessary to present its details ; you will view the subject in the extensive consequences with which it is connected, and I am confident that you will exhibit it in the light in which a wise Policy requires it should be seen. Without intimating how much, in my poor opinion, the Character of the future Connections of America with Europe will depend upon the Sentiments of France concerning Questions which have arisen and must be decided, I will only add to these private and

personal observations, that from the moment I heard that you had been named to the Department of Foreign Affairs, I have felt a satisfactory Confidence that the Cause of the increasing Misunderstanding between us would cease, and that the overtures meditated by our Government would not fail to restore Harmony and Friendship between the two Countries.

Accept, my dear Sir, the assurances of the Sincere attachment & Esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

DEAR SIR : LONDON, Aug. 4, 1797.

I promised myself a treasure in your correspondence, for really one's friends are so occupied, or so little inclined to give themselves the trouble of writing even the familiar incidents which occur from day to day, that when absent we know very little of what is passing at Home. You began with me in a way that promised to leave me no regrets on this subject, but unfortunately I have recd. but a single letter from you since your promotion. Now, my dear Judge, I must appeal to your Equity, for I think you are a chancellor as well as a common Law Judge, and with its assistance endeavour to enforce your engagement to be a punctual, nay a better correspondent than Hamilton, or any other of our friends whom you sometimes amuse yourself with. As for Lawrance, I have not heard from him since he became a Senator. . . .

Farewell, yrs.,

R. K.

Do you know, my dear Judge, that the Debates which took place in May & June last in a certain Assembly, did not afford me any gratification? Is it that they were ill reported, or that they did not display the true character of our country?

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

DEAR SIR: LONDON, Aug. 5, 1797.

. . . Great Secrecy prevails concerning the Negotiations at Lisle, which may be protracted for many Months, and probably are to be very materially affected by the result of the Struggle

which exists at Paris between the different Parties. The Refusal to evacuate the Spanish Posts in the Mississippi according to the Stipulations of the Treaty ; the Spoliations committed upon our Commerce by the Spanish Privateers, and that under the most scandalous pretexts, joined to the prevalence of the Rumour that Spain has actually ceded Louisiana to France, are circumstances of some weight in leading us to apprehend that France has really become the Proprietor of that extensive and undefined Region.

Immediately on the Receit of your Letter of the 16th of June I communicated to Lord Grenville the President's opinion and wishes respecting the Military Stores claimed by General Allen ;* and in consequence thereof, notwithstanding this Government has received Information which was confidentially shewn to me that the Arms were French Property, and that General Allen would lose nothing by their Condemnation, I have been assured, and am satisfied, that the Government are disposed to restore them without farther Enquiry : but the Captors, who have no Interest in the Question, refuse to consent to the restoration, and persist in holding the property for Trial. The process is at a stage when according to the usual Custom of the Court, the claimant has a Title to receive the Property on bail. I have advised General Allen to endeavour to obtain Possession of the Property in this way, and, in case he fails in the attempt, to leave the claim in the care of his Counsel and to return home. . . .

With great Respect & Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Aug. 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

In my letter of the 8th of July I gave you some information respecting Governor Blount's conspiracy. The House of Representatives appointed a Committee to sit in the recess, with power to send for persons and papers. By this authority they sent and took Dr. Romayne of New York and his papers ; but I do not learn that any important discoveries were the consequence. The Party, who stick at nothing to excite resentment against

* Case of the *Olive Branch*.

Great Britain, ascribe the plot to her Minister, Mr. Liston, and pronounce that the British Government was at the bottom of it. But no evidence has as yet appeared to warrant these charges. On the contrary, Mr. Liston's frank declarations, verbally and in writing, have been verified, and the discoveries, as to the participation of the British amount to no more than this—That certain citizens of the United States, of whom Capt. John Chisholm was one, made proposals early last winter to Mr. Liston, for an expedition against the Floridas and adjacent possessions of Spain, to be carried on by land with the aid of citizens of the United States, assisted by the Indians, and by sea, on the part of the British ; that Mr. Liston among other objections to the project offered these two, that upon the plan proposed the expedition could not be carried into execution without violating the neutral rights of the United States, nor without employing the Indians ; that he nevertheless thought it his duty to communicate the project to his Government, accompanied with his objections ; and that his Government rejected the proposals, because the means suggested were inadequate to the object ; and because, independently of all other objections, the two reasons of Mr. Liston above mentioned were sufficient to determine the British Ministry not to adopt it. It appears also that the answer of Lord Grenville not arriving so soon as Chisholm expected, he became impatient ; and importuned Mr. Liston to let him go in person to London to tell his own story, which with much hesitation and reluctance Mr. Liston consented, paying his passage.

R. King to A. Hamilton.*

London, August 6th, 1797.

Dear Sir :

No satisfactory opinion can yet be formed concerning the termination of the negotiations for peace. Even those who are supposed to have the best information are without confidence. On the one hand, peace may be concluded sooner than any one thinks probable. On the other, the negotiations at Lisle and Montebello may be suddenly broken off, and France again engaged with Austria, as well as England. A great struggle in which

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 262.

all Europe think themselves interested exists between the two Councils and a majority of the Directory, for it is well understood that almost every question is decided in this latter body by three against two. If the Councils prevail, peace is believed to be more probable ; if the war continues, Denmark and the neighboring free cities, Portugal, perhaps Switzerland, and even Greece, as well as the whole of Italy will be revolutionized. I wish I could write to you with the same freedom as we could converse. How far the new order of things is to extend, which are still to be overturned, and who are to be spared, is a subject concerning which we amuse ourselves with conjectures. It would be a consolation, could we anywhere discover a mind of adequate foresight and authority to influence, to combine and apply to their proper and legitimate uses, the disposition and the means which unquestionably exist to resist and baffle the monstrous force which overturns and will continue to lay waste every country against which it bends its energies. Paradoxical as it may appear, the people are less wrong than their governments, which, everywhere seem to be destitute of both wisdom and courage. I cannot except even the government of this country, which possessing the command of the resources of the richest nation in Europe, with a clear and distinct view of the total insecurity of any compromise with their enemy, still dismounts and lowers the national spirit and courage by fruitless and repeated efforts to restore peace. Men are mortal and by a law to which they are subject, can exist but for a limited time. Societies are exempt from this law, and there is nothing in their nature that limits their improvement, in duration ; still the analogy is but too strict, and we seem to be doomed to witness, if not to suffer, in the dissolution of the present social organization. Farewell—when I am able to give you a gayer prospect I will write you again.

G. Cabot to R. King, London.

Brookline, August 17, 1797.

My Dear Sir :

Altho' it is a long time since I had the pleasure of hearing from you, yet I have no right to complain, but we are full of concern for the fate of Europe, which we know may ultimately affect our

own ; we are anxious to see the condition of their political wrecks, after the revolutionary storm shall subside. But when will this happen ? I, who am a sailor, have great fears of a sudden calm ; the tempestuous gales, which threaten to overwhelm the ship, furnish also some means of escape, but the terrible agitations, which succeed the wind, bring a destruction which cannot be resisted & from which there can be no flight. . . . I refer you to the public papers for all sorts of news & I am mortified that they should tell to you & the world how much we are disgraced by the Congressional discussions of the last session. But at the same time, I think that I can assure you that the people are infinitely better than many of the Representatives, and that infamous servility discovered in the debates has been properly reprobated.

Ever your sincere friend,

G. CABOT.

WM. HINDMAN TO R. KING, LONDON.

BELLFIELD, TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND, Aug. 21st, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I presume you have been already gratified in hearing that there is a Majority of fæderal Members in the House of Representatives ; it is by the bye a very bare one. Of this number there are some new Members who want training. They sometimes get frightened and fly the way ; I am in hopes they will understand things better at the next Session & feel the necessity of going with the Friends of Government upon all occasions. The Antis, or Jacobins, or whatever name may be given them, are ever at their Post, always prepared to seize upon any Prey which may offer, whenever they discover a new member, who comes under the character of fæderal, in any sort wavering. They hang about him, flatter him, sometimes completely seduce him. In this they have an Advantage, as the same measures are not taken on our side of the Question. Jacobinism I think is on the Decline, happily for the Friends of Government and those who administer it ; whenever any Plots or Villainies are discovered it ever falls upon those worthless Men, who have the Effrontery to

stile themselves *the exclusive Patriots*. Quondam Senator Blount's letter you must have seen.

The Ministerial appointment of our Friend W. Smith of Charleston will be a great loss to our House, unless he is succeeded either by your Predecessor Major Pinckney or Mr. Desasoare, of which I hear there are some Hopes ; it is said if either of those Gentlemen will consent to stand, there is no doubt of their Election ; if they do not, there is some danger that our former Acquaintance, Charles Pinckney of the Old Congress will be elected : this would be very unfortunate. . . .

Most of the great Land Speculators are Bankrupt. Mess. Nicholson, Greenleaf, Judge Willson are said to be in Jail. Mr. Morris has been for some time confined to his own House for Fear of the common Jail. I hear he means to surrender himself shortly ; his notes have been for some time as low as five cents in the Pound.

Mr. Smith & myself were alone at Mrs. Williams last session. . . . The Old Lady drinks less than she used to do. . . .

Yrs. affecty. & sincerely,

WM. HINDMAN.

R. KING TO THOS. JEFFERSON.

LONDON, Aug. 22, 1797.

SIR :

I have requested Capt. Newel of the Ship Cleopatra, who is bound to Philadelphia to take charge of a Diploma delivered to me for you by Sir John Sinclair, President of the Board of Agriculture.

I have just received from Mr. Strickland a letter for you ; but as he informs me that the letter is to accompany a small box, containing an assortment of seeds which is also to be sent to my care, but which has not yet been received, I shall detain this letter to be sent with the box by a future opportunity.

With perfect respect I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obed. & faithful servt.,

RUFUS KING.

S. Williams to R. King.

Hamburgh, 22d Aug., 1797.

Sir :

I have the pleasure to inform you that the Marquis de la Fayette and his companions will soon be at liberty. The French Government, or laws, *denying them an entry into France*, the Emperor has been pleased to order that they shall be at liberty to proceed to Holland, or to embark at Hamburgh for the United States, provided proper measures be taken to pursue either rout within eight days after their arrival here. The Baron de Buol, the Imperial Minister, has been instructed to apply to Mr. Parish (as Consul) and make the necessary arrangements. He called and communicated to me his instructions. As Consul, I told him, I was not authorized to take any steps, but in a private capacity I was ready to do all that was required in case the Marquis were desirous to embark for the U. S. I soon met Mr. Childs and Mr. Joy. We agreed to provide the Marquis and his family with a passage and every necessary, if wanted—certain that we should have, at least, a compensation, in gratifying our feelings, by procuring them a speedy release. I waited on the minister the next day (yesterday) and informed him of the steps we were ready to take.

A friend of the Marquis was at Vienna and had a conference with the Imperial Minister relative to this business. He is here and had seen Mr. Parish, and obtained a letter from him to the Baron de Buol, with an offer similar to ours. He and another friend went with me to the Baron's, who has communicated our arrangements to his Court, and who appears well disposed. Although the condition of their release is that they quit the territory of the Empire eight days after their arrival in this city, the Minister observed that he did not doubt of their being indulged agreeably to their wishes, and that if the state of the Marquis' health would not admit of his proceeding immediately to Holland or America, he might reside at Altona.

It appears to be the wish of his friends, that he go by the shortest rout to Holland ; they expect, perhaps, that he will have leave to enter France and recover his property. I hope so, for, entre nous, I would rather that he and his companions were there

than in the U. S. Knowing that it will gratify his best Friend General Washington and our Countrymen in general, I shall render him every service in my power.

Respectfully &c., &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

CHAPTER XVII.

Senator Blount's Expulsion from the Senate—Mr. Liston's Conduct—R. King declines a Dinner offered by American Merchants—Gen. Lafayette—R. King to the Secretary of State, thanking him for regular Information on the Affairs of the U. S., and sending to him an Account of European Politics—Lafayette and French Affairs—Disturbances in Ireland—Release of Lafayette, and his Arrival in Hamburgh—Lafayette to R. King.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Private.

Gr. Cumberland Place, 28th Aug., 1797.

My Lord :

Having just received dispatches from Philadelphia, I take the liberty to send your Lordship several newspapers containing the Proceedings of the Congress relative to Thomas Blount, who was expelled from the Senate on the 8th of July by all the voices except one.

It has given me great satisfaction to observe, and especially as it corresponds with the tenor of my reports to the American Government, that his Majesty's ministers so distinctly disapproved the project contrived by Blount and his associates, the moment they were apprized of it.

But I cannot avoid regretting that Mr. Liston suffered an occasion so favorable to the promotion of the good harmony between the two countries to pass without turning it to profit by communicating to the American Government the existence of a scheme so full of mischief and so hazardous to our Peace. . . .

With perfect consid'n.,

R. King.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Aug. 28, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

Before I received your Letter of the 8th of July, communicating the intercepted letter of Mr. Blount, I had entertained suspicions and been on the watch, respecting certain characters who had appeared here from the Tennessee Country. In the ship John Henderson, which arrived here last spring from Philadelphia, came Captain Chisholm and another person who called himself Doctor Hutter. The latter is a Dutchman who I am informed has lived several years in Knoxville. Hutter has said that his coming with Chisholm was accidental, that he came to England for the purpose of going from thence to the Continent, which, as he alledged, he has several times attempted to do, but not having the requisite Passports to leave this Country, has been stopped and turned back. Neither Hutter nor Chisholm have come near me; *and by the reports of a person in some measure in their confidence*,* I have been repeatedly *informed that* Chisholm *since* his arrival *has received money from this Government*, that he has sometimes spoken *of having had an interview with Lord Grenville*, and having plunged into the dissipation of this City, and spent his money, *that he had been redeemed from the* custody of the Bailiff *by the Government's paying his debts. This they refused doing except* Chisholm *would* immediately *leave the Country which he* promised to do, *but has not yet done.* Hutter says that he lodged in the same house with Chisholm in Second Street Philadelphia, that Chisholm was often backwards and forwards *between the houses of Blount and Liston, and that the latter was* several times at the house in which they lodged: that they brought a letter *of introduction from Liston to a Mrs. Thomas or Thomson who lives in Halfmoon Street, and at whose House they lodged* on their first arrival here; that *this woman is an old* friend *of Liston's*, having been *abroad in his family for* many years.

Hutter is reserved and cautious, says little concerning his own affairs but sometimes has intimated *to the person who at my desire has observed them*, that Chisholm in his opinion had been sent here by Blount and that his mission was connected with a pro-

* Italics in cipher.

ject to invade Florida, *and perhaps to separate Tennessee and the Western Country from the American Union.* I cannot, I think, be mistaken in the information that Chisholm *has received money here, and* at several times : *the sums have been inconsiderable and such as* his course of life *soon dissipated. He is said to have brought a letter of Credit from Mr. Bell of* Philadelphia *to a Mr. Wilson of* London. This is a thread which you may follow : I shall be able to ascertain *from Wilson* whether this information is correct. By *Mr. d'Asp, the Swedish Envoy here, and who was at Constantinople with Liston,* I am ascertained that *Mrs. Thomas, the person at whose house* Hutter and Chisholm *lodged,* was really *with Liston in Turkey.* Chisholm is again arrested for his Debts, and is at this time in a Lock-up House in Chancery Lane. I do *not despair of being able to obtain the possession of Chisholm's papers, tho'* the publication of Blount's Letter, as well as of those between you and Liston which have appeared in all the News Papers *may put the parties on* their guard.

With perfect Respect and Esteem, &c., &c.,

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

Private.

DROPMORE, Aug. 30, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

I am much obliged to you for the communication of the American Papers you sent me. I am not sorry for the accident which has afforded the means of proving the principles and rules by which our conduct is guided in everything that affects the Peace and tranquillity of the U. S. : but I hardly think that Mr. Liston would have been at liberty to communicate to the Govt. of the U. S. a proposal of this nature, the communication of which might have involved the proposers in much personal risk, while the plan itself could be productive of no inconvenience to your Government,—since it could never be acted upon but by the cooperation of the King's Ministers—a cooperation which Mr. Liston had no reason to presume could be given, and which was accordingly refused in the most distinct & pointed manner, on the first intimation we received of the business.

I own I think that Mr. Liston (tho' acting for the best unquestionably & with great means of judging of the line which he was to pursue) has nevertheless gone at least to the utmost extent of what his situation allowed, if not somewhat beyond it, when he answered the letter of Col. Pickering by an avowal which may prejudice individuals supposed to be implicated in it. I have however no reason to regret in the present instance that the subject did not strike him in the light in which it might perhaps have struck me in the same situation, as the consequence has only been to evince still more clearly the correctness of our principles and conduct.

Ever, my dear Sir,
Most faithfully & sincerely your obt. Hum. Servt.,
GRENVILLE.

It would appear that the merchants in London interested in American commerce asked Mr. King to accept a dinner as an evidence of their gratitude for the efficient efforts he had made to facilitate their trade and protect them from the depredations consequent upon the persistent interference by French enactments and cruisers. The answer below is characteristic of the Minister.

R. KING TO H. M. BIRD.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Sep. 1, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 31st ult. We still remain in Town, and are uncertain when we shall be able to pursue our projected excursion. Concerning the intentions of the American Merchants, which you have been so obliging as to communicate to me, I entreat you to believe and to assure these Gentlemen, sensible as I am of the honor of their good opinion, that it will be far more agreeable to me that their purpose should be postponed, than that it should be carried into execution. As I do not entertain the smallest Doubt of their good wishes and friendly sentiments towards my Country, I cannot on that score desire the Proof thereof which they have

proposed to give ; and so far as I have any personal wishes, they will be best gratified by availing myself with the least possible éclat of every occasion that shall occur to render to you and them any service that my situation shall permit.

With great consideration and Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Sept. 1. 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I am much obliged to you for the regular and satisfactory information that your correspondence has afforded me. Nothing could be more unpleasant, and I may add more disadvantageous, in my situation than to be without authentic information concerning what is passing in our own Country ; and it is with very sincere pleasure that I acknowledge the attention, which, amidst other engagements, you have found time to bestow upon the Correspondence with this Legation. There is an authenticity in your letters that you must not expect to find in those of our Foreign Ministers. You possess all the means of giving a correct Report of the situation in our domestic affairs ; while we on the contrary, are often obliged to form an opinion upon contradictory evidence. From this consideration I have indulged myself less in troubling you with Speculations relative to affairs in which we have a common interest than I should have done, had I either possessed more complete information concerning them, or more adequate means of procuring it. I do not, however, recollect that I have ever expressed to you an opinion that a general Peace was likely to be the Result either of the Preliminaries with Austria or of the Negotiations at Lisle : indeed my uniform opinion has been, as it now is, that the Peace of Europe was still far, very far distant. Was Peace concluded tomorrow upon the Terms on which alone it could be, with the Temper and Principles which prevail and under the present circumstances of the Parties, it would not be durable. I therefore do exceedingly regret to observe that Congress have been in any degree influenced by an opinion that the Peace of Europe was about to be

restored, and that consequently they might dispense with those wise and, in my judgment indispensable precautions which the President recommended for their adoption.

Nothing can be more erroneous in the Politicks of a Nation than to omit on any consideration, much less on the score of a mistaken and dangerous economy, those Preparations for self defence and national safety, which, even in days of profound Peace, ought not to be neglected, and of which, in this mighty crisis of human affairs, he must be blind who does not see the absolute necessity. It is a false, and will prove a fatal, security, if we allow ourselves to be persuaded that we are either too just, too remote, too wise, or too powerful to be drawn into the present war, which continues to exhaust and threatens to change the face of Europe, and the results of which, in reference to the whole world, were never more uncertain or beyond the reach of human foresight, than at the present moment.

In Italy, the negotiations still continue, while the Emperor with great activity is reinforcing his armies and completing the Feudal organization of his Subjects in Hungary. The preliminaries with Austria stipulated among other things the restoration of Mantua and the assembling of a Congress of all the Powers affected by the war for the purpose of concluding a definitive and general Peace : the Performance of these Stipulations France desires to avoid, the Emperor insists, and there seems to be no small Probability of the recommencement of war between them. At Lisle the Prospect is still more unpromising, and it may with confidence be concluded, unless a temper more pacific on the part of France shall prevail, that the negotiation will entirely fail and that the war will be pursued with encreased Vehemence and Energy.

England will probably consent to restore to France all her Conquests ; to Holland, all but Ceylon and the Cape, perhaps the former of these places also ; and it is not likely that she would hesitate to restore Trinidad to Spain. In respect to Belgium, she would not insist on what the Emperor has consented to relinquish for Equivalents ; but this is not enough. France, by her Canada project, delivered at Lisle, is understood to have required for herself a restoration of all the places that England had taken from her, a return of the Ships carried away from Toulon and payment for those which were there destroyed, an alteration in the English

Navigation Act and a renunciation of the Use of the Title of King of France.

For Spain, a Restoration of the Places conquered, together with Gibraltar, and for Holland, a Restoration of all the Places conquered, the return of the Ships of War, and Compensation for the Ships and Merchandize stopped and brought into the English Ports, before the declaration of war between England and Holland. To these England will not agree.

Portugal has been counted among the Enemies of France; but if the late Treaty shall be ratified, she will probably be treated as the enemy of England. It is said with considerable confidence that d'Aranjo, the Portuguese Minister had no power to *conclude* a treaty; and England hopes to defeat it, by preventing its confirmation. The same thing was said concerning the Treaty with Spain, concluded by d'Yriarte at Basle, on which occasion the Prince of Peace, even after the date of the Signature of the Treaty told Lord Bute not only that d'Yriarte had no power to conclude a Treaty, but that Spain, with her accustomed Fidelity, would adhere to England in the prosecution of the War. The fact is said to have been, that both the Queen and the Prince of Peace were ignorant that a certain influence had prevailed on the King to give a private instruction and authority to d'Yriarte, in consequence of which the Treaty was concluded and afterwards ratified. Whatever the fact may be respecting the power of d'Aranjo, there is not much doubt respecting the ratification of this Treaty. The articles are not yet public, but they are supposed to be favorable to France and repugnant to the Treaties with England, and among other Stipulations it is believed that Portugal has consented to the Cession of a portion of her possessions in America; but to what extent, I am not informed. If Spain should take the alarm, which she reasonably may do, from the neighborhood of the French to her Colonies, it is possible that she will, to a certain extent, countenance Portugal in refusing her Ratification; but the predominant influence of France destroys in a great measure the probability of an efficient interference from this Quarter.

Besides Portugal is a minor, and against France and Spain, a defenceless Power, and in common with almost every Nation in Europe, is deeply embarrassed in her pecuniary affairs: indeed there seems to be everywhere those symptoms of Derangement,

which may be expected to precede a general Bankruptcy of Europe. At Rome, at Genoa and at Venice, private as well as public Credit is annihilated; in Spain, as on former occasions, the Government has been obliged to have recourse to the fraudulent and ruinous System of Paper Money which has likewise been lately adopted by Portugal, and failed in the attempt to obtain a Loan of half a Million Sterling in London, tho' she offered to pledge Diamonds to the full amount and to mortgage in addition the Revenue of the Tobacco Farm. In Holland, and in Germany there is no public and a very limited private Credit, and all Parties agree in the Confusion and insufficiency of the French Finances. With the exception perhaps of this Country, whose fate is beyond my view, but on whose security we ought not to depend, there is no where that safety for Property and that security for Individuals that our Country at present affords.

To preserve these Blessings will demand all our efforts and we must be prepared to meet and to resist the Storm which lays waste the old world and threatens to extend to the New.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, 5 Sept., 1797.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Williams, our Consul at Hamburgh, informs me that the Imperial Minister has notified to him that the Emperor had consented to the release of General La Fayette upon condition that he should embark for America within eight days after his arrival at Hamburgh; he also requested Mr. Williams to make the necessary preparations for this embarkation. Mr. Williams answered that he had no instructions to take any measures on this Subject, but that he had no hesitation to engage (and he accordingly did so in concert with one or two other Americans) to make the advances which may be required to provide a ship and other accommodations for the passage of General La Fayette and his family to America. Conceiving that it would be more agreeable both to the President and to the General that the Supplies which may be necessary on this occasion should be furnished by the public instead of Individuals, I wrote to Mr. Williams a letter recom-

mending to him to make such advances to General La Fayette as his occasions might require, and to draw upon me for their reimbursement. This arrangement corresponds with one that I had before made with Mr. Cadignan, one of the General's aids, who went a few days past to Hamburgh in expectation of meeting him at that place. I do not consider it certain that General La Fayette will go to Hamburg or embark immediately for America, having understood that he will be allowed by the Emperor to go to Holland where (if permitted by the Dutch Government) he may perhaps be inclined to wait some time in order to ascertain whether he will be allowed to return to France.

. . . Paris is not a Commercial Station, or a place at which commercial questions can ordinarily arise, but where they may nevertheless exist by reference from the Sea Ports: yet we have always had a Consul General at Paris, who has had a superintendance over our Consuls in that Nation, and at present the office is particularly important to us. London is the centre of our extensive commercial operations with this Country, and it is likewise essentially connected in our commercial intercourse with the South, as well as with the North of Europe. Still we never have had a Consul General at London. The duties have been exercised by me since my residence here; but I do assure you that the perpetual details, in which I am thereby engaged, consume much of my time and attention which perhaps might be more advantageously employed. Most of our Consuls in this Country are British Subjects: they are certainly worthy characters; but I have, I confess, a decided preference of the employment of our own people, where they can be induced to serve; and in respect to the office of Consul General, a consul for London, I think you will agree with me, that he should be an American Citizen. I take the liberty of making this latter observation from a knowledge that several Foreigners are desirous of obtaining this appointment.

. . . The Paris accounts exhibit no proofs of reconciliation between the Directory and the Consuls; the breach now appears greater than it has been; both sides are courting the Armies, who, having at present no foreign enemy to employ them, are engaged in considering the internal affairs of the country. This is a state of things that will not surprize you and is moreover one that must be productive of further and still more important Events in

Europe. The Armies may take different sides and after a bloody civil war, the Conqueror may establish such a government as will best maintain his authority.

There is great suspicion concerning the views of Buonaparte; the deference with which he is treated by the Directory is commonly ascribed to his supposed Devotion to their views; while others think he is too powerful to be treated in the customary stile, and that both England and Austria would aid him, if requisite, in the consolidation of the Italian States under one Government to be hereditary in his family. . . .

The Malcontents of Ireland have been overawed, and that country is at present quiet; but Scotland is at this moment in a state of great fermentation, in consequence of a late determination of the Government to embody 6000 militia in that Country. The People in several counties have resisted the execution of this measure and blood has already been shed in the Controversy: the Consequence will be that large Bodies of troops will be sent to Scotland, and the Peasantry will be forced to submit.

With Great Respect & Esteem, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL WASHINGTON.

DEAR SIR: LONDON, Sept. 5, 1797.

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 15th of June; and having a few minutes before the Mail for New York is dispatched, I employ them in sending you inclosed the copy of a Letter that I received a few days past from our Consul at Hamburgh, which announces the approaching release of General La Fayette.*

* The event recorded above is the release of La Fayette from the cruel imprisonment in the dungeon at Olmutz, to which he had been consigned by the Austrian Government for four years. He had been in 1789, a member of the Assembly of France and Commander-in-chief of the National Guard, and, distrustful of the policy of the Jacobins, had sought to screen the King from their attempts to coerce him. Having been promoted to the chief command of a portion of the Army on the Prussian frontier, upon the declaration of the war with Austria, he still watched over the welfare of the King and wrote to the Assembly a letter denouncing the acts of the Jacobins, and even went to Paris to endeavor to defend himself in the course he had taken. He found that he was too late to counteract their designs, returned to the army, and after the im-

Knowing the friendship that you have uniformly had for him, and recollecting likewise that his Son is with you, I could not refuse myself the pleasure of making to you this communication.

With perfect consideration & Respect &c. &c.,

RUFUS KING.

S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURGH, 8 Sept., 1797.

SIR :

. . . I shall comply with your advice in advancing the supplies that General La Fayette may want. He may not want any, for Madame La Fayette holds her estates in France, worth *two millions*. . . .

With great consideration & regard &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

prisonment of the King, finding himself suspected, his command taken from him, and his impeachment ordered, he fled into Belgium, where he was captured, confined by the Prussians, who offered him freedom on the condition, which he refused, that he would fight against his country. He was then handed over to Austria, which sent him to the dungeon at Olmutz. From this he was at one time set free by the enterprise and boldness of a young German, Dr. Bollman and Mr. F. K. Huger of S. Carolina, but being recaptured was again placed in prison, where his wife and daughter were permitted to join him in 1795. At this time G. Washington La Fayette, with his tutor, Mr. Trestel, left France, with the privity of some of the Committee of Safety, and arrived at New York, where he was received by Genl. Hamilton, who informed Washington of their arrival and advised, on Washington's suggestion, that the latter should at first communicate with them only by letter. This was done, but after some months they were received by Washington in person, and urged him to suggest some method by which La Fayette might be released from captivity. His opinion was that the return of peace alone would cause him to be set free, but intimated to them that perhaps a *private* letter addressed to the Emperor of Austria from him, communicating his own hope and that of the people of America, to be sent through Mr. Pinckney, the Minister of London, after consultation with the other diplomats there, might bring about the liberation, on condition of his coming to America. The letter was written and sent.* What effect it had in mitigating the severity of his imprisonment is not known. But what other means, the sympathy in England and the United States, had failed to do, was finally brought about by the victorious march of Bonaparte, on the 23d of September, 1797. The young men were still in America, when Mr. King's letter reached there, and though against the advice of Washington, they returned immediately to Europe to join the General on his liberation from captivity.

* Marshall's *Life of Washington*, v., 669.

R. King to A. Hamilton.*

London, September 9, 1797.

Dear Sir :

We hear this day accounts from Paris, which, though very important and interesting, are not unexpected. The breach between the Councils and the Directory has for some time destroyed all prospect of a reconciliation between them, and either an organized civil war, in consequence of the different sides adopted by the several armies, or a measure like that which has happened, had become inevitable. The march of a considerable division of the army into the interior, the removals of generals in whom they did not confide, the various messages in the style of manifestoes addressed to the Councils, and the sending for General Jourdan who commanded the Army of the Rhine, to Paris, and putting his army in the interim of his absence under Hoche, are now explained.

Augereau, who had been called from Italy for the purpose, upon the alarm-cannon being fired on the morning of the 4th instant, marched his troops, and surrounded, without opposition, the place of sitting of the Council of 500. He then proceeded to arrest Pichegru, and a considerable number of the most influential members of that Council, on the charge of a royalist conspiracy ; having for its object the massacre of three of the Directory, to make way for successors who would place Louis XVIII on the throne of France. Carnot, say the same advices, has fled and Barthelemi, say others, is also arrested. I do not give you this account as authentic, though I have little doubt it is so, as far, at least, as it states an attack of the Directory upon the Council of 500.

If the consequence of this proceeding was confined to France it would be less the subject of regret, though all must deplore the sanguinary scenes so frequently there exhibited ; but, in reference to the pending negotiations and the return of peace, this transaction is very important. The two Councils, who, in this respect, are supposed to here faithfully represent their constituents, desired peace with sincerity ; the Directory most certainly differed from them in their inclinations on this subject. If the Directory

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 265.

overwhelm the Councils, the war must, and will, continue. But how will the armies—how will the nations conduct on this occasion? I fear there is little consolation to the friends of humanity from the doubt, which for a moment exists on these points—the nations are nothing, the armies are most probably secured, and the Directory will triumph. Adieu.

Yours, &c.,

P. S. If I do not forget names, a majority of the Committee to whom Pastoret's speech on our affairs was referred, are among the members now arrested. You will readily see how mischievous to us this success of the Directory may and probably will be.

JOHN LAWRANCE TO R. KING.

NEWPORT, Sept. 19, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . We are waiting with much anxiety to hear the result of the Negotiation at Lisle. Much (probably) depends on it as to us. We are sincere in our wishes for Peace, and in our endeavors to preserve it. A nation, so much disposed to amity, ought not to have their tranquillity disturbed. Ours has been too much so, but still not so much as it may be; should an Event, so unfortunate, take place, I hope we shall exhibit a conduct which will not disgrace us. . . .

Yr. affectionate humble Servt.,

JOHN LAWRANCE.

C. CADIGNAN TO R. KING.

HAMBRO', 19 Sept., 1797.

SIR:

I have delayed to write to you since my arrival here in hopes that I should have soon some good news of our friend to relate to you. This day is at last come. Mr. William has acquainted your excelency of the last business between the minister of the emperor and Mr. Parish here; since that we have been without news; but yesterday M. Le B.^{ron} de Buol, minister of the emperor here, wrote a note to Mr. Masson to let him know that he had just received *the official note* from his Cabinet that the order

had been sent from Vienna to Olmutz to liberate the prisoner directly ; so we expect them here now every moment and will have the honour to inform your excelency of their arrival and mention then the offer you have made to me for our friend Laf. who certainly will be very grateful of the interest you have always shown for his unfortunate fate.

Mr. William will certainly write to you by this post, so I have nothing more to tell. Pray present my respects to Mrs. King. I remain

Of your Excelency Most obedient Servant,

C. CADIGNAN.

S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURGH, 3 Oct., 1797.

SIR :

I shall have the happiness of receiving General Lefayette to morrow. He will arrive tonight with his family and companions at Harburg on the opposite bank of the Elbe, and on passing it tomorrow he will be saluted by an American ship—which with the others in the Port, will show him every mark of attention by displaying their colours, &c. We shall endeavour to do everything that will be agreeable to him and to every American.

They are all, excepting Madame La Fayette and one of her Daughters, in pretty good health. If the state of theirs do not prevent, the General and family may embark in Mr. Joy's ship for Philadelphia.

With perfect consideration, &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

S. WILLIAMS TO R. KING.

HAMBURG, 5 Oct., 1797.

SIR :

General Lefayette, his Lady and two Daughters, his two companions, and their families arrived here yesterday. Mr. Joy sent the ship John's barge for them in the morning—on their way they stopped to partake of a collation on the ship, and then met Mr. Cadignan and other friends, then landed and proceeded to my house.

I find their health to be as I have mentioned. The General retains all his affection and respect for the United States. The season is now so far advanced, that it is not probable they will embark for America this fall. They all go tomorrow to lodgings about ten miles from the city, where they may pass the winter without molestation. It appears that the Emperor will not meddle with them again. . . .

With perfect respect, &c.,

S. WILLIAMS.

C. CADIGNAN TO R. KING.

HAMBRO, 13 Octob'r. 1797.

SIR:

Mr. Williams having informed you of the arrival here of M. Lafayette with his family, I shall only mention to your Excellency that he has accepted with gratitude the offer you charge me to make to him, which Mr. Williams has confirmed, and that he has to write to you about it. He has set off for the Holstein where he expects to stay till the weather permits him to embark for America, Mrs. Lafayette being very much indisposed. I did expect to have a letter tonight for you, but the danish post arrives only tomorrow; so very likely I shall be able to forward it to you next post.

Now, Sir, I must trouble you again for me. I am going to set off from here for england to meet again my little family and my business, in few days by a neutral vessel for gravesend, from what place I embarked in august last; would you be so good to send a note to his grace Duke of portland to desire him to send an order to gravesend to let me get in as soon as I arrive there, as you had the goodness to do last april when I was at yarmouth.

I am with respect your Excelency your most obedient

C. CADIGNAN.
Citizen of America.

P.S. . . . They assure here the american plenipotentiaries arrived in france; I hope they will be able to succeed notwithstanding the *encore* new revolution in that country. All the german papers of to-day say that the hostilities were to begin again in Italy the 8 of this month, and Buonoparte is reported very ill by the paris papers of the 4th.

Lafayette to R. King.

Wiltmold near Plöen in Holstein, October the 13th, 1797.

His Excellency Mr. King, Esq. Plenipotentiary Minister from the United States at the Court of London.

My Dear Sir:

While I am happy in this Opportunity to offer you my affectionate thanks for the kind and friendly interest which you have been pleased to take in my behalf, I am sure your good heart will enjoy the account I am now able to give you that my family, my two friends and myself are totally out of the Coalitionary fangs. You know what have been for five years the applications from the American Government, the exertions of American Representatives abroad, and who, more than you, my dear Sir, has a right to say, *et quorum pars magna fui?* For those obligations my heart shall ever be bound by the ties of the most lively Gratitude. You also have been acquainted with the measures taken by the French Commonwealth and her Plenipotentiaries from the Beginning of this long Negotiation with the Court of Vienna, and with the final Arrangement which has been agreed upon between the Baron de Thugue and my Aid de Camp Romeuf, whom Bonaparte and Clarke had sent to Vienna to put an end to the chicanes which for five months had deferred our being set at Liberty. In consequence of this we left Olmutz on the 19th of September and have been at Hamburgh put into American Hands, which I rejoice to see taking a part in this late Business, as they have taken so kind, early and constant part in everything that relates to my Captivity, the means to alleviate it and the applications to put an end to the long and unhealthy Confinement. It is impossible in the deplorable state of my Wife's Health even to think of a winter passage. We are going to pass this season in a retired place about sixty English miles from Hamburgh. The Healths of us all are in great need of repair: that of my Wife is by far the most injured. I need not tell you, my dear Sir, that my Restoration to Liberty has been much embittered by the unhappy news of the differences which have troubled the good Harmony so naturally subsisting between the American and French Republics. What I feel on the occasion it is superfluous to say—what I wish is obvious. But how the purpose can be effected is

the question in which my Head and my Heart are wholly, and at every minute busying themselves, not on account of the difficulties, it is more difficult indeed to set up a quarrel between the two Nations than to mend it, but on account of many circumstances, which altho' they are merely personal or foreign to the American contest, cannot fail greatly to influence the Negociation. Are those Commissioners arrived in Paris? I think I shall by and bye, notwithstanding the late despotic measures, hear from france, but I also entreat you, as far as you think it convenient, to let me know your opinion and expectations with respect to this unfortunate and afflicting affair. Cadignan has told me what you have been pleased in the name ot the United States to offer to lend to us should we want these pecuniary advances. I the more gratefully accept them as the difficulties for Mdme. Lafayette to get money from france are still great, and as I have bound myself immediately to pay a sum of two hundred and fifty guineas, the secret use of it has a relation to our prison Business, which Cadignan will verbally explain. To him give me leave to refer it, as he intends soon to have the honour to wait on you, and contenting myself here to present you with my grateful and affectionate thanks, I shall only add, that with an eternal Remembrance of your kind interest in my Behalf, of which you see I take the liberty, occasionally to make use as frankly as it has been bestowed on me, and with the sentiments of the highest Regard, warm gratitude and affectionate friendship, I have the honour to be, my dear Sir,

Your obliged Servant,

LAFAYETTE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Embassy of Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry to France—Blount's Conspiracy—Dr. Romaine's connection with it—Portuguese Treaty with France—Cession of Louisiana by Spain demanded by France—French Duplicity towards America—R. King believes the People of England will continue to Support the Government—Especially since the Failure of the Negotiation at Lisle—Communication to Lord Grenville relative to the Trade to British Territories in India—French Orders against American Commerce in the West Indies.

It is not proposed to enter into the details connected with the embassy of Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry to France; but it may be well to state the fact, illustrated by the following correspondence, which extends over many pages, that it was an endeavor, on the part of the United States, to settle the troubles with France which had now reached a point which involved an entire cessation of friendly intercourse. Mr. Adams, the President, contrary to the advice of his political supporters, decided to try an experiment, which he deemed wise, of sending three commissioners to Paris, and through their efforts to bring about a solution of the questions pending between the two countries. As it is well known the mission failed in its objects, and M. Talleyrand, after a formal reception of the American Commissioners, endeavored to bring about by corrupt means a settlement which he was unwilling to make by an open and honest discussion of the questions at issue. The basis of this plan was that the United States should apologize for all the matters complained of by the French, including the treatment of the French Vessels of war and privateers during the residence of Genet and afterwards, and especially the alleged

grievances consequent upon the treaty with Great Britain; should also make a loan to France, either immediate or prospective, and give a considerable sum in cash to be disposed of by M. Talleyrand for his own and the Directory's use. The correspondence shows the manner in which these propositions were received and indignantly rejected by the American Ministers, and the universal outcry in America against France, when the President, upon the call of Congress, laid before them the papers relative to the failure of the mission.

In a letter of Mr. King to the Secretary of State, December 23, 1797, will be found a statement made by the Directory, through M. Talleyrand, for a proposed peace with England, which will be found interesting in this connection.

R. KING TO GENL. PINCKNEY.

LONDON, Oct. 17, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I do not even yet permit myself to despair of the success of your mission, tho' anxious as I feel on that subject, it would be a very high gratification to learn from any circumstance that has occurred since your arrival at Paris that your *hopes* are somewhat increased. . . .

The NewsPapers contain a correspondence between the Secy of State and Mr. Monroe, on the refusal of the Demands of the latter that the Reasons wh. induced his Recall should be assigned for the Purpose of a public Discussion.

Tho' in some small particulars I am not partial to *Mr. G.* [erry] still I am thoroughly convinced of his Integrity, *Patriotism* and Honor: entire confidence in which serves to *extenuate those* subordinate *Defects to bear with* and to get *over which* require only *patience and a little management.* I however know nothing concerning *him for* the last *four years*, which have wrought great changes in America as well as elsewhere. I speak of *him as of former times.* You will be satisfied with *Genl. Marshall; his*

* Italics in cipher.

character stands well on all points. Personally I know little of *him*, but *his* head is one of the best organized of any one that I have known. This I say from general Reputation, and more satisfactorily from an Argument that I heard him deliver before the fedl. Court at Philadelphia. . . .

Yr. faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON 17, October, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

The violation of the constitution in the triumph of the three Directors over their Colleagues and the Majority of the two Councils, was an event neither surprising nor unexpected. The termination of the negotiation at Lisle was a natural consequence of this revolution ; and it is quite probable that the conferences at Udina have likewise been broken off, on which event, advanced as the season is, the Armies of France will be put in March for Vienna.

Mess. Marshall and Gerry have both arrived in Holland about the middle of September, on the last of which month, in company with General Pinckney, they reached Paris, and according to the French papers (for I have received no letter from them since they arrived at Paris) they have had an interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. I make no conjecture concerning the result of this mission ; you know what have been the sentiments and conduct of the Directory, and you also understand what were the opinions as well as what probably would have been the Decisions of those in the two Councils, who have been driven from their offices ; the Legislature is now completely subservient to the Directory.

The total Defeat, accompanied with the capture of the greater part of the Dutch Fleet by the English Squadron under Admiral Duncan on the Eleventh of this month, may have some influence in lowering the tone of the Directory ; but whether that or any other consideration will induce them to consent to arrangements with us, without which an open rupture appears inevitable, remains to be seen. I wish that I could discover any circumstance

that would allow me to expect with some degree of Confidence that we shall be able to avoid a War.

. . . General La Fayette has been released and with his family are at Hamburgh, where according to a letter I have from Mr. Williams, they will probably remain till the Spring. It is more than probable that I may be called on for money from this quarter, I shall not hesitate to supply it, within certain limits, in the belief that my doing so will under all circumstances receive the President's approbation. . . .

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, No. 51.

LONDON, 31st Oct., 1797.

DEAR SIR:

In my number 45., I gave you some reason to expect that I might be able to obtain the possession of Chisholm's Papers. I believe that he is still here and in confinement; but I have not succeeded in obtaining his Papers. Doctor Romaine was in this Country at the time of my arrival here; I saw him several times, but knew nothing concerning his business, except that it was said he was an agent for the Sale of New Lands. Since receiving the information that he was supposed to be connected with Blount, I have endeavoured to trace his connections while last in England. From a person who in some measure possessed Romaine's Confidence, I am assured that he was introduced by the Count de Moustier (formerly the French Minister with us and with whom I remember that Romaine was in great intimacy) to the Marquis Las Casas, then the Spanish Minister at this Court, with whom Romaine had frequent conferences on the subject of "certain Lands belonging to Spain in the Western part of America." Romaine proposed to engage Las Casas in his project which was represented as promising immense Profit to the Adventurers; Las Casas was to support the Scheme at Madrid, and by his influence procure the King's sanction. De Yrujo who, as I am informed was privy to these conferences, and who was soon going to America, was to act as Las Casas' Agent in that Country. What was finally arranged or concluded,

I have not been able to learn. Perhaps Blount's conspiracy may be connected with, and a part of, the Plan discussed by Romaine and Las Casas; and Romaine may have been the Agent of Blount and his Associates.

It would be extraordinary (did any event in these times merit that character) should there exist a connection between Blount's conspiracy, against which De Yrujo so rudely complained and the project between Romaine and Las Casas, the execution of which is said to have been confided to the Chevalier!

Romaine has been in correspondence with several People in this Country since his return; but the notoriety of his implication in the conspiracy of Blount, makes it difficult to discover the object of his correspondence. Chisholm could not be the man of consequence, whom Blount was to have sent to England. In a letter from Romaine to one of his Correspondents in London dated April 4, 1797, he says "There have some circumstances turned up, which I am fearful will make it necessary for me to visit England in May. I shall endeavour to avoid going but it is highly probable I shall be obliged to embark in one of the first vessels after the middle of May." And in a subsequent letter to the same person, of the 30th of April, he says "I informed you in my last that it was not improbable but you would soon see me in England; I have not yet made up my mind but it may be that I may have to leave this in a fortnight."

With perfect Respect, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE, No. 52.

Wholly in cipher.

LONDON, Nov. 9, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

The last letters from the British Minister in Portugal state, that de Pinto the Portuguese Minister has received a dispatch from their Envoy at Madrid, saying that his last conference with the Prince of Peace "(more diffuse and conducted with less reserve than usual) had been concluded by the Declaration of the Prince, that after mature consideration the Court of Madrid ad-

vised that of Portugal to ratify without further delay the Treaty lately concluded with France." To prove the sincerity of this advice, the Prince adverted to the critical Situation in which the Government of Spain found itself. He said that the little influence that they once had at Paris was lately, and especially since the 18th Fructidor, diminished; that Del Campo was rarely permitted to speak to any of the Directors, and upon a representation respecting the order for the Transportation to Spain of the Remnant of the Bourbons, in which he took occasion to say that their presence would be disagreeable to the Court of Spain, he was contemptuously answered that this would not be thought an objection to the measure.

After mentioning the difficulty of the present situation, and the more unpleasant prospect of the future, the Prince added that Spain would not be able to oppose any effectual resistance to the measures that France will pursue on the refusal of Portugal to ratify the Treaty; for although by different means she has hitherto avoided the Decision, the Directory have recently received their Demand for the Cession of Louisiana to France, "which," continued the Prince, "the Court of Spain no longer finds itself in a condition to refuse."

I received this information yesterday from Lord Grenville, of whom I sometime since requested such intelligence as he should receive on this subject.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL LAFAYETTE.

LONDON, Nov. 7, 1797.

DEAR GENERAL:

I have deferred the acknowledgment of your Letter in the daily expectation of receiving from our Envoys in Paris such information as would enable me to state to you the present, as well as the probable, situation of our Affairs with France; and tho' I am without this information, and therefore unable to make you the communications I otherwise should have done, I can no longer delay offering you my sincere and hearty congratulations upon your delivery from Prison, and being again at liberty. You know

America so well, that it seems superfluous to say that this Event will inspire our Countrymen with the most lively joy, and I cannot be mistaken in assuring you, that your Reception there, as well as that of Madame LaFayette and your Daughters, whose virtues and Sufferings have equally excited our admiration and sympathy, will equal in affection and Respect your utmost wishes. I have much anxiety respecting Madame LaFayette's health and earnestly hope that it may be restored and confirmed in season for your Embarkation early in the Spring; for I will not conceal from you, that in the present uncertain State of Europe, I shall not consider you safe, until you shall have landed upon the American shores. I expressed to Cadignan my Readiness in behalf of our country to make such pecuniary arrangements as you should find requisite; I need not therefore add anything more on this subject, except to assure you that I am persuaded that such arrangements will receive the approbation of our Government, which has never ceased to feel an interest in whatever concerned you. I pray you, my dear General, to present my most respectful Homage to Mad. LaFayette, and to accept the Esteem and Respect of

Your ob't. and faithful Servant,

RUFUS KING.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

ALBANY, Nov. 7, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

I was a few days ago fav'd with yours of the 16th Augt. last. The attention of this country continues I think *too much* fixed on the negotiations for Peace. Many are of opinion that our embarrassments will cease with the war. It may be so, but my mind is not free from doubts on that head. The prudence of preparing for the worst, is manifested by the experience of ages; and yet we very indiscreetly neglect it. I wish we had a well compiled selection of Switzerland's state papers respecting their diplomatic discussions with belligerent powers during the present war; and the measures they have taken for their own security.

It is an agreeable circumstance that De LaCroix's successor expresses himself in friendly Terms about american affairs; but

I shall be mistaken if he does not *act* as may best suit him—what that may be I cannot pretend to say, nor at this distance to conjecture. France is doing us much injury, but good will ultimately result from it. We shall be taught a useful lesson, tho' perhaps at no inconsiderable expence. . . .

Yours sincerely

JOHN JAY.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 53.

LONDON, November 12, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The Directory at the instance of Portugal are understood to have prolonged the Time for the Ratification of the Treaty with that Nation, but on the day after the definitive Treaty with Austria reached Paris, they annulled the Treaty with Portugal, assigning as a Justification that it had not been ratified within the Time first prescribed for that purpose. Portugal must therefore expect to be attacked, unless Spain (of which according to the information in my No. 52 there is no probability) shall be able to avert the Blow. The French army that shall be sent against Portugal will accelerate, if it does not accomplish, the destined Revolution of Spain.

The Congress that in a few days will meet at Rastadt, for the Pacification of Germany, will bring to light some of the secret articles, supposed to exist in the Treaties between Austria and France and between the latter and Prussia. . . .

The Chiefs of the Opposition in this Country do not attend Parliament, which manifests much firmness in the present position of the Nation, and which, in my opinion, will receive the support of their Constituents in the prosecution of the war; until their enemy shall discover a disposition to end it. The late Naval Victory and the Dismantling of the French men of war at Brest, have in a considerable degree quieted the apprehension of invasion, notwithstanding a late Arrété of the Directory to assemble an army on the Coast of the Ocean, to be commanded by Buonaparte, and called "the Army of England."

I employed a few weeks of the Autumn in travelling through the interior, including some of the Manufacturing Towns of this

Country ; and tho' my means of making a correct Judgment were in many respects imperfect, I endeavoured to form an Estimate of the Public Opinion on the Subject of the war, which for a long time past, I have thought, could not soon be concluded. The result of my observations, is that a general desire of Peace prevails throughout the Nation, but that an opinion exists which is nearly, if not quite, as general, that this Government has sought Peace with sincerity, and that France has not been willing to make it on terms consistent with the safety and independence of England : hence I infer that the Nation, but without zeal or Enthusiasm, for they shew neither, will support the Government in carrying on the War, and that they will give this support in the Belief, that without it the Nation must sink beneath the Blows of their Enemy. God grant that a less passive temper may be displayed in our Country, should unhappily the pending negotiation fail to restore harmony between us and France.

I send you herewith . . . a long Essay, taken from the Redacteur of the 19th of October, concerning the causes of the misunderstanding between us and France. This is supposed to be the performance of Thomas Paine, who has lately published a Justification, as he calls it, of the revolution of the 18th Fructidor, since which epoch the Press has been put under the control of the Government ; a circumstance that gives some importance to this absurd disquisition respecting the misunderstanding between us and France. . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING TO COL. PICKERING.

Personal and Private.

LONDON Nov. 13, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Pray send me a Consul to reside in London. As I do not decline any service that I can perform, I am in constant requisition to supply those Consular certificates of various sorts, which it has been usual to procure from Mr. Johnson. . . .

Very truly &c.

RUFUS KING.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 14 Nov., 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . A late arrival has brought intelligence of the Explosion at Paris. It opens a wide Field for Speculation and conjecture. It is difficult for a demoralized People to have any stable Governmt; human laws can reach only a small portion of human actions. I am anxious to know how our Comrs. have been received. To me it does not appear certain that the new Revolution will injure us; but the cloud is too thick to be penetrated. It seems that France is to be purified by fire; if so, she is not yet ready to leave the furnace. We hear that Ld. Malmesbury has returned to England; and yet I should not be surprised, if something like a Peace should be patched up this winter between France and *Austria*. I suspect the Emperor's Resources to be exhausted so much that it will not be in his power to provide for the Expences of *such* a campaign next year, as would become his Dignity & Interest—but this is all Guess-work. . . .

Yours sincerely,

JOHN JAY.

RUFUS KING TO MESS. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, AND GERRY.

All in cipher.

LONDON, 15th, Nov., 1797.

GENTLEMEN:

. . . Though my expectations of a satisfactory issue of your Mission was materially weakened by the Revolution of the fourth of September, yet I must confess that I was not prepared for the accounts which Col. Trumbull has given me. I will not however allow myself yet to despair of your success, though my apprehensions are greater than my hopes. I annex the Copy of my No. 52 to the Secretary of State. . . . It may be considered as a communication of considerable importance in enabling you to judge of the views of the French Government. The Envoy of Portugal confirmed to me to-day this information so far as regards the demand which, he said, had been made in the

shape of a Note, and not, as heretofore, verbally. He knew nothing of the answer that was given by the Minister of Spain. I likewise send you the copy of a Letter that some months past I wrote to Mr. Talleyrand, to which I received no answer. . . . Slight circumstances sometimes assist us in the discovery of important decisions. . . .

The failure of the Negotiation at Lisle has undoubtedly added strength to this Government. The two Houses of Parliament made a joint and *unanimous* address to the King, in reply to his Speech, pledging the wealth and Strength of the Nation, in language of uncommon solemnity and force, to support the Crown in the prosecution of the War against an Enemy, whose enmity, says the address, is directed against their Laws, Religion and Liberty.

What another Revolution in France may effect; nay to what the Corruption of those who are now in Power may lead them to agree, it is not easy to pronounce; but here, there is every appearance of a firm and steady perseverance in the war.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 54.

LONDON, Nov. 18, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

"Si tout se vend rien ne se garantit." *The fate of the late Treaty between France and Portugal would confirm this Truth, was it doubtful. Portugal was also required to pay down a sum of money to be distributed as a preliminary to Negotiation and she advanced it. By a secret article of the Treaty she was bound to make a loan to France, a part of which was paid at the Signature of the Treaty and was the money that enabled the Directory to march the Army which effected the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor. You may depend on this information.** . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Great Cumberland Place, Nov. 20, 1797.

My Lord:

Your Lordship may probably recollect that after the Ratification of the American Treaty, but before the Act of Parliament for carrying it into effect, I took the Liberty to mention to your Lordship the Circumstances of an Insurance Cause in one of his Majesty's Courts, in which the Plaintiff, an American Citizen, had been non-suited in consequence of an opinion of the Court, that the Trade to the British Territories in Asia could not be carried on by Foreigners. Since the Act of Parliament, a new trial of the cause has been ordered, and the suit is about to be decided by the construction that shall be given in Westminster Hall to the XIII. Article of the Treaty.

This question is of importance not only in respect to the Property immediately depending upon its decision, but far more so as it affects those voyages and commercial adventures which have been commenced under the Security of this article of the Treaty; according to which, in the opinion of the American Government, it is free for their citizens to import in American Ships into the British Territories in the East Indies, any goods or Merchandize that may be imported into the same by the East India Company, paying the same duties as are paid by that Company and this without being subject to inquiry or Disadvantage in respect to the Country of which such Goods or Merchandize are the produce or manufacture, or whether they come directly from America, or are shipped in Europe or elsewhere.

Had there been any Doubt of this interpretation, it would have been removed by the discussion that grew out of the restrictive clauses which the East India Company were desirous should have been added to the Act of Parliament, establishing the Provisions of the American Treaty, and to the Act concerning the Trade to the East Indies by nations in Amity with Great Britain. But notwithstanding my persuasion that the Parties do not disagree in the interpretation of this article of the Treaty, I am not without apprehension that an erroneous Construction may be attempted, and perhaps successfully, in the course of this Trial.

Hence I have thought it to be my Duty to place the Subject

before your Lordship, and to request your influence in order that the Court of King's Bench, before whom this suit is depending, may be seasonably informed of the Construction given to this Article of the American Treaty by his Majesty's Government. . . .

Your obedient & very humble servant &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO MESSRS. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, and GERRY.

LONDON, Nov. 24, 1797.

GENTLEMEN :

*No one detests more than I do the Conduct of France towards our** Country *still I* earnestly *desire that we may* remain *in Peace. War would retard* our progress ; *which with all the* disadvantages *to wh. we are* exposed, *brings* daily additions *of wealth and strength ;* and to the œconomical and moral motives which should influence Nations to cultivate Peace, *we may add the Danger to be* apprehended *from the Division of our People. I make these* observations *in order that you may* justly estimate *such information as with a view to the Negotiation in your Hands, I may send you ;* for with all our impartiality, our Prejudices will sometimes colour not only what passes thro' our minds, but even the objects that fall beneath our senses.

Portugal gave money as a Preliminary to the negotiation of the late Treaty with France, by a secret article of which she also stipulated a Loan, part of which was actually paid at the Signature of the Treaty. This money enabled the Directory to march the army who effected the Revolution of the 18th. Fructidor. Spain is alarmed and Portugal trembles. England cannot furnish troops, without which Portugal must fall. The Court of Vienna have at this moment little confidence in the solidity of their Peace. This is no Task, *and the war may again burst out. The Directory are not at Ease on this Point. England sees all this, and, notwithstanding the disaffected State of Ireland, is resolved with Firmness to continue the war.*

I cannot give you my sources of information but I am not deceived.

Yrs. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 55.

LONDON, Dec. 6, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . *I think that I am not mistaken in my Belief, that this insecurity of Peace, and probability that the Congress of Rastadt will rekindle the war, has been formally communicated to this Court by that of Vienna, in order that measures of Concert, grounded on this expectation, should be pursued by the two nations.**

The Directory have given orders to divide the German Territory on the left of the Rhine into Departments on the model of those of France, while by an Imperial Aulic Decree, the Emperor calls upon the Deputies of the Empire to the Congress to exert themselves with German firmness, jointly with him, to obtain a solid Peace, "on the basis of the Integrity of the Empire."

At this critical moment has happened the death of the King of Prussia; an event capable of producing the most important consequences. Some circumstances, tho' far from being conclusive, have already appeared, which induce those who wish it, to believe that the young King will pursue a course altogether the reverse of that of his Father.

The new monarch is said to be attached to the Army, brave and emulous of the character of the Great Frederick; he is moreover both frugal and moral, and in these Points the opposite of his Father. Events of the first magnitude follow each other with such rapidity that we shall even in a few days be able to appreciate the character of the new Sovereign.

The Directory will be active on this occasion, unless, as is rumoured, they are embarrassed by a new Party at Paris that is forming itself against them. We are not yet able to discern the shape of this Faction, nor to distinguish the peculiar means with which it will act. But it is as certain that things must change, and that soon, as they have recently become what they are.

On the 26th ulto. our Envoys had not been received by the Directory, nor had they advanced a step since their dispatch by Col. Trumbull: except that on the 11th. they had by a Note to the Minister of Foreign Affairs requested that the Government would, without further delay, take the Subject of their Mission into consideration, and ten days after, not having received any answer, they sent Major Rutledge to inquire whether their request

* Italics in cipher.

had been communicated to the Directory, who was informed that it had, and that the result would shortly be made known to the Envoys. In the mean time the animosity of the French Government against our Country increases and the condemnation of our Ships and Cargoes is pursued with eagerness and rapacity. A Proclamation by the Directory of the 22d of November, which holds up the Government of England as a Conspiracy against French Liberty and charges it as influencing and corrupting every other nation, has this expression, "Parlez Americains, dites quels sont directement ou indirectement vos vrais dominateurs." . . .

Nothing material since my last has occurred in this country. The proposal of raising seven millions additional Revenue by tripling the direct assessments will be carried into execution. In the present State of England, we may find both admonition and Instruction. If we should be forced into the war in defence of our Property and Government, I hope that we may Profit by seasonable reflections upon the dangers to the State from too great an accumulation of public Debt. This country is now said to have arrived near to the Limits of the funding system, and with all its burden, bearing upon them, they are compelled to go back to the old Scheme of raising within the year their annual Expences. We shall not be able to borrow in Europe, and instead of borrowing at Home except for mere anticipations, why should we not, in a war of strict necessity, raise within the year the money to defray our Expenses? I still entertain a faint hope that we shall escape the war; the present State of things must soon change, and any change will mend our situation and Prospects.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY, GENERAL MARSHALL, AND MR. GERRY.*

Confidential.

LONDON, Dec. 9, 1797.

GENTLEMEN:

Lord Grenville last night sent Mr. Hammond to me with the following information that had just been received by this Government.

* In cipher.

"Coast of France November 26, 1797. The Minister of Marine Pleville Lepeley has recommended to the Marine officers at Granville, St. Maloes, to throw every secret impediment, without open force, to delay the Departure of American vessels, and the exportation of American property which they daily expected orders to sequester."

Mr. Hammond said that he was ordered to declare that the information was authentic, and such as they should act upon in a case that concerned them. You will judge whether you can give notice to our People to withdraw their property.

With great truth yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XIX.

Mr. Hindman on Maryland Politics—Mr. King and Maryland Bank Stock—Judge Cambauld in St. Domingo—Genl. Washington relative to Lafayette's Son—Count Rumford—Chisholme, Agent of Governor Blount in London—Statement of Facts made—Correspondence with Commissioners in Paris—Directory propose Peace to England—Declined—Mr. King to the Commissioners—The United States must act with Decision—Fear of Mr. Gerry in Letter to General Pinckney—Letter to Mr. Gerry—From General Pinckney—No Hope of a Treaty with France.

Wm. Hindman to Wm. Hensley, Jr., London.

Philadelphia, Dec. 3, 1797.

Dear Sir :

Inclosed is a Copy of a Letter I received from Mr. King . . . I presume that you are happily fixed as Mr. King's Secretary, so that your accompanying Mrs. Tilghmam to England has proved a most lucky circumstance, as She was thereby fortunately relieved from a great Weight upon her mind. You will arrive in London most seasonably to take upon you the Duties of your Office.

Mr. Henry is elected our Governor ; it is not yet known here who will succeed Him in the Senate ; from what I collect the Contest will probably terminate between Messrs. Joshua Seney and Wm. Winder, the first a decided Jacobin, the other a doubtful Character. It is truly lamentable that We should be driven to this Dilemma. It is said there is a Majority of Antis in our House of Delegates. Tom Martin was chosen by a great Majority. Mr. Josh. Seney has declared Himself a Candidate for the House of Representatives of Congress at the next Election.

There was no opposition to the Answer to the President's Speech. What the Plan of the Antis is this Session, I have not

heard. Messrs. Jefferson and Giles are not yet come ; I suppose nothing decisive will be fixed upon untill their Arrival. Our Speaker has given up the French since their last Revolution.

Congress can do nothing decisive untill They hear from our Commissioners at Paris ; should our Differences not be accommodated, I flatter myself We shall be more united than We have hitherto been ; there will however be a Party in Favor of the French let their Conduct towards Us be what it may.

I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Perry, who is now attending our Legislature ; in which is the following, " Mr. King has truly rendered the State of Maryland vast Service respecting our Bank Stock in England. He has now got it in a very good Way for our laying our Hands upon it. He has really taken great Pains in examining into this Business, and has by a single Letter given Us a much clearer View of the whole Business than we have been able to obtain from Mr. Chase from his first Commencement of the Business. Mr. King has rendered Himself very popular with us." This Information was doubly gratifying to me.

Mr. Edwd. Lloyd was married to Miss Murray on the 30th ulto. and is to settle at Wye. You have no Doubt heard that your Father is on the Eve of Matrimony. The Hessian Fly has increased twofold upon Us this Fall. Pray present me to Mr. King in Terms of the most affectionate Regard ; tell Him I feel in the most grateful Manner his friendly attentions to me. Mr. Sitgreaves and Myself are alone at Mrs. Williams, and eat when at Home of the excellent Cheese which Mr. King was so kind as to send Her. I shall be happy to hear from you.

Yrs Sincerely &c.

W. HINDMAN.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Dec. 5, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Another grievance which has for some time past excited much complaint, is the proceeding of the Judge of the Court of Vice-admiralty in St. Domingo. This Court was erected by Governor Simcoe, who appointed a Mr. Richard Cambauld

the Judge. From what I have heard of this man's character and the inferences to be drawn from his proceedings, we must conclude that Governor Simcoe did not know him. . . . It is not only against the frequency of the captures that are made, that complaints have been preferred, but the Judge is represented as a man who does not support the decency belonging to that character. He has an extraordinary facility in *condemning*, and it is unpleasant to our sea-faring citizens to see those naval officers, who are interested in the condemnations, sitting on the bench with the Judge, and, as they imagine, influencing his decisions. . . . It may be questioned whether this Judge possesses a competent knowledge of his profession. . . .

Geo. Washington to R. King.

Mount Vernon, Dec. 6, 1797.

Dear Sir:

Your favor of the 6th of September has been duly received, and for the information contained in the enclosure, respecting Genl. Lafayette, I offer you my thanks. The footing on which his releasement is placed by the Emperor, & the succeeding event in Paris, on the 4th of September, render his proceedings, after he gets to Hamburg, problematical.

Should these circumstances (for it is not easy to say what effect the latter may have on his prospects in France) induce him to steer his course immediately for this Country, it will be a matter of some regret to him, & his son, that they shall have passed each other on the Ocean.

Deluded (though not designedly) by premature information of his parents liberation & journeying to France, by a correspondent at Hamburg, his eagerness to embrace them, and his Sisters, in the first moment of their reception in France,—the fear of a winter passage (should he delay his departure);—and persuasion, as he left his native country under the authority of the Government, that he had nothing to apprehend from his return to it;—overcame my advice to him to await a *direct* account from his father; which would not only have ascertain'd the fact, but might also have pointd. out a course which he would have him pursue.—

Nay, I went so far as to tell him, that although it was not probable, it was nevertheless possible, he might be disappointed of his object, by the means which seems likely to have happened ; but his purpose, from the considerations already mentioned, were not to be diverted ; and being excited by the purest filial affection, for he is realy a sensible, amiable, and valuable youth, I shall feel much for the disappointment of both parties, if they do not meet in Europe. With the highest esteem & regards, I am, My dear Sir,

Your Most Obedt. & Obliged Hbl. Ser.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

Private.

LONDON, Dec. 8, 1797.

Count Rumford, late Sir Benjamin Thompson, whose name and history are probably known to you, and whose talents and services have produced the most beneficial Establishments and reforms in Bavaria, was lately named by the Elector to be his Minister at this Court. On his arrival he has been informed that being a British Subject, it was contrary to usage to receive him and that therefore he could not be acknowledged.

The intrigues and opposition against which he had for some years made head in Bavaria, probably made him desire the mission to England ; the refusal that he has met with, has decided him to return and settle himself in America. He proposes to establish himself at or near Cambridge, to live there in the character of a German Count, to renounce all political expectations, and devote himself to literary pursuits—his connections in this Country are strictly literary, and his knowledge, particularly in the military Department, may be of great use to us. The Count is well acquainted with, and has had much experience in the establishment of Cannon Founderies ; that which he established in Bavaria is spoken of in very high terms, as well as certain improvements that he has introduced in the mounting of flying artillery. He possesses an extensive military Library, and assures me that he wishes nothing more than to be useful to our country. I make this communication by his desire, and my wish

is that he may be well received, as I am persuaded that his Principles are good and his talents and information uncommonly extensive. It is possible that attempts may be made to misrepresent his political opinions : from the enquiry that I have made on this head, I am convinced that his political sentiments are correct.

Be good enough to communicate this letter to the President.

With great respect & esteem, &c., yours faithfully,

RUFUS KING.

CHISHOLME TO THOS. DIGGES.

Nov. 25, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR :

May I expect to see you early to-morrow morning—I am so Destresed—that I canot Refrain Troubling you. I have thought of a measure that perhaps will Serve me,—if I can gitt it Done—perhaps you can have it Done for me.

Believe me Sir Cencerley,

CHISHOLME.

THOS. DIGGES TO R. KING.

25th Nov., 1797.

SIR :

I called in on Mr. Chisholme yesterday evening in order to obtain from Him the names of the Persons in Ama. who may have been implicated in the plan of surprising the Spanish Posts, &c., and I took in with me Majr. Geo Barnes, a native of Virginia, now in London selling a large quantity of Georgia and Tennessee Lands (about which I understand he had wrote to you) and from his being acquainted with Mr. Chisholme when He was at Phila with the party of Indians making the Southern Indian Treaty. I think I am in a fair way thro' him of obtaining most of the names implicated in schemes for wresting the Southern Territory from the Spaniards, & of which Mr. B. and Mr. C. spoke freely before me. Mr. Chisholme has heretofore uniformly told me he would expose every matter & plan relative to that transaction save the exposition of names, and hinted at several in N. York as well as Phila who were concerned therein. He

showed me a letter rec'd yesterday from Mr. Moore of Ld. G's office, dry & guardedly written, as if in ansr. to one from Chisholme, asking for supplys, or that He, Mr. C., should be obliged to seek for aid & assistance through other channels, meaning, as I conceived, through you. I went to him by appointment to be the bearer of a letter, which states his case & purposes, in some measure, together with a larger bundle of sealed papers. I read the letter before he sealed it, but had no view of the other papers. I delivered them to yr young man Sutton last night & He will wait upon you to day abo't 12 o'clk with them. I think it best to apprise you of this by a messenger wch. I now send.

I will get Mr Barnes to go in from time to time to Chisholme and doubt not he will be able to get at names &c &c.

Neither of the three parties know I have any communications or acquaintance with you, and so it had better remain for the present; I will attend to any request of yours as to what queries or questions to put to Mr C—— thro' the other two Gentl, for I was obliged during my conversations with him to co-incide in his opinion that the giving up the names of his friends & party would not be perfectly fair. He however told me last night He w'd do it provided they were held back from the Spaniards in that quarter of the Country.

I am in haste & with esteem

Sir yr. Ob. Hb Serv.

THO. DIGGES.

THOS. DIGGES TO R. KING.

Nov. 27, 1797.

SIR:

Mr. Chisholme in many instances seems wild and incoherent, altho he has rather spoke out to Mr B. (the Gentl I mention'd in my last letter) respecting the names of some of His Colleagues. He wrote me the inclosed supposing from a slender acquaintance with the Duke of Portland & in that office, I could solicit for him some appointment in upper Canada, but this is totally out of the question; His plans & expectations must have been more developed to you by the letter & papers I took from him to Mr Sutton wch. I suppose you have seen.

The following are the names I have discovered of those persons

concerned with them & wch. may lead to some quest for the discovery of others viz. at N York, a Captain Mitchell—Capt Stedman (who wrote the Expedition to Surinam)—Doctor Romain (who entered into the plan and made his Unkle, Mr. Vandam of London, acquainted therewith)—a Mr —— Morris then in N. York but formerly of Kingston Jamaica, and anor name wch. is blotted in my memdm.

Governor Blount seems to have been the chief or main spring, also a Colol. Ore in the Tennessee—a Colol. Wm. Whitley in Kentucky was promised him w'd join in the plan.

N. B. he has promised to give the plan in writing to Mr Sutton and you will of course see it. At Philadelphia—a Mr Nicolas (a ship owner of Newhaven in Massachusets who would send ar'ond vessels to Florida & Orleans). From Phila he wrote to Colol. Brandt, and The Corn Planter upon the business, & they came to Phila. bringing with them a Mr. Street, a member of the Assembly of upper Canada.—Capt. Johnson and a Mr. Smith, an Indian Interpretor—Chisholme sent for Captain Mitchell before mentioned to Philaa, and Mitchell there spoke to Major Craig of Pensylvania, and Mitchell was then sent by the party to The Mississippi to sound the people there & get plans &c. of the Forts & posts.—also saw & open'd the matter to Capt Collins at Phila but who resides in Marblehead.—also a Mr. Blackburne of Richm'd in Virginia. The plans were all concerted with & known to Mr. Liston, the English Envoy some time between 1st Nov. 96 and Mar last, at which time Capt Chisholme sailed for England. to concert measures here in Eng'd, and brought introductory letters to Lord Grenville, Mr Dundas, Mr Hammond & others., all close packed up in sheet lead so as to be easily sunk if he was taken at sea, and he had artificial Intrody letters to Mr Liston's friends in Hambro' to cover him from detection if taken at Sea. I wonder much at the confidence placed in such a Man !—but the plan seems to have been deep & well laid. Mr Chisholme seems to be poor, & abandoned by his ministerial Friends at the Treasury & is of course very anxious to get out of Prison. There is a mode of getting his *release* & which is frequently & every Term done in the Courts here, wch. you may not be apprized of—It is by getting him Baild out by Jews, or men who openly do it for a certain percentage on the Sum, & never after look for the person so bailed, nor can he be troubled or run to Execut'n for some

3 or 4 terms after He is bailed out.—In this way I think He may be released for 9 or 10 £ advance to such Bail upon their producing His discharge. Whether he is worth this, or not is the question.

Least some doubt may arise in your mind respecting a passport for, or helping out another person to America (as express'd in Chisholme proposals) I think I can confidently assure you it is for *Mr. D. F. Sutton Jnr*, (the young man who has waited on you) and the reason is this. By extravagance and some boyish indiscretion, he is an alien from His Father's affections & actually forbid appearing at his house No 18 Great St Helens. His Father is a respectable Quaker Mercht who lived many years in Alexandria (wch. is in sight of my estate at Digges' Landing on the Potomack just fronting Mount Vernon & in sight of Washington City) where the father now is collecting & remitting home debts.—His Son (the young man in question) was born there & was brought up in Virga. but for some 3 or 4 yr's back has been a Clk. to his Father in London, who unfortunately left him in too great a trust & I know his wish is to get out to Ama.—with Chisholme or with any one rather than meet his Father, whom I expect dayly in London. The way he got acquainted with Chisholme was by being put into the same prison for a Taylor's Bill of 12 or 15 £ which I soon got compounded & procured his discharge about 3 weeks ago The Taylor willingly taking half the sum.

I am with great respect Sir

yrs most obt Serv.

THOS. DIGGES.

I thought it better to send this information to you as young Sutton will probably call on you to Morrow forenoon with further communications from Mr. Chisholme.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 57.

LONDON, December 10, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

It was not until Chisholm despaired of receiving further support for himself or his Plan from this Government that he consented to open himself to such person as I should send to him for

that purpose. Major Lenox by my desire went to him and wrote down from Chisholm's relation the Paper called his Declaration. The outlines of the Paper and the answers to the twenty nine Questions which follow it, were taken by me from Chisholm at the House of Major Lenox, and in his presence. The whole has been signed and sworn to by him in the presence of Major Lenox and myself. Chisholm required that none of the names of the Persons residing within or on the borders of Florida should be communicated to the Spanish Government, and I gave him a Promise that no such communication should be made. He also requested me to lend him a small sum of money to enable him to discharge a few trifling Debts, and likewise to assist him in procuring a Passage to New York. I have complied with these requests, taking from him a Receit, in which he agrees that the loan shall be deducted from a Balance that he says is due to him from the U. S.; and in case such balance should be insufficient that he will repay the loan to you or to your Successor on Demand. On asking him if he has any objection to be re-examined in Philadelphia, he said that many individuals were concerned in the plan, and that if he should become a public witness, his life might be endangered, since there were men engaged with him who would take it. that if he should return home by the way of New York he would call on you, and in case the Government would give him security, that he should not object to being examined; but that he wished rather to avoid such examination, and to get back to the Creek Nation with whom he would employ all his influence in favor of the U. S. to whom he was desirous to become a citizen.

He is strongly impressed with an opinion that Blount had made associates with whom he had no acquaintance; and that it was their intention to have managed the affair without his Agency except in a subordinate capacity; and I have some reason to think that Romaine had begun a correspondence with some Persons of pecuniary importance in this Country respecting his Plan.

I am persuaded from the whole Tenor of the Examination of Chisholm that he had no intention of asking aid from the French, or any other Foreigners except the British. This idea, as well as that of the Indians, was that Liston, from the nature of his office, would have had Authority to adopt their Plan, and to make the necessary corporations to carry it into execution. The voyage to

England proceeded from the Disappointment concerning the extent of Liston's Powers, and a jealousy of Blount.

I have had very satisfactory reasons to be convinced that this Government from the first disapproved of the Scheme ; a circumstance that may, with a little pains, be turned to profit with the Indians, who on our whole Frontier were acquainted with the Plan. I will take care to advise you of the vessel in which Chisholm takes his passage.*

With perfect Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JAMES MUNRO.

LONDON, December 12, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

In a letter that some months' past I wrote to you in answer to one that I received from you concerning your Right to hold and employ in the trade between this Country and the United States

* In the folio A, p. 378 of R. King's letters are " The Declaration of John D. Chisholm " and " The General Outlines of the Plan referred to in my Declaration of the 29th May, 1797," p. 385, and on p. 386 " Questions proposed by Rufus King and answered by John D. Chisholm at the house, and in the presence, of Major David Lenox on the Fifth day of December One thousand seven hundred and ninety seven." This last paper is signed by John D. Chisholm—in his handwriting—an original paper. Then follows p. 391—a statement, over the name of Rufus King, Min. Plenip., etc., and before him, that John D. Chisholm did swear to the truth of the Declaration, etc., to the truth of the paper called the General Outline, and to the truth of the foregoing twenty-nine interrogatories, all of which he subscribed, London, Dec. 9, 1797.

Among the papers is the letter from Mr. Liston (original in the possession of Mr. King) dated Philadelphia, March 16, 1797, to M. Goverts, Esq., recommending John Chisholm, a native of Scotland, to him.

There is also a copy of " a memorandum for Mr. Chisholm (original in possession of R. King) by Mr. L. on his arrival at Hamburg."

At the end of these papers is this : " P. S. The originals, of which the above are true copies, are in my possession, having been delivered to me by J. D. Chisholm.

" LONDON, Dec. 9, 1797. RUFUS KING."

The papers are very long, and reveal the whole plot in which Govr. Blount was engaged and for which he had been expelled from the Senate, upon the establishment of the facts.—ED.

American Ships, I distinctly gave to you my opinion, that being an American Citizen and Consul according *to our Laws*, you are authorized to hold and employ in any Trade American Ships equally with a citizen of the United States resident within the same. I am still of the same opinion, and according to my view of the subject, the English Government, so far as regards an American Citizen who has been appointed and admitted as an American Consul within the British Dominion, ought not to discriminate between him and an American citizen resident within the United States. But I understand that the Law officers of this Government hold a different Opinion ; according to which the Rights of American Citizens in respect to Commerce are deemed to belong only to American Citizens, whose Domicil or Commercial station is within the United States ; and on this ground I have heard the Civilians, being consulted by Mr. Johnson, informed him that they did not think him capable of holding American Ships, he being domiciled in England. The same principle has been employed to condemn in the Admiralty the Property of our Consuls resident in France ; and in a very recent case, the Property of Mr. Bowen, our Consul at Amsterdam, tho' the Property was found on board an American Ship, owned by Citizens residing in Massachusetts. Under these Circumstances I should hesitate to recommend to you to rely with much confidence upon what I conceive to be your commercial Rights ; but which, as well in respect to the Safety of your Ships as to the Security of your insurance, may be liable to interruption. I shall in a short time ascertain by the measures which I have adopted concerning Johnson's ship, the final decision of this Government.

Your obedt. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

C. C. PINCKNEY TO R. KING.

In Cipher.

PARIS, Dec. 14, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

Your favor of the 24th ultimo arrived safe. I wish you would not merely give us information of facts, but state explicitly your sentiments ; they would be of great service to us, and you was rather enigmatical. Your facts however are very important,

and frequent information will be essentially useful. We are not yet received, and I think it is very probable we shall not be. It is said Barras and Neufchateau are for receiving us, and attempting to obtain money from us by negotiation. Merlin and Rewbell think it will be in vain, and are for sending us away immediately. La Reveillière is undecided ; but the whole of them are undoubtedly hostile to our Government, and are determined, if possible, to effectuate a change in our administration, and to oblige our present President to resign. With regard to our Citizens here, it is in contemplation to send away from France every American who cannot produce proof of an implicit approbation of the present measures of France, and of a decided aversion to the administration of our Government. Attempts are made to divide the Envoys, and with that view some civilities are shown to Mr. G. and none to the two others. I am in hopes such attempts will be without success. The American Jacobins here pay him great Court. Since writing the above, we have received another unofficial Message from Mr. Talleyrand to meet the same Persons as had formerly conversed with us, without their being officially authorized. This we have pointedly and unanimously refused ; declaring we would have no communication on the subject of our Missions with Persons not officially authorized to treat with us. As I have not time by this opportunity to write to Col. Pickering, be so good as to communicate this Letter to him in cipher unofficially from me, and be assured I am yours Sincerely,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

Not Official.

LONDON, Dec. 23, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

With due precaution in the manner, *I have made our Envoys* * acquainted with the information contained in my Nos. 52, 54, 55, 56. My Correspondence *with them has been* almost invariably confined to Facts important for *them to know*. *In the letter* referred to *in the copy of one* of Genl. Pinckney *to me*, *which I send*

* Italics in cipher.

you, I took occasion with a particular view to make some *observations upon the Importance of Peace.* From the tenor *of Genl. P., I* infer, little valuable as my sentiments are, *that they have on this occasion been misconceived* and treated with more respect by *Mr. Gerry than they merited. I have corrected this Error in a Letter to our Envoys,* communicating *to them the* extraordinary *facts contained in my No. 59,* which* accompanies *this Letter. You will consider this* as well as *the Letter from Genl. P. to me as* unofficial, tho' on this or any other occasion I can have no wish that you shd. not communicate the contents to the President, from whom nothing should be concealed that affects the Honor or Welfare of our Country.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING,

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 59.

In Cipher.

LONDON, Dec. 23, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

This Cabinet last night, after several days consideration, gave a decided negative to a proposal of Peace made by the Directory thro' Talleyrand; the Project was in detail, and the Terms more favorable to England than those demanded by Lord Malmesbury at Lisle; the price was a Bribe of a Million Sterling to be divided among Directors, Ministers and others. Talleyrand's Department was to share one hundred thousand Pounds Sterling. I could name the Persons employed, the Stages and every circumstance of the Overture; so that you may place perfect confidence in the information. This decision has been made at a time when it is uncertain what part will be adopted by the new King of Prussia, when England would be glad to make a solid Peace, and if economy alone had influenced her, would have paid the Bribe to obtain it; in case she could have had confidence in the corrupt Agents with which she might have made the Bargain. This and

* Evidently corrected in the manuscript letter. See note by T. Pickering, March 18, 1798:

"I suppose it should be his No. 59, for neither No. 57, nor 52, 54, 55, nor 56 have come to hand." T. P.

some former information have been obtained in a way that forbids its publication in this shape or as received from me ; others as well as myself would thereby be placed in a situation that would be insupportable.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO MESSRS. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, AND GERRY.

In Cipher.

LONDON, Dec. 23, 1797.

GENTLEMEN :

I hope that my letters of Nov. 15 and 24, and of the 7th instant, have come to hand : in that of Nov. 24, I took notice of those considerations which render the Preservation of Peace so important : more might be added on the same subject. But France perseveres in the capture and condemnation of our Ships, she continues to decline to treat with us, and even to receive our Envoys, while she employs all the influence left her to discredit our Government and to divide our People.

If we are denied the Right of Embassy, if we cannot navigate the Ocean in Security, and if, moreover, we are not free to choose our own Governors, unless they are agreeable to France, and at the same time to remain in Peace ; our Reputations in the Eyes of others, our Duty to ourselves, and above all Self Respect and natural Independence command us to endeavour to protect and preserve these high Privileges, even at the expence of Peace.

Earnestly as we desire the *preservation* of Peace, the Time is near at hand, when we must look and act with firmness upon the alternative. France may be inclined to practice a dilatory and insidious Policy ; it is in your power to *disappoint* the former, and I have the *consolation* to believe that the latter will be attempted in vain. Confidence on this Point is derived as well from the Respect due to your Judgment, as from the Persuasion that you will think and act in Concert ; the want of which in some of our former commissions has been injurious, as well as disreputable, to our Country. The Events of every Day confirm the propriety of your resolution not to treat with any unauthorized Person ; and on the Subject of Bribes and Loans, I do not perceive that,

under any circumstances, you can consent to them : To Ransom our country from Injustice and Power, would be to invite Dishonor and injury, because there can be no guaranty against them. This Cabinet, last night, after several days consideration, gave a decided negative to a Proposal of Peace from the Directory thro' Talleyrand. The Project was detailed, and the Terms more favorable than those demanded by Lord Malmesbury at Lisle. The Price, a Bribe of a million Sterling to be divided among Directors, Ministers, and others : Talleyrand's department to have shared one Hundred Thousand Pounds. I could name the Agents, the Stages and every circumstance of the overture ; you may place entire confidence in the Fact. This Refusal has been made at a time when the Part that shall be taken by the new King of Prussia is unknown, when England would be glad to obtain a solid Peace, and if economy alone influenced her, would have paid the Bribe to procure it ; in case she could have put confidence in the corrupt agents with whom she might have made the Bargain.

With great Esteem & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENL. PINCKNEY.

Confidential.

LONDON, Dec. 24, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

I received yours of the 14th yesterday, *have changed the cypher and shall have* * an opportunity in a day or two *to send it with an unofficial letter to Col.* Pickering. *If I do not wholly mistake its import, we are in danger from a quarter, in which I confess I have not felt wholly secure, but when I thought* Integrity *and honest, tho' sometimes mistaken, Patriotism would overcome a miserable vanity and a few little defects of character, that I have for* a long time known to exist, *and which I now fear have been discovered by those who will be assiduous to turn them to mischief. You must not appear to suspect what you may really know ; you must appear to act as you would do—did the most perfect Harmony exist—you must in short save him and, in doing so, prevent the Division that would grow out*

* Italics in cipher.

of a Scism in your Commission. His Integrity *is incorruptible : and the true Interest of his Country will be seen* and prevail, *unless Pride shall be put in opposition to Duty, or Jealousy shall mislead a mind neither ingenuous nor well organised, but* habitually *suspicious, and, when assailed by personal vanity, inflexible. I* earnestly *hope that I overrate your Embarrassments.* The observations *in my letter of the 24th of Nov. were written after retracing in my mind the character for whom they were intended. My letter of yesterday will knock away the scaffolding that may have been built with them. Take care that means are not employed to protract the negotiation till our commerce ruined by Depredations shall not be worth protecting. The Commencement of the New Year should bring the Business to a crisis.*

Very sincerely yrs.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

LONDON, Dec. 24, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Our latest news from home is of the 17th Novr., when Congress had not made a Quorum. The account of the revolution of the 4th of September reached the U. S. early in Novr., and seems to have materially weakened the Hope of a satisfactory issue of your mission. The continued depredations upon our Commerce had the effect that might naturally have been looked for, and temperate men have become anxious lest a *long* and patient negotiation should be followed by an open rupture. I omitted in my letter of yesterday to you and your colleagues to state that hitherto our Ships, when rescued by the Br. Cruizers from those of France, have been restored without payment of Salvage, tho' in some instances small complimentary presents have been made to the Recaptors. Since the Tribunals of France have in the last resort confirmed the condemnation of our Ships and Cargoes for the defect of a Rôle d'equipage, the Recaptors have libelled in the Admiralty of this Country our recently recaptured Ships, not possessing this Document. What will be the Decision I am unable to say, and perhaps it may be influenced by future Events. In the famous case of the Spanish Register

Ship, recaptured by the English from the French in the beginning of the present war, the whole Ship and Cargo were condemned ; acting upon the Rule, which Spain observes, that 24 hours' possession by an enemy changes the Property. Our case and that of Spain are not the same, for tho' we adopted the Rule of the 24 hours, we are not at war, and therefore there can be no Enemy Possession. You will however perceive that be the salvage much or little, the mischief to our commerce is daily augmenting,

With sincere Respect and attachment &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 60.

LONDON, Dec. 28, 1797.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I was in hopes that I should have been able before this time to have informed you that the tedious question respecting the Maryland Bank Stock had been brought to a satisfactory issue. But on further examination, it has been found that altho' Russell's claim for Losses supposed in Maryland was liquidated by the Commissioners, who ascertained the Claims of the American Loyalists, the payment was suspended until it should be decided whether he was entitled to indemnity out of the Maryland Bank Stock of which he was a Trustee for Maryland.

The Chancellor said to me a few days since, you will have no objection to satisfy Russell's claim upon a transfer to you of the Maryland Bank Stock. I replied that I was sorry to say that I had entertained a mistake in supposing that the claim had been satisfied ; but that I did not think myself authorized to engage to pay it : that if contrary to what I had wished might have been the case, and contrary to what I could not but consider as good Policy, it was determined to make the Payment of Russell's claim a condition of the Transfer, I must request that a Letter might be written to me to that effect, which I would immediately send to you, in order that the opinion of the State of Maryland might be had. The Chancellor made me no direct reply, but I thought he acquiesced in the propriety of a letter being written to me, conformable to my suggestion.

I have spoken to Lord Grenville on the subject, and have endeavoured to present to his mind those Considerations, which, were I in his situation, would influence me to transfer the Stock without any deduction. It may not be amiss to apprize the State of Maryland of the present posture of the business, to which I shall continue to give every attention that I shall think useful to accomplish the object of their just and reasonable expectations. . . .

RUFUS KING.

C. C. PINCKNEY TO RUFUS KING.

In Cipher.

PARIS, December 27, 1797.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I have not now the least hope that we shall make any Treaty with this Government; for in order to do so tribute under the disguise of a loan or some other disguise, and a private douceur of fifty thousand pounds Sterling must be stipulated; and these degrading terms must be humbly offered by us even before we can be received; and, I have been given to understand by a person who wished us well, and is intimate with Mr. Talleyrand, that if we were to remain here for six months longer, we should not advance a step farther towards our negotiation till these matters are agreed on.

In the mean time depredations on our Commerce are threatened to be continued, and that Frigates and armed vessels from St. Domingo shall ravage our Coasts. In a conversation which Mr. Gerry had with Mr. Talleyrand, he told him the offer of a loan must come from us. We still intend to prepare and transmit by the 10. of next month to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, a Statement of the Claims of our Country, and declare our desire to enter into a discussion of their Complaints, and to do justice in all the points wherein we shall be convinced that justice is due; and if they shall still continue not to receive us, and enter into an Investigation of the objects of our Mission, and matters remain as they are, it is my opinion, and my colleagues tell me it is theirs also, that we ought to request our Passports and no longer exhibit to the World the unprecedented Spectacle of three Envoys

Extraordinary from a free and independent nation, in vain soliciting to be heard.

It is our present intention to require Passports for Calais, and remain on your side of the Channel until March and then embark for America. But Passports to go to Calais may be refused us, and we are not decided to what part we shall then go to embark. Be so good as to send a copy of the above to Col. Pickering as a private communication from me.

I remain with great Respect and Regard &c

C. Ç. Pinckney.

S. Williams to R. King.

Hamburg, Dec. 29, 1797.

Sir :

. . . I wrote you on the 8th Nov. by our friend, Mr. Cadignan, for whose safety we are extremely anxious, that I had advanced Mr. Lafayette two thousand one hundred and fifty marcs banco. Mr. C. engaged to make an arrangement with you to reimburse me. If he do not arrive soon, you will cause it to be done as your convenience may suit. . . . M. Maubourg, who left the General a few days ago well, informed me that he, the General and Mr. Puzy are determined to go in the spring to America. Madame Lafayette will go to France.

With perfect Respect &c.

S. Williams.

CHAPTER XX.

Mr. King to Secretary of State—France in the Ascendant—England apathetic but preparing against Invasion—N. E. Boundary—St. Croix River—Lord Grenville advises of new French Decrees—American Masters propose to arm their Ships—British Government would grant Convoys—Mr. King to Lord Chancellor relative to Maryland Bank Stock—Continental Affairs—N. E. Boundary, an additional Article proposed—English Depredations on Commerce in the West Indies—Mr. King to Secretary of State—Affairs on the Continent—Envoys in Paris—England has no Expectation of Peace—Miranda—Maryland Bank Stock—Mr. Gerry—Mr. King to R. Troup—To the Secretary of State relative to Transfer of American Funds by Dutch Lenders to France—Envoys to France send a Letter to the Directory—Letter from General Hamilton—Public Opinion sounder than that of the national Representatives.

R. King to T. Pickering.

Private.

London, Jany. 8, 1798.

Dear Sir:

I have just learned that the November Packet for New York has been captured and carried to France. This I very much regret as she had important despatches for you from our Envoys in Paris, & likewise from me. . . .

Rufus King.

P. S. Nothing can exceed the applause with which the President's Speech has been received by all good men in this country.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 61.

London, Jan. 9, 1798.

Dear Sir:

Every appearance on the Continent is marked with the ascendancy of France. Vienna will no longer resist, but will cooperate with France in the Plan of Partition arranged at Campo

Formio. The King of Prussia, who is supposed to entertain different sentiments from those of his Father, is surrounded by the Ministers, and fettered with the Councils, of the last Reign, and therefore will not, as Germany wishes and solicits, put himself at their Head to oppose France.

No recent Change has taken place in Portugal or Spain. This Government has consented that Portugal shall make the best Bargain in her Power, notwithstanding her Treaties with England. She is therefore now desirous to confirm the Treaty sometime since signed at Paris ; but the Directory seem disposed to exact more rigorous Terms, and Spain is under great apprehensions for the existence of her System, should France march an Army against Portugal.

Here, tho' there is apparent Union, there is no animation ; or if any, it is far below what, under the present circumstances of the country, it ought to be.

Preparations are made to resist the threatened Invasion, which will undoubtedly be attempted on a large or small scale in some part of the Three Kingdoms. These preparations are conducted in a manner that proves to my mind, that there is no serious expectation that they will be necessary ; an error that may be discovered should the attack prove formidable. . . .

Lord Grenville mentioned to me a few days since, that the Commissioners under the V. article of our Treaty with this Country, had suggested the expediency of an additional Article for the purpose of dispensing with the Provision that required them to ascertain the Latitude and Longitude of the source of the St. Croix River. Upon examining our First Treaty, it was seen to be important that the source of this River should be accurately ascertained, as it is the point from whence a North line is to proceed to the High Lands that divide our Territory from Canada ; and unless this point be ascertained by taking the Lat. and Longe., or by erecting some durable monument, it may hereafter become the occasion of future disagreement and misunderstanding, especially as we know that what in the wilderness appears to be the Head of a River will, when the Country is opened and cultivated, retain no marks of having been so. Lord Grenville concluded from this view of the Subject to authorize Mr. Liston to consent to form an additional article which should

leave our Commissioners free to erect a durable monument at the scource of the River St. Croix, which should occasionally be visited and kept in repair at the expense of the two Nations. . . .

This gave me an opportunity of going into the Question respecting the Impress. of Seamen engaged in our Service; the conversation, tho' understood to be only personal, was more satisfactory than any former one on this subject. . . .

If, as now I believe, our Mission to France shall totally fail, it will be very important in guiding my opinions and conduct, that I should be early and fully possessed of the views of our Government. . . . I omitted above to take notice of the Situation of Switzerland, which according to present appearances is destined to be soon revolutionized in order to be recast in the French Moulds. We have been mistaken in the conduct of these Cantons; their System has been a temporizing one; France has dictated to them during the whole of the war, and the hour is arrived when she seems resolved to overturn the Helvetic system. . . .

With Respect and Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

Private.

CLEVELAND ROW, Jan. 13, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The decree of the Convention, which we may suppose will be the necessary consequence of the Message of the Directory, seems to decide the question of Peace & war, with you, as it is evidently impossible that America can under the present circumstances of Europe carry on any *trade whatever*, subject to the confiscation of her ships if they contain English goods on board, or goods which the captors may deem English. This is carrying the principles of maritime War to an extent to which no Country ever thought of carrying them & which must render the existence of a neutral trade, particularly in the case of the U.S. absolutely impossible.

As I conclude you will think not a moment should be lost in apprizing your Government of this circumstance, for the security & protection of the commerce of the U.S., I have desired that

the packet, which I am sorry to hear is still detained at Falmouth, may have orders to sail the instant that they shall receive any dispatches you may have to send, and if any other steps can be taken by us that can be of use to you, I beg you will let me know it; and that you will be assured of my constant desire to obey your commands on all occasions & to prove to you the sentiments which I have so often expressed on the subject of the U.S.

Ever, my dear Sir, most sincerely & faithfully yrs.

GRENVILLE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 62.

LONDON, Jany. 14, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The present composition of the French Legislature, as well as the Terror of the last Revolution, leave no doubt that the Councils will pass a decree comformable to the Message of the Directory of the 4th inst: the consequences of which will be the general capture of all neutral Ships; since there are very few indeed which have not as a *part* of their Cargo articles which are or may be alleged to be of the manufacture of the British Territories in the East or West Indies or in Europe. Had I before entertained any remaining hope of an amicable settlement of our disagreement with France, this last proceeding would completely extinguish it.

I have no letters from our Envoys since the 30th ulto.; but I consider that they will now think it requisite to bring their Mission to an issue; if not that which has been earnestly desired, it must be one that will correspond with the opinion pronounced by the President, and which our Interest and Honor, under present circumstances, call upon us manfully to maintain before the rest of the world. . . .

I am called upon by the Masters of our Ships here for advice and direction what their conduct is to be. They propose to arm their vessels; I have hitherto said tho' our Commerce were sorely vexed and plundered, still we were not at war, and further, that as they were not permitted to arm at home I could not give them any authority to do so abroad. But will not this new Project, of France totally change the State of our Relations? Will

it not necessarily compel us into, and is it not indeed, war? Our Ships returning home from England, if met, will be captured and condemned, because their cargoes will be British Manufactures. If they are armed and sail together, they may escape small cruizers; and if they are captured, they will not share a worse fate than they would have done, had they been taken without arms. I shall consider this subject with attention and will exercise a discretion that the exigency seems to demand. It would certainly be more agreeable to me to have it in my power on all occasions, and especially on those of the highest moment, to find my Duty in observing the well considered Instructions of the President. But there sometimes occur, and more frequently at this period than formerly, events so wholly unlooked for, that the subordinate Agents of a Nation may be called upon to act always with a sound and prudent Discretion, in cases, the Decision of which belong to the highest Department of the Government. While on the one hand I shall regret the existence of the occasion, I shall not hesitate on the other to do what, under its peculiar circumstances, shall appear to my Judgment to be necessary to promote the National Welfare. . . . This Government, for I am so assured, will, if I desire it, detain our Spring Ships, until they shall be all laden and ready to Sail, when they will convoy them to our Shores. Perhaps this may be a more eligible Plan than that of arming them, which will be expensive and a security only against small Privateers. If our Ships sail under Convoy, I am informed that they may be insured at 15 pr Cent, to return ten, if they arrive, whereas they will without Convoy be obliged to give from 13 to perhaps 18 pr Cent premiums for their Insurance. . . .

With perfect Respect and Esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jany. 15, 1798.

MY LORD:

I pray your Lordship to accept my acknowledgments for your very obliging Letter of the 13th inst. Your Lordship will be satisfied from the Tenor of my opinions that I must see the proposed

Measures of France in the same light as they appear to you ; and under these impressions I have prepared, to be sent by the Packet, a Despatch for Col. Pickering, which will apprize him of the Law, which without doubt has been, or will soon be passed by the French Legislature.

I have likewise intimated to him that, as I have reason to believe, your Government will be willing to grant, according to my present view of the subject it is my intention to ask, your co-operation to detain and collect our Spring Ships, in order that they may be sent home under convoy ; a precaution that will be indispensable in case the Law, called for by the Directory shall be enacted. . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD CHANCELLOR.

Private.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jany. 19, 1798.

MY LORD :

. . . Disinterested and generous actions are in the end commonly beneficial to those who perform them ; and I am confident the People of America are not less than others sensible to their influence. Your Lordship's Candour will apply this observation as it is meant, to the occasional Relaxation of Strict Rights and to those mutual accomodations and tokens of good will and Friendship, often called for by the Individuals and sometimes by the Governments of Countries, between which such extensive Connections exist as between Great Britain and the United States. Whether the Case of the Maryland Bank Stock may be considered as falling within this description, will depend upon your Lordship's decision ; and without discussion of the merits of the conflicting claims to this property, which from their character cannot be judicially ascertained, I take the liberty to remark that the Question is the only one, in any manner connected with the Treaty of 1783, that has not been satisfactorily settled, or is not in a course of amicable adjustment.

Your Lordship sometime since intimated to me that it seemed reasonable that Maryland should compensate Russell's family for

their losses, which being done, no further impediment would prevent the Transfer of the Stock. If your Lordship should continue to be of this opinion, my belief certainly is, that Maryland would compensate Russell's Family and accept the Transfer; but, my Lord, this course would be attended with delay, and the present seems to be the true moment to conclude the Business. Besides, I am too well acquainted with the Sentiments of the State of Maryland not to know before-hand that a considerable and disadvantageous difference in the public opinion would exist between a conditional and an unconditional transfer of this Stock: the former would furnish occasion to those who may be inclined to use it, to complain of rigour, perhaps of injustice, and to deprecate the benefit which even that mode would secure, while the latter would have a salutary influence in producing cordiality, good Humour and Kind Offices towards England in a community of very considerable and merited importance in the American Union.

I should have no objection in case of an entire transfer of the Stock, should it be deemed advisable, to reccommend to the State of Maryland to satisfy Russell's claim, and I should hope that such Recommendation would not be in vain. The amount of this Claim is not considerable, and nothing in my estimation, when compared with the political considerations with which it is connected. What Maryland might with Reluctance grant in the shape of a Condition, she may cheerfully give from her own spontaneous sense of equity.

With perfect Consideration and Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 63.

LONDON, Jany. 27, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I am still without any knowledge of the situation of our Envoys, since the commencement of the present year; this is the more regretted as the Period is near at hand when our Spring Ships will be ready to sail from the ports of this country: previous to which I must decide whether they are to be put under Convoy or to sail with the increased Risque of Capture and cer-

tainty of condemnation. A Commission of the English Merchants concerned in the American Commerce, have applied for a Convoy for the Trade of America, which will be granted : but the Masters of the American Ships will hesitate, perhaps refuse, to put themselves under this Convoy, unless I shall give them positive instructions to do so. I think this week cannot pass over without my hearing from our Envoys, if I shall not have the pleasure to see them.

Great preparations are certainly making to execute, as well as to defeat, the threatened Invasion. The Treaty of Campo-Formio appears to be going into full execution, as well in Italy as upon the Rhine and in Germany. The late affair at Rome is to be the occasion of extending and establishing the new order of things throughout Italy.

The Emperor, according to every appearance, and some of them by no means equivocal, will act in full concert with the Directory in their Schemes of Partition. The Swiss Cantons are in such a situation that they will exceed the hopes of their friends, if they shall be able to prevent the dissolution of their Confederacy, or the plunder and overthrow of their Country. They are too rich as well as too happy to be suffered to remain in Peace : and the usual means have therefore been employed to divide and debauch their people. Perhaps they also have been disposed of, as Venice and certain portions of the Empire have been. It is no longer expected that Prussia will act with much decision or vigour in opposition to France and Austria. The maxims of the two last Reigns would rather lead to the belief that she would not find many scruples in even becoming a Partner in the Division of the Spoils. It is however said that Prussia, in concert with the North of Germany, including Denmark, will resist the project of France upon Hamburgh and the other Hanse towns ; and hopes are therefore entertained that the valuable Commerce of this Country thro' the Elbe will remain open.

I certainly wish that this may be the case ; but if France persevere in her Demands, and she is not likely to relax in them, I think she must succeed. Neither of the Envoys of Sweden or Denmark have received any Despatches from their Courts since the new Edict of France concerning the Navigation of Neutrals. The fate of Portugal is yet unascertained. Their Ambassador at

Paris is confined in the Temple. The System of Russia is decidedly to keep out of the war; but it remains to be seen what effects upon the Government and among the inhabitants of Russia may proceed from the adoption of the Body of French Soldiers under the Prince of Condé. A single Frenchman is said, during the late Reign to have nearly effected a Revolt in the Russian Fleet upon the Black Sea!; and the Corps of Condé has been employed in opposition to the opinion of a Minister of the Russian Cabinet, who is believed to be the ablest Statesman of his nation. . . .

With Perfect Respect and Esteem, &c.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 2, 1798.

MY LORD:

I have the honor to send enclosed to your Lordship a copy of my full Power, on the part of the United States to agree to and conclude an additional article to our Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation, which shall leave the Commissioners acting under the fifth article thereof, at liberty to ascertain and describe the true River St. Croix, without particularising the Latitude and Longitude of the Source of that River.

. . . It is desirable, if an additional article shall be concluded, that it should be done in season to be laid before the Senate of the United States in their present Session. I shall be ready to confer with your Lordship upon this subject at any time that you shall have the goodness to name.

With perfect consideration & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 3, 1798.

This is a long letter calling, under instructions from the President of the U.S., his attention "to Depredations committed upon the American Trade in the West Indies by the irregular Capture

of American Ships and Cargoes, and their illegal condemnation by the Court of Admiralty, erected by General Simcoe at St. Domingo—to the dissatisfaction that these Depredations must have produced in America, to the mischief that by a sudden interruption of supplies may fall upon the British Possessions in the West Indies," and requesting his Lordship's attention to put an end to them, in case they are unauthorized or to regulate his (the judge's) conduct in case they are authorized and to state how that redress may be obtained, which he refuses to give the means of obtaining.

Having often experienced your Lordship's ready attention to the Representations that I have made on other occasions, I take the liberty of suggesting that I shall be particularly obliged to your Lordship for an answer to this Note in season to be sent by the earliest Conveyance to America, it being my earnest desire that the dissatisfaction that has been excited, may cease as soon as possible.

With the most perfect Consideration & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 5, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

Acknowledging a receipt of a note from Ld. G. on the advisability of transferring the Negotiation about the St. Croix River question to the U.S., in which under other circumstances R. K. says "the negotiation here is a saving of time."

He says : "By the enclosed Copy of a letter that I have received from Col. Pickering your Lordship will observe that the Latitude and Longitude of the Mouths of the two Rivers have already been ascertained ; and there is reason to expect that the Surveys will also be compleated before the meeting of the Commissioners in June ; when they might be able to finish their Business ; if they shall have been freed from the necessity of ascertaining *experimentally* the Latitude and Longitude of the Source of the two St. Croix." He therefore urges making the article here in London to save time.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Feb. 5, 1798.

. . . P. S. I enclose four depositions concerning the conduct of Richard Cambauld, Esq., Judge of the Vice-admiralty Court at Cape Nichola Mole. In the view of the American Merchants his character is to the last degree infamous. I expect to obtain *Evidence* of his *Corrupt* practices, but hope without this that he may be removed from a bench which he dishonors. I am informed that Lord Dunmore, late Governor of the Bahama Islands, knows him well, and can bear witness to his duplicity and dishonorable actions there. I have also private information that at Nova Scotia, where he lived some time, he had lost all reputation, and was pronounced a swindler and an unprincipled man.

R. KING TO T. PICKERING.

Private—In Cipher.

LONDON, Feby. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

In my answer to General Pinckney's letter of the 14th Decr., I expressed my apprehensions that they would experience great embarrassments from a certain quarter but that they might rely with perfect security upon his integrity and that for the rest they must be patient and endeavour to prevent a scism among themselves. The General in a letter of the 22d ulto. tells me that I had by no means overrated their embarrassment, but that they had and should follow my advice. He adds that the letter will soon be presented.

With perfect regard &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 64.

LONDON, Feby. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

My last letter from Paris is dated 22d ultimo. The Law called for by the Directory on the 4th, after having passed the Council of the Five Hundred, was on the 18th adopted by the Council of

Antients, and is now in full operation. It does not appear that any debate or division took place in the Council of Antients upon the passage of this Law. A Report was made concerning it to the Council of five hundred, where it passed with unanimity. I send you inclosed a copy of this Report. The Personalities which it contains have an object too plain to be misunderstood, and are part of the plan systematically pursued to change the Executive Head of our Government.

The last mails confirm the information that I have before given you respecting the critical situation of Switzerland. . . . The German Deputies at Rastadt have, according to the Requisition of the French Ministers, been furnished with full powers to conclude a *Convenient Peace*, instead of one founded upon the integrity of the Empire. . . . In the present France recedes from the Projects against Hamburgh. Prussia, in concert with the North of Germany, have manifested a disposition to prevent the French from passing what is called the line of neutrality ; and this Combination must be dissolved before the Hanse Towns shall be subjected, as they finally will be, to the Controul of France.

The Dutch have shown too little Energy ; and even in their Revolutionary State, have displayed too much of the Deliberation, which forms an essential part of their national character, to suit the new order of things that reigns in France. Hence it has been necessary to effect a change. Charles La Croix, the late Minister of Foreign Affairs, was accordingly sent to replace Citizen Noèl at the Hague, where, under his Direction, a Revolution took place on the 22d of January, upon the exact model of that which occurred at Paris on the 4th of September. . . . It is plain that in future Holland must without deliberation obey the orders of France, among the first of which will be an Instruction to adopt the French Code of Laws concerning the Trade of Neutrals.

. . . It is difficult to form an opinion of what is doing in France. But Private Letters confirm the Probability that another struggle is about to take place between the chiefs of the Party who came uppermost in the last Revolution. . . . It is now more than a month that from day to day I have expected to hear that our Envoys had quitted Paris ; and notwithstanding I have not been authorized by a single circumstance within my knowledge to believe that they will be successful in preventing a war, still their

continuance at Paris has had an influence upon my Conduct. Perhaps you may think that I have been too cautious, and that with my Knowledge of the opinion of the President upon the subject of Convoys, I ought not to have hesitated in asking this Government to grant them. The truth is, that for many weeks past, I had a firm persuasion that our Mission to France would wholly fail of success : that the Directory themselves wished to see an end to it : and they were only waiting and watching for an ostensible reason, either in the conduct of the Envoys, or of others, to send them away. In this view of the Subject you will see that my application for a Convoy, which, in less than a week, would have been known at Paris, was a step by no means free from objection, inasmuch as it might, and probably would, have been represented and acted upon as a measure on our part of Perfidy and even of aggression ; and that too, while in the public Eye our Ministers were at Paris for the purpose of an amicable settlement of the Disagreement between the two Countries. So long as I viewed the Question in this Light, and things continued in the situation in which they had stood for several months, I declined any direct interference on the Subject of Convoys ; taking care to inform such of my Countrymen as applied to me, that I thought it probable that Convoys would be offered and that they, as Private individuals might without prejudice to their country, accept the Protection that they would afford.

But since the adoption of the Law concerning Neutrals, which is particularly aimed at our Navigation, and will be followed by the Dismission of our Envoys, the Question has assumed a new shape ; and it would, in my judgment be weakness, instead of prudence, to hesitate under present circumstances, in adopting measures of effectual security, from an apprehension that they might give displeasure, or be deemed unfriendly, to those whose conduct towards us has no other character than that of unjust aggression and war. . . .

Nothing that has for some time past fallen within my Observation, has led me to believe that this Government have any expectation of, or that they are engaged in any measures with a view to, Peace. The triple taxes will be productive, and the voluntary Subscriptions considerable. The Country appears to be calm and without anxiety upon the subject of Invasion ; indeed there

has been an unusual stability for the past three months in the public Opinion, notwithstanding all the Manifestoes and Demonstrations that France has made of her resolution to bring the war to an end by dictating a Peace on the Banks of the Thames.

*I have had some reason to believe that the prospect of our being engaged in the war, has renewed the project that** on more than one occasion *has been meditated against South America. I think I am not* mistaken in this conjecture. *Miranda who was certainly engaged in this scheme at the time of the affair of Nootka and who has since served under* Dumouriez *in France*, came to this country a few weeks since. *He has been with the Ministry* and is *here by their Desire or with their Permission; the object is the complete Independence of South America to be effected by the co-operation of England and the U. S.*

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

Mr. Pickering, in a letter dated February 7, 1798, sends to Mr. King, at the request of Mr. Chase, their agent, the resolves of the Legislature of Maryland of January 19, 1798, relative to the stock of that State in the Bank of England. These resolutions give him full power to act in behalf of the State, and suggest a course of conduct based upon advices they had received from Mr. King as to the probable action of the British Government, and Mr. P. gives his approval of his exertions in the matter. The resolution follow:

"Resolved that the General assembly of Maryland approve the exertions of Rufus King to procure an unconditional transfer of the Bank Stock due this State in the hands of the Accountant General of the High Court of Chancery of Great Britain, and for his maintaining the absolute and unqualified right of this State to the said Bank Stock.

"Resolved that Rufus King be appointed Trustee on behalf of the State to accept in his own name a transfer of the Bank Stock due this State, or such part thereof as the King of Great Britain may direct to be transferred; the Legislature of Maryland not

* Italics in cipher.

relinquishing the States' Right to any part of said Bank Stock, but declaring a detention of any part thereof by the Crown of Great Britain to be contrary to justice and in violation of the Treaty of Peace of 1783 between Great Britain and America.

"Resolved that Rufus King do not accept on the part of the State the transfer of said stock, if the release or dereliction of the States' Right to any part be insisted on as a condition precedent to the transfer of the residue. . . ."

R. KING, LONDON, TO E. GERRY, PARIS.

Feb. 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . We have no accounts from home since 7th of Jany, nor is my intelligence much later from Paris. I have experienced no small Difficulty in deciding what ought to have been my conduct in respect to American Property about to depart from this Country for our's, and which is now liable to Capture and Condemnation by the french; fortunately the Business has taken a turn that for the present does not require my interference. It is not therefore expedient nor would it under any circumstances be necessary, to give you the course of my Reflections, since you will readily see the subject in all its Relations. Whether correctly or otherwise you can but decide, they have had an influence in persuading me that it is time we should distinctly understand what are the real views of France towards our Country. I wish I could derive any satisfaction in my conjectures, I had almost said my fixed opinions, on this important Subject. I reject all Quixotism in Politicks; but national honor, rightly understood, is national Power—and if the former is degraded, the latter will be despised.

With sincere regard I am & yr. ob. & faithful serv.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, Feby 22, 1798.

Dr. Romaine (says Sir Wm. P.) was introduced to me by letters from a worthy and respectable character of New York, and with such recommendations how could I refuse to pay attention

to his Reports of the Prospects and situation of the U. S. Do you understand this, my dear Judge? I hope that you and my more sanguine friend and successor have seasonably changed into Dollars and eagles, a few thousand of your many acres; for with all my infidelity, I sincerely wish that the result of your speculations may far exceed even your own expectations of Profit.* Remember that war will bring depreciation, and how we are to escape it, my poor eyes cannot discover. The prayers of Protestant Christians are answered by the downfall of the Pope, and what is strange to relate the faithful Swiss are involved in the same ruin.

The poor Dutch after passing thro' Purgatory, are condemned to weeping, wailing and gnashing of teeth, Spain and Portugal are soon to meet their fate, and God only knows the number of days that remain to those who are last to be destroyed.

I will hope that we are nearly cured of the folly of admiring the progress of this scourge of the human kind. . . .

Farewell yrs

R. K.

P. S. I send you one of General Allen's Pamphlets—it contains curious matter. The General's cause is to be tried by the Lords on Tuesday of next week.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE.

LONDON, Feb, 26, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Two points have within a fortnight been settled in the English Cabinet respecting South America. If Spain is able to prevent the overthrow of her present Government and to escape being brought under the entire controul of France, England (between whom and

* Col. Troup says in a letter of 8th of June, 1798: "I read your remarks about our land speculations a few days ago to Lawrance, who was here to recruit his health. He winched at them. Within eighteen months he has been obliged to assume for his brother land speculators near 18,000 dollars which has worked him almost to an oil. . . . I have been in one respect fortunate; I have lost nothing by any person—in another I have been unlucky—my estate is altogether landed and for some time past it has been locked up, and is still very unprofitable. The country is however filling up as rapidly as ever. To settlers it still brings the same prices as usual, but payments are not so regularly made as formerly."

Spain, notwithstanding the war, a certain understanding appears to exist) will at present engage in no scheme to deprive Spain of the possession of Sth. America. But if, as appears probable, the army destined against Portugal, and which will march thro' Spain, or any other means which may be employed by France, shall overthrow the Spanish Government, and thereby place the resources of Spain and of her Colonies at the disposal of France, England will immediately commence the execution of a Plan long since digested and prepared for the compleat independence of Sh. America.

If England engages in this Plan, she will at Philadelphia propose to the U. S. to cooperate in its execution. Miranda will be detained here, under one pretence or another, until events shall decide the conduct of England.

*The revolution of Spain is decreed; the attempt will be made, and the success is scarcely doubtful. The President may therefore expect the overture of England, and will, I am persuaded, act upon it, under the influence of that wise and comprehensive policy, which, looking forward to the Destinies of the New World, shall in the beginning by great and generous Deeds lay deep and firm the foundations of lasting accord between its rising Empires. If possible, I will bring together and seasonably arrange and send to you such information, as I have been able to procure upon this interesting and very consequential subject, having found out and acquired the confidence of certain Jesuits, natives of Sth. America, who with a view to its independence are and for several years have been, in the service and pay of England. I have conversed with them and seen the Reports which they have prepared for their employers. These communications throw much light upon the population, the resources, the oppression and the temper and character of the Spanish Americans.**

. . . By what means the Dutch Money Lenders have been, or are to be, induced to transfer to the French their American or other Funds, I am not informed. But a few days since a Frenchman, under a German Name and Passport, arrived in London from Paris: the object of his voyage is to ask of certain Capitalists here whether they will purchase or advance Money upon the Bonds of the United States held by the Dutch and Antwerp Money Lenders upon their being assigned and transferred to them in a way that shall be entirely satisfactory? One of our

* Italics in cipher.

Countrymen, whose pursuits are regulated by a faithful attachment to his Country, and who has been invited to participate in the purchase of these Bonds, consulted me upon the propriety of the measure. I had no hesitation to dissuade him from engaging in it: because in the present situation of Holland, it appears to me desirable to preserve the influence, be it great or small, arising from the property which Individuals of that country hold in our funds; and because, moreover, in the present Disposition of France towards us, we cannot with prudence desire to Contribute to the supply of the means which may enable France to multiply their unjust aggressions against us and others. Our Debt to the Money Lenders of Amsterdam and Antwerp, exclusive of what they hold in our Domestic Stock, amounts to Eleven Millions of Dollars, not more than two hundred and fifty thousand of which is liable to re-imbursement during the present Century. The preservation of this Debt, in its present shape, may operate to restrain measures of hostility that otherwise may be adopted. It was doubted by some persons, whether the payment by anticipation of our Debt to France was a prudent Policy: as an independent measure of finance, it was beneficial; but the political mischiefs of the arrangement deserved to have been taken into the question, since they might be found to outweigh the Argument of œconomy. . . . Notwithstanding the increased probability that we shall be drawn into the Vortex, our Stocks have risen in their price and are now sought for by some people, who have heretofore thought nothing out of England secure. . . .

Annexed you have Copies of three notes which I have received from Lord Grenville. The first is an answer to my note respecting the Proceedings of the Vice-admiralty Court of St. Domingo. As this Court was not legally constituted, its proceedings are void; and those who have suffered from its acts are referred, as in the Martinique cases, to the High Court of Admiralty for redress. . . .

On the 31st of January our Ministers at Paris, who were still unreceived and therefore unauthorized to hold a regular communication with the French Government, sent to the Minister of Foreign Relations the letter which they have informed you they were preparing for that purpose. On the 19th of February they had received no answer, nor had any notice been taken of them or their

letter by Mr. Talleyrand. . . . There is really no hope that France will return to reason in our affairs; and we should take care not to be deceived by any false appearances that perhaps she may think it politic to pursue. Her conduct can only be explained by supposing that she thinks that we have neither Union, nor courage, nor character to resist any outrage that *she* may choose to practise towards us; and is it strange that she and others should entertain this opinion, if they believe the late publication by Mr. Monroe, who proves his Patriotism by an attempt to revile and degrade his Country in the eyes of the whole World?

With perfect Respect and Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

Probably March, 12, 1798.

It is a great while, my Dr. friend, since I have written you a line. You will not I am sure impute my silence to any cause impeaching my friendship, for that must be always cordial and entire. The truth is that my professional avocations occupm ye to the extent of the exertions my health permits, and I have been unwilling to sit down to write you without leisure to say something interesting. But I now depart from this rule that my persevering silence may not make me sin beyond Redemption. I have, however, only time to tell you that your friends are generally well & as much attached to you as ever; & that I hear of no cabals against you.

Being just returned from Albany, I would say nothing about the political juncture as it is affected by the unpleasant advices from our Commissioners in France. I will only say that the public mind is much sounder than that of our Representatives in the national Council & that there is no danger of our actively disgracing ourselves, that is, by any unworthy compliances with the exorbitant pretensions of "*The Great* MONSTER."*

Yours Affecty.

A. HAMILTON.

*Soi disant, "The Great Nation."

CHAPTER XXI.

Claims of English Commissioners under 7th Article of the Treaty denied—Mr. Cabot on growing Discontent against French Aggressions—Confidence in the English Action—Congress should protect our Commerce—General Pinckney on French Demands—Mr. King regrets the Stay of the Envoys in Paris—Recall of the Envoys—Indisposition in Congress to protect Commerce—Fear of causing War—Convoys to be accepted, and Merchantmen may be armed—Dispatches to Envoys called for—Mr. Bingham on the commercial Regulations with England—Mr. King's Letters to the Envoys in Paris—To Secretary of State on Relations of Denmark and France—Rebellion in Ireland—General Pinckney announces that Mr. Gerry will stay in Paris.

C. C. Pinckney to R. King.

In Cipher.

Paris, March 14, 1798.

Dear Sir:

I hope you have received safe our No. 6. to the Secretary of State with its inclosures. We had prepared the letter therein mentioned. It was agreed to by all of us, after it had been altered so as to meet the apparent sentiments of all. General Marshall and myself signed it, yet Mr. Gerry delayed adding his Signature, and at last declined it, on a conversation he had with Mr. Talleyrand's Secretary, wherein the terms of a loan to be stipulated by us now, but not to be paid until after the war, were suggested. This, when communicated to us, General Marshall and myself altogether disapproved. Mr. Gerry thought it admissible if stipulations were made that it should not be transferred until after the war. On a conversation with Mr. Talleyrand himself, it clearly appears that the intention was to make this loan a present aid; but to conceal the intention by deferring the time of payment. Mr. Gerry declared he was convinced of it and was

against it; but I think he will not sign the letter he agreed to, nor consent to ask for Passports until he hears from our Government. *The* intention here is, with regard to the Envoys, to get General Marshall and myself away and to keep Mr. Gerry; with regard to our Country, it is to get money if they can; but, if not, then to keep American affairs in suspense till the Expedition against England is determined.

I remain with great truth your Sincere & affectionate

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 69.

LONDON, March 17, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Lord Grenville informed me at the last Conference, that he was concerned to learn from their Commissioners that an opinion was entertained by their Colleagues, that they had power to receive and, immediately after the expiration of Eighteen months from the opening of the Commission, to decide all questions within the Purview of the Treaty, whether the same were depending before, or had been decided by, the Courts of Admiralty.

He said that he was at a loss how the Commissioners could upon their Oaths say, in cases depending in the Courts of Admiralty, that Compensation could not be had and received in the ordinary Courts of Justice; and unless upon their Oaths they could say so, they had no authority to proceed to *decide* such cases; they might receive the Claims, but unless the delays of the Admiralty were such as amounted to a denial of Justice, they must defer their decisions until the Admiralty had given theirs. His Lordship added that, if the opinion alluded to should be persisted in, he did not see how they could authorize their Commissioners to assist in giving the awards.

I said that I was not prepared to discuss the question; that I had hoped, after the apparent Disagreement, which on a former occasion had occurred, that we should not again be obliged to search for the interpretation of this Article of the Treaty, but that the same would have been left to the Commissioners; that I must however observe to his Lordship, that as far as I had formed

any opinion upon the subject, it differed from his ; that I had more than once intimated this opinion to him, as a motive to greater Dispatch in the Admiralty Courts ; that many of our people had been long attending here for a Decision of their Causes ; that according to the progress hitherto made in the Admiralty Courts, the cases within the provision of the Treaty, would not all be tried at the end of seven years from this time ; that the Claimants had waited with the more patience, because they have been led to believe that the Treaty ascertained a Period when the Commissioners would have authority to take up and decide their claims. That I did not recollect that the Commissioners had a Right to receive any Claim, the merits of which they could not immediately decide ; and that all Claims must be preferred within Eighteen months from the opening of the Commission.

Besides the assignment which the Commissioners may award will enable the British Government to pursue the Captors, and to recover from them the money that may, under the award of the Commissioners, be advanced to the Claimants in their Behalf ; that after waiting four years, which was the situation of most of the Claimants, the inconvenience of longer delay should be born by those who could prevent it, and not by those who had no means of expediting the Proceedings of the Admiralty. I concluded the conversation by saying that, after conversing with our Commissioners, I would examine the Subject, preparatory to a future interview with his Lordship.

You see how this Question bears upon that of the like character respecting the Debts ; and tho' I have not time to present it to you in the extent I wish, I think you will perceive that it is of such magnitude, that I must particularly desire to receive as early as possible the President's opinion respecting the Construction to which we shall adhere.

Is it not probable that this Government, should they persist in the opinion intimated by Lord Grenville (which for plain reasons will be zealously and loudly supported by the whole body of Civilians), may be willing to agree that after a certain period, within which they will oblige their Courts to proceed with expedition, the Commissioners shall proceed and decide all the Claims that shall have been brought before them, whether they shall have been decided by the Admiralty Courts or not ?

This suggestion occurs while the pen is in my hand ; I have not considered it, nor do I know that it merits consideration ; my belief is that we may without risque, insist upon what *we* shall judge to be the fair and just interpretation of the Treaty. As I know nothing of the situation or amount of the Claims before the Commission at Philadelphia, I can form no estimate of the weight of those political considerations which may exist in that quarter, nor consequently of the influence they ought to have upon our proceedings here.* . . .

The Bill will be soon brought before Parliament, imposing a 2½ per Cent Impost upon the Exports & Imports of Great Britain . . . to afford Convoys to the Trade . . . and to defray the expence thereof. Neutral nations who shall convoy their own Ships, . . . by giving notice of their intention from time to time to afford such convoy, will be exempt from the payment of this Impost. . . . Should the System be adopted, will it not be much cheaper as well as in other respects wiser, for us to Convoy our own Trade than to pay the impost and sail under English Convoy.

It is proper that I should hint to you that the long absence of Mr. Liston from Philadelphia during the President's residence there, and while Congress are in session, is not approved of, and by this opportunity he would be told so. . . .

With perfect Respect and Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

BROOKLINE, March 21, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

Before I had the pleasure of reading your letter of the 14th Jany intelligence had been received from France respecting their Decrees against *Neutrals*. This last step was all that remained to be taken to fulfil the intentions formed by the Directory 2 years ago & of which I was informed by the D. de L. in July 1796.— The project seemed then to be too extravagant to be believed ; however I fully believed myself in its reality & accordingly mentioned the affair to you soon afterward, but as you have never

* This subject was renewed at a later period, and received at that time a full discussion and satisfactory settlement.—ED.

noticed it I suspect my letters (for I think there were two) which contained the information may have miscarried. I thought it proper soon afterward to acquaint Mr. Wolcott with the substance of my conversation with the D., & Mr. Wolcott has since written to me that there was abundant evidence of the truth of what I had heard. It is impossible to compare all this with Monroe's representation & not feel indignant at his perfidy or chagrined at his folly. It is natural to suppose that the accumulated injuries of France toward this country & her undisguised resolution to establish her power over every nation that she can, would have excited a general resentment, and that the sense of common danger wou'd have united us in our measures of defence, but I fear it is otherwise. It appears to me that *arming for defence* is less popular now than it wou'd have been in June last ; the servile temper of our Representatives not only dishonor'd them but dispirited the people & at this moment it is not easy to conceive of any indignity to which they wou'd not submit & which a powerful party wou'd not palliate. You have doubtless seen thro' the whole contest that the British Treaty is made the pretext & you undoubtedly see the policy of this, & altho' there is no man of information who openly attacks any article of the Treaty yet still the ignorant are played upon & their prejudices kept alive ; & this expedient more than any other countenances their apathy to the outrages of France.

It is a humiliating thought, & I reluctantly avow it, that our fate depends essentially upon the issue of the struggle between Britain & France. I think however that the *future* prosperity & security of Britain requires that the U. S. shou'd be kept out of the fangs of the great monster if possible & therefore I rely that British policy will do more for us than we are willing to do for ourselves—it wou'd indeed be extreme weakness in the British Cabinet to suffer the Govt. of this country to pass into the hands of France if they can possibly prevent it, for this country wou'd make weight in the scale sufficient to make the final preponderance on which ever side it shou'd be placed : the interest of both those nations will best comport with what is certainly our own & that is perfect Independence.

I don't see how you can, nor do I think it advisable to try to use force of any kind to oblige the vessels to take convoys. I

hope however you will be successful in *inducing* them to accept and the Govt. to give protection. It is for the interest of all concerned that this shou'd be done & the idle desire of each to be first home shou'd be sacrificed to the common safety. I shall not be surprised however to learn that some intractable spirits break away & get captured. A few such ships wou'd greatly encourage the predatory efforts of the French and wou'd multiply our future losses.

Congress are soon to decide on the kind & extent of defensive armament & it is possible that in the course of the season they may put the Frigates & some smaller Vessels out to protect our Coast—shou'd this happen there is some little risk of a rencounter with british arm'd ships. It is unfortunate for the tranquillity of nations that the Naval officers are obliged often to act without much deliberation & upon presumption instead of clear evidence ; they are, too, men of more nautical than political skill & their courage which is generous and ingenuous too often disdains caution, hence there may be danger of a misunderstanding if the Commanders of both sides are not perfectly well instructed with their rights and duties.

The misfortunes of our friend Payne must disquiet Gore as it does me and all his friends, but while you sympathize with *him* you will not regret that the *cursed* land speculations did not debauch your prudence.

Yours sincerely,

G. C.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

BROOKLINE, 23d March, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

Since I wrote you on the 21st I have been favored with your letter of the 9th of Jany & as my letter is not gone I open the cover to add my acknowledgement of the *great favor* you have done in communicating the desponding & gloomy sentiments you feel. What (am I to understand) can have been done or meditated to be done by the French worse than I have for years imagined ? I must take your word as I already have the word of the Secy of State that there is a degree of atrocity beyond my conception.

I am mortified at the stupidity of several of the European Cabinets who seem to have consented to be annihilated by & by, if they can only be allowed to enjoy at the present a temporary respite : but my whole reliance for effective force has been upon England. Doubtless if they yield, the whole civilized world falls a prey to France ; but is it possible the people of property & sense there at this late day shou'd hesitate to spend the last shilling & hazard the last life rather than submit to their merciless enemies ? If those people are so weak yet the Govt. is not, & if this is not afraid to do all it can it will do enough. I have never doubted the *competency* of G B to withstand all the power that France can bring against her, but as I have not thought that the efforts of the British were as great as they ought to be, or so well directed as they might be, I have seriously wished a thousand times that the French wou'd be mad enough to attempt an Invasion. This it appears to me wou'd be putting their cause at issue when according to all human calculations their defeat & destruction wou'd be inevitable. All the friends of order & virtue throughout the world ought to be willing to trust the success of such a conflict because they can never expect a trial of force on better terms.

The English nation is well constituted & well situated in every respect to make the defence required : she has too abundant means of men & money, skill & spirit & all these will be sufficiently exerted if an attempt is made to conquer her. But I have no idea that any such attempt is even thought of by the Directory of French Affairs : they will do wicked things but not weak ones. For myself I have attributed all the gasconading of France to internal projects & necessities :—but be this as it may the English are contending for existence as a nation & therefore they ought to act worthy of the greatness of the Stake : their constitution must be preserved but the Parliament ought to clothe the Executive with *all power* for such a period as the danger may last, & the people shou'd be brought to acquiesce & support their system by constant & judicious publications & kept steady by a prudent use of force—a force however not to be overcome by Faction. I shou'd imagine that it would not escape the sagacity of the English that all the Decrees against English Manufactures operate chiefly upon the Neutrals who buy them, & that instead of dimin-

ishing the demand upon the English artists, if many vessels are captured, the demand will be increased ; indeed it will be scarcely possible to prevent the increase of English Industry if the Order of the Nation is pursued, for it is the only country in Europe where men will feel that the fruits of their labor will be secured to them & will not be wrested from them wantonly or unjustly. God bless you !

Your afft. friend
G. C.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

Private.

CLEVELAND ROW, March 29, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR :

The inclosed sketch having been published this morning and containing, tho' not the expressions, yet the heads & substance of the speech in question, I have thought that your friendship would give it in your eyes more interest than it would perhaps be otherwise entitled to—I have therefore taken the liberty to send it to you & beg you to believe most truly & sincerely yrs.

G.

Endorsed by R. K. : " N. B. Lord Grenville's speech delivered in the H. of Lords on the Duke of Bedford's motion to dismiss the Ministers on the 22d instant."—R. K.

R. KING TO W. V. MURRAY.

LONDON, March 31, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The French have in my opinion formed their plan, and will not depart from it, respecting our Country. They reckon (I hope and believe erroneously) upon many friends and Partizans among us ; and those who are in the secret do not hesitate to say, if they can gain " un point d'appui " in our Country, or upon its borders, that they can easily make a fourth of September at Philadelphia ! Foolish and extravagant as this opinion is, the

extraordinary events and success of their Enterprises in Europe dispose the Directory to believe it.

Being firmly convinced that they have made up their minds concerning both South and North America, I regret the humiliating continuation of our friends at Paris. If I could hope even that there was any chance that we should adjust our affairs, or that France would be persuaded to abandon the projects that she has conceived, my earnest desire that our Country should not become a party in the war would lead me to applaud their patience; but as I utterly despair of their success in this Respect, I think I see mischief in their remaining at Paris. Until they leave it there will be no adequate Preparations for the alternative, and the events which follow each other with such rapidity in Europe and which are to precede the Labor intended to be performed in America, make me fear that they may find us, as they lately found Switzerland, unprepared.

Farewell yrs. very truly

R. K.

P. S. Be cautious of Genl. Eustace; he is a very troublesome, but I do not think in any way a dangerous, character. He was sent out of England, and his conduct towards me was rude and ungentlemanlike. He began his acquaintance with me with the Tale that I perceive he has related to you, respecting Monroe, Fulton and others. By Monroe's Book I observe that Eustace was one of his addressers when he was replaced by General Pinckney; Be assured that he is a more suitable acquaintance of Monroe than of you or me. He will be a Tale bearer between you and others, with whom he may seek an acquaintance, and is base enough for the office. In the end he will quarrel with you, either because you will not lend money, or countenance him in Pretensions that he will have no right to make.

Mr. Pickering announces to Mr. King, in this letter, the receipt of despatches from the envoys in Paris to the 8th of January, the last declaring "that there existed no hope of their being officially received, or in any way accomplishing the object of their mission," and saying that they were desirous of doing what they could by remaining at their post to effect a reconciliation, and were to write a letter to Min-

ister of Foreign Affairs on the 10th January, requesting the Government to open negotiations with them or grant them passports. "Nevertheless it has been thought expedient to transmit them a letter of recall," which had been done.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, April 2, 1798.

". . . A copy I now inclose to your care, with a copy for your own information, of its contents. It is very desirable that the Envoys should speedily receive the Letter of Recall, if they still remain in France. We hope and trust they are not there; for their personal safety, or at least their liberty might be involved, while in the power of a Government which at its pleasure violates the *Law of Nations* and imprisons Ambassadors with as little ceremony as it arrests its own subjects. *But to return to the main object of this letter. What ought we under existing circumstances to propose to the British Government; or, if to avoid a present overture on our part be eligible, what offers are likely to be made by that Government, and, if made, what answer shall be given them?*

"*In the first place, threatening as is the aspect of our affairs with France, the President does not deem it expedient at this time to make any advances to Great Britain. The interest of her own commerce will on some occasions lead her to afford convoys to ours. In your Letter of the 14th of January you say you are assured this will be done in respect to our Spring Ships if you request it and Mr. Leston has lately shown me a Letter from Admiral Vandeput who commands the British Squadron on our Coasts by which it appears that the Admiral had anticipated the Minister's request to furnish Convoys to American vessels, having ordered his captains 'that if they should fall in with any ships or vessels of the United States coming from India (and not from the ports of any of his Majesty's enemies) or any ships or vessels coming from any of his Majesty's Dominions to see them in safety to the nearest port, protecting them in like manner as if they were the ships of his Majesty's subjects.*' This request was voluntary on the part of the British Minister. *All this is very*

convenient in our present defenceless condition, but how disgraceful to the United States if we continue to depend on the protection of the British Navy without any reasonable exertion on our part to protect ourselves." *

After discussing the conduct the United States should adopt in case of open hostilities between France and the United States, as to our relations with Great Britain, Mr. Pickering says:

"You will observe that the President has withdrawn his restriction as to the arming of merchant vessels of the United States. . . . Many Merchants, I understand are beginning to arm; but guns are scarce, and all the requisite articles are dearer here than in Europe. It will, therefore, be expedient for you to recommend to the Masters and Agents of our vessels in Europe, who are inclined to arm, to do it there. It will also be well to encourage their bringing home Gunpowder, Saltpetre, Lead, Copper, sail cloth and hemp, and whatever else is necessary for equipping Vessels of war. The owners of Iron works are preparing to cast cannon, and in the course of a year there will be an ample supply."

"April 6.

"*There is still an evident opposition on one side of each House, to provide for any thing beyond our internal defences; and the exhibition of the dispatches from the Envoys seems not to have produced the proper effect; for while the most inveterate opposers of the Government now acknowledge its sincerity and the propriety and even liberality of its measures to effectuate an accommodation with France, and add that she has given us abundant cause to declare war against her, they say it is not expedient, and therefore we must not attempt to protect our commerce, because its defence will be a war measure and will issue in open war. But this spirit I hope will be changed.** The dispatches from our Envoys, communicated on the 3d. instant in confidence, are ordered to be printed, are now in the press, and in two or three days will be published. *The indignant voice of the people must irresistibly urge the adoption of efficient measures of defence by sea as well as by land.*"

* Italics in cipher.

WILLIAM BINGHAM TO R. KING.

PHILADA., April 2, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, which conveyed the pleasing Intelligence of a well founded Expectation that the British Government would afford, by Convoys, a Protection to our Mercantile Navigation, as far as our own Shores. This management is very gratefull to our Citizens, & will in a great Measure circumvent the Views of the French Directory, in curtailing our Trade in British Merchandize, which will be exposed, in proportion to the Increase of Temptation for plundering it.

Their late Decree on this Subject, combined with the refusal of their Executive to enter into friendly Negotiations with our Ministers, has made a very Serious Impression on the American Mind.

The necessity of adopting an efficient System of Self Defence has become Strikingly evident. But the Extent & Character of this System will occasion warm and agitated Debates.

The prevailing opinion is in favor of immediate energetic Measures, for the Protection of our Trade, that will not eventuate in open & declared War: for the convulsed State of Parties, the confined Resources of the Country & the Indisposition to increase them, as well as the Power of the Nation with whom the Contest would exist, have created an unusual Alarm, with respect to the Consequences that might result.

Our first vigorous Step will be the Equipment of public armed Vessels for the Protection of our Neutral Rights of Commerce, by convoying our Merchant Ships, laden with Articles, not Contraband by the Stipulations of Treaties, or the general Law of Nations, when bound to the Ports of a belligerent Power. In the mean Time, the President has revoked his Circular Letter to the Collectors which restrained the Armament of private Merchant Ships, & has adduced as a Reason for this vigorous & responsible Measure, the Change that has recently taken place in our political Situation.

A call has been made in the House of Representatives for the Dispatches from our Commissioners in France, & I expect the President will comply with the request. These Communications

will present a very minute Detail of their Proceedings, & I am inclined to believe Matter of a very confidential Nature.

The Act of Parliament to carry the British Treaty into Effect, has excited a considerable Sensation, of no very friendly Tendency. By a rigid Adherence to the Letter of the Articles, Great Britain has departed from that System of Commercial Policy, which regulated her Conduct at a Period, antecedent to the Treaty, when our Passions & Animosities were mutually inflamed towards each other.

Our East India Trade is in a worse Predicament than formerly. We are precluded from carrying the Produce & Manufactures of her Possessions directly to Europe ; whereas the Vessels of all Neutral Powers in Amity with her are Subjected to no Restraint of this Kind. The additional Delay, & Expense of double Freight & Insurance, by the circuitous Route of the United States, present an insuperable Barrier, to the carrying Trade, betwixt the East India British Factories & Europe, in American Bottoms.

The Equalization of the Tonnage Duties places us on a footing, relatively very unfavorable, as our Vessels are exposed to the Payment of double-light Money & other heavy Port Charges, from which their Shipping are exempt in our Harbors.

But what is deemed very prejudicial & obnoxious is the Imposition of 10 % additional Customs on Cargoes imported into England, in American Vessels. This will be an absolute Prohibition of our carrying Trade, employed in the Exports of a Variety of Articles, as the Competition will be too unfavorable. Indeed, whenever the British Customs are higher ad Valorem, than our Imports, a definite per Centage cannot be called a mutual Equivalent, so as to operate as a countervailing Duty ; there must be Inequality in favor of one Party & to the Injury of the other. In the Article of Tobacco, which is meant to be favored, the additional Duty will tend to an entire Exclusion of our Tonnage in the Carriage, as it will amount in peaceable Times to 50 % in the Value of the Freight.

Besides, the British Manufactures, by their Nature, occupying little Space, employ but a Small Quantity of Tonnage in their Transportation, & therefore their Prohibition is an Evil, not extensively felt ; but the bulky Produce of this Country, destined

to England, as Remittances in Exchange for their Manufactures, requires an Immensity of Shipping: the Result therefore of the Arrangement will operate very unequally, by the difference in the relative Quantity of Tonnage that will be respectively excluded in Consequence of it.

This is certainly a great Departure from the former System of G. Britain, which tended to attract into her Ports, by the most encouraging Overtures, American Vessels, who came into them to exchange their Produce & raw Materials for Manufactures. As the Treaty cannot exist, but for a Short Period after the War, it appears that Great Britain, by so rigidly carrying it into Effect, wished to establish a Fund of Pretensions; so that whenever a new Negotiation shall take place, She may, by departing from the existing State of things, have the Appearance of relaxing & making a Concession.

I find the Antifederalists disposed to take Advantage of all these Circumstances, in order to justify the Clamors they excited against the British Treaty, & I regret that any Opportunity has been afforded to them, considering the critical State of our Affairs at present.

An American Vessel was yesterday despatched to Havre, by our Government, with a View of presenting an opportunity for our Commissioners to return. But I am rather disposed to believe they have already taken their Departure.

With much sincerity & esteem &c.

WM. BINGHAM.

R. KING TO MESSRS. PINCKNEY, MARSHALL, AND GERRY.

In Cipher.

LONDON, April 2, 1798.

GENTLEMEN:

It should be known to you that So. America is on the Eve of Revolution. England has prepared, and waits only for the Events that the march of the French army into Spain will effect, to send an expedition to commence the Revolution which shall make South America independent. If it is not assured to become independent by England, the work will be done by France, who will introduce there her detestable principles, divide it into small Republicks, put bad men at their

head, and by these means facilitate her meditated enterprises against us. We have an immense Interest in the Event, as well as in the manner in which it shall be accomplished. England will, at Philadelphia, ask the co-operation of the U. S. France has formed, and will not be diverted from, her Plan respecting the U. S. Your mission must therefore fail, and if so, the sooner the better, tho' I understand that Humphries has received assurances that our Treaty with Spain will be carried into execution; I do not believe it. France expects to find "un point d'appui" in Louisiana, and to begin from thence her operations against the United States; the Treaty must then remain unexecuted; it will serve the same purpose as the obsolete Treaty respecting the Pays de Vaud, or the antient Disputes between Rome and Naples.

The French System once established in So. America and the West Indies, we shall be in perpetual risque; on the other hand, the independence of So. America on wise principles, will put an end to the Old Colony and Commercial System, and with obvious Combinations presents Wealth and Security to the U. S., and a new balance among nations. This communication is most strictly confidential. . . .

Your obedt. faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL PINCKNEY.

In Cipher.

LONDON, April 2, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The same Doubts and Hesitations which restrain him from joining in measures of decision, would operate more powerfully if he was quite alone; and should their views of getting rid of you and General M., and of keeping him be effected, nothing would be gained, for he never would conclude anything. Don't from hence infer that I think you should leave him behind; the scism would be full of mischief. You must still endeavour to preserve him; it cannot be long before you hear from Philadelphia, and I think there will not afterwards be any hesitation. The Letter to you and Colleagues, you will communicate to G. or not as you think advisable.

With perfect Respect and Esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO E. GERRY, ESQ.

LONDON, April 2, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have had the pleasure to receive your Letter of the 10th ultimo, and have delayed writing to you in hope that I should be able to send you some late and important intelligence from Philadelphia: but the prevalence of Easterly winds, which has I hope carried our Spring Ships nearly half way home, has kept back those on their Passage to Europe.

My last Letters are to the beginning of February, when everything seemed at a stand, in expectation of receiving decisive information from your Commission. This state of the public mind is, in my apprehension, full of perplexity and of real Danger. I reason thus; France has settled her Plan respecting America, and, as might be expected, it is a bold and comprehensive one, including both South and North America. She is not likely to be diverted from the attempt to carry this Plan into execution; her preparatory measures are probably now in operation, and she only waits for certain Events, prior in their order, to commence with activity the Enterprise. The safety of America will depend upon her being prepared in Season to defeat the Projects of France; so long as she expects success in negotiation, she will neglect those preparations, without which we may be exposed to, and experience, great National Calamity.

I ask myself, but without obtaining a satisfactory answer, whether there remains one rational Hope of a favorable issue of your Mission? The interest, independent of the earnest wishes, of our country to keep out of the war, rendered every effort for the purpose a sacred duty, and all the world must admit that our Envoys have persevered in their endeavours with unexampled patience, and under the most discouraging, as well as humiliating circumstances. But does not the public welfare, as well as the National character, prescribe limits to Submission? and without trying the Question by those maxims which belong to the laws of Honor, the observance of which, however, can never be indifferent to nations, ought we from any motive to persist in asking what we have reason to believe, nay are convinced, will not be granted; when by doing so, our Country may be made to doubt the existence of Evils, that are daily maturing and which may burst upon

us when we are not prepared to resist them? Is not the main end of every Embassy the promotion and confirmation of the public Interest and Safety? In the supposed state of your's does not a longer residence in France expose both to considerable risque and would not each be secured by the termination of your Mission? It does not necessarily result that war must follow your retreat from France; on the contrary I am inclined to believe, that if war is avoided, and our Complaints treated with Justice, it will be by a Demonstration of that Preparation, Union and Firmness which shall undeceive the French Government and lead them to abandon their unjust Views and Pursuits respecting our Country.

I have involuntarily been induced to write what is passing in my mind, but on casting my eye over it, I hesitate in sending it to you, lest it should have the air of an unbecoming interference in a Business committed to others, whose Judgment is in every respect better and safer than my own. Yet as I feel real Concern upon this Subject, and as the fate of Nation upon Nation that is fallen beneath the Power of France encreases my anxiety for the safety of our own, I have thought that I might safely rely upon your friendship for an apology for Reflections, so little solid, I fear, in your mind, but which are the unbiassed sentiments of mine.

With the most sincere Esteem & attachment &c. &c.

Your friend & faithful servant

RUFUS KING.

C. C. PINCKNEY TO R. KING.

In Cipher.

PARIS, April 4, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . *As I suspected Mr Gerry is resolved to remain here. I have warmly remonstrated with him on the bad consequences that will result from such conduct, and on the impropriety of his having carried on a Correspondence with Talleyrand under injunction not to communicate it to his Colleagues. I have made great sacrifice of my*

feelings to preserve union, but in vain. I never met with a man of less candor and so much duplicity as Mr. Gerry. General Marshall is a man of extensive ability, of manly candor and an honest heart. . . .

With great Regard & Esteem &c.

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 71.

LONDON, April 6, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

*Denmark is not safe.** French Principles have many advocates there, and the *Danish Government*, like others connected with the German System temporizes, acts by expedients and is without vigour. *The French Envoy at Copenhagen who* is the same *Person that read to Louis the Sixteenth his* Sentence of Death, possesses great influence, and step by step increases it ; little things, and such as in themselves are of no importance, are, from time to time, conceded to the demands of France ; these prepare the way for, and are followed by, more important Requisitions, which in their turn will be complied with. France claims, and will attempt to impose, contributions upon every Nation with whom she has a connection : her armies exhaust the Countries in which they obtain a footing ; and her Diplomacy acts where her army does not penetrate. Thus Hamburgh and the other free cities, who since the beginning of the war have paid considerable Sums to France, have lately, and while their Deputies were at Rastadt negotiating Peace, been asked for Twelve Millions of Livres, which after seeking advice at *Berlin and Copenhagen* they agreed to pay. *Denmark herself* will soon be required to make a loan to France, and in my opinion will not refuse. *Sweden is in no* better condition *than Denmark ; her Government is* liable to convulsions ; these under the present divisions among her people are not less extensive, nor more mild in their character than heretofore. *The King is* without experience, *possesses the* sovereign authority *under a doubtful title, and by several acts of his reign has shewn a deference*

* Italics in cipher.

for France inconsistent with a due respect *for his own authority or for the independence of his Nation. The recent appointment of the* Baron de Sthael *as his Envoy in France is an act* of this character. *After the Directory had refused several Swedes who were proposed, they intimated a desire that the* Baron de Sthael *should be sent to them, and, to secure his appointment, caused it to be understood that they would receive no other person.*

It was from these and similar proceedings in Denmark and Sweden that in my No. 69, I stated it to be my opinion *that neither of these Powers* would resist with Decision and Energy the depredations that France has resolved to commit upon the Commerce of all neutral States.

For several weeks past we have heard nothing of the army to be sent against Portugal. . . . The battle of Loupin decided the fate of the Swiss. . . . The Swiss Soldiers in common with the Peasantry have submitted to be disarmed by their Conquerors, . . . provisional Governments are everywhere established, and the deluded populace are promised . . . to be constituted a Republic one and indivisible ! United the Swiss were invincible and free ; divided they have lost their Country and ingloriously submitted to become the Slaves of their Conquerors. What a lesson, as well as example, does their History furnish to America ! . . . A French Emissary,* who has lately published his Travels thro' the United States, in which he takes frequent occasion to contrast the zealous attachment to France of the People with the conduct of our Government, says, " That France wants only a footing upon the Continent to regulate the Destinies of the Citizens of the United States." With these false representations, confirmed not only by some of our own Citizens, but supported by the uniform success of the Directory in other Countries, ought we to be surprized at the opinion that they will be able to bring about a fourth of September at Philadelphia with as little difficulty as it was effected at Paris ?

South America must soon pass through a Revolution : we have an immense interest in the Event, as well as in the manner in which it shall be effected. In a former letter I have communicated to you the views and intentions of England, who will not provoke the revolt in case Spain shall be able to save herself from a Revolution, and

* Volney.

*keep the French out of Portugal, and tho' there seems little probability that this will be the case, England since the arrival of Miranda here, but without his knowledge, has informed Spain that she will not countenance or assist the Spanish Colonies in becoming independent, but that she will join her in resisting the endeavours of others to accomplish it, provided that Spain will oppose the views of France against her own Dominions and those of Portugal. At the same time that this communication has been made to Spain, an Expedition has been prepared, and the correspondent arrangements at Trinidad have been ordered, for the purpose of beginning the Revolution of So. America ; in this Event, as I have before intimated to you, England will at Philadelphia open herself to, and ask the cooperation of, the United States. Miranda who is impatient with the delays that he experiences, as well as ignorant of the provisional Decisions of this Cabinet, has concluded to send his friend and associate Mr. Caro to Philadelphia with a letter for the President, and I have given him a letter to identify and introduce him to you. Conjecturing the intentions of France, and knowing with precision those of England, we shall be better able in season to consider and regulate the conduct that it shall be proper for us to pursue.**

The disaffection has become so general in Ireland that on the 30th ultimo, a Rebellion was declared to exist and the whole country is put under Martial Law. The preparations for Invasion are continued and will, it is believed, be attempted in Ireland ; tho' from the number, distribution and superiority of the British Fleet, it is inconceivable how it can succeed. Ireland is full of Troops, and without the protection of the Navy, will be able to defend itself from Invasion, if the Irish Soldiers, who form a considerable portion of the Army, can be depended on. . . .

The Court of Appeals have reversed the decree of the High Court of Admiralty which condemned the arms claimed by General Allen ; have decreed that the arms be delivered to the General on Bail, and that he give further Proof respecting the purchase of them, particularly respecting the 100,000 Livres, which the Contract states to have been paid by him to the French Government. . . .

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

R. King to Secretary of State.

April 6, 1798.

Dear Sir :

General Miranda has informed me that his associate and countryman, Mr. Caro, is about to return to So. America and that he will take Philadelphia in his way, in order to deliver to the President a letter that the General has for that purpose committed to his care.

Having been made acquainted with the object of Mr. Caro's voyage, I take the liberty of introducing him to you and of requesting that you will assist him in the delivery of the letter with which he is charged for the President.

With perfect Esteem Respect

Rufus King.

R. King to Col. Pickering.

Private.

London, April 9, 1798.

Dear Sir :

I have this morning received from Genl. Pinckney a letter, of which the annexed is a copy. I cannot express to you the disgust and indignation with which I have read it : tho' it only confirms my opinion, long since formed, that France had settled and would not depart from her Plan respecting America. Is it possible with such examples before us, that we can suffer ourselves to become the Dupes and Victims of so perfidious a Policy ?

With Truth and Esteem &c.

Rufus King.

C. C. Pinckney to R. King.

Paris, March 27, 1798.

My Dear Sir :

A few days ago we received an answer from the Minister of Foreign Affairs to a long letter we some days ago addressed to him ; towards the end of it is the following paragraph : " C'est donc uniquement dans la vue d'applanir la voie des discussions

que le soussigné est entré dans les Developpements qui précedent. C'est dans la même vue qu'il déclare aux Commissaires et Envoyés Extraordinaires, que malgré la sorte de prevention, qu'on a pu conçevoir sur eux, le Directoire Executif est disposé a traiter *avec celui d'eux trois*, dont les opinions, presumées plus impartiales, promettent, dans le cours des explications, plus de cette confiance réciproque qui est indispensable."

We shall reply to the whole letter *and this part in particular; we shall say that being appointed from the three great portions of America, the interests of each part of the United States might be particularly attended to, neither of us think it proper voluntarily to quit the Duty imposed upon him by his Country, nor to venture to take himself alone the burthen of a Negotiation committed not to one but to three. Notwithstanding we all agree in this Sentiment, I have reason to think Mr. Gerry means to stay. General Marshall and myself will be ordered away but,** as my daughter is exceedingly ill and her physicians have directed that, as soon as she is able to travel, she may be removed to the South of France, it is probable that Mrs. Pinckney, my Daughter and myself may be permitted to take that route, in which case I shall stay some weeks at Nismes, thence go to Bagnères to drink the water and then proceed to Bordeaux and embark from thence for America.

With great Respect and Esteem,

CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY.

R. KING TO G. CABOT.

LONDON, April 9, 1798.

A letter that I have this minute recd. from Paris confirms my Opinion, long since formed, that France had settled and would not be diverted from her Plan respecting America. Is it not sottish, as well as incredible, that we should any longer hope even for success from our Mission? After all the Humiliation that our Envoys have suffered, after the unceasing intrigues to divide them, and thereby to divide us, after having humbly waited more than six months in the Halls and Antechambers of the Direc-

* Italics in cipher.

tory, sometimes spoken to by a subordinate clerk, and at others insulted by the gross and offensive Proposals of some Profligate Renegado retained in the service of the Minister, two of them (P & M) are to be sent away, and the third (if it is possible to believe that he will become a converted Dupe) will be allowed to stay ; and when the Directory shall have nothing else to do, will be heard in Excuse of our Errors and in mitigation of our Punishment.

Yrs. with great truth,
R. K.

CHAPTER XXII.

Mr. Sedgwick's View of American Politics—The President acting a noble Part—His Message on the French Mission—Instructions to Envoys and their Dispatches called for and sent to Congress—Effect produced—War-like Measures proposed—Letters from and to the Envoys in Paris—Mr. King to Mr. Gerry—Letters from Messrs. W. Hindman, Cabot, and Sedgwick—Public Opinion about French Duplicity—American Students in Edinburgh to Mr. King—Mr. King to Secretary of State on Mr. Gerry's Conduct—Ireland's wretched Condition—Martial Law—To Gen. Hamilton on European Affairs—Maryland Bank Stock—Mr. J. A. Smith's Letter relative to Irish Troubles—Messrs. R. Troup, Bingham, Lawrance, and Cabot show Disgust and Resentment against France—Approving war-like Measures.

Theodore Sedgwick to R. King.

Philadelphia, 9th April, 1798.

My Dear Sir:

I received just before I came from home, the beginning of December, your letter dated in August—I should not have delayed answering it, till this time, but for the unpleasant situation of our affairs.

The session has been a disagreeable one & hitherto almost wholly unproductive. The house is almost exactly divided—there are 52 determined and rancorous Jacobins, and 54 who profess attachment to the government, or in other words, confidence in the Executive; of them, however, four are of that particular cast of character, whimsical, kinkish & unaccomodating, which renders it impossible to calculate, with any degree of certainty on the success of any measure dependent on their votes; while their adversaries, under the *controul* of the Genevese,* are a well organized & disciplined Corps, never going astray, or doing right even by mistake.

* Mr. Gallatin.—Ed.

The Speaker has become *violently* federal, *for New Jersey notwithstanding every effort to seduce her remains firm and united.* The Senate since I first knew it has considerably improved. Governor Bradford from age, or other causes had become discontented & petulant. Mr. Green, except that he obeyed the instructions of the State of R. I. in moving & advocating a repeal of the Stamp Act, in which I am sure he sacrificed at the shrine of popularity, has never deviated from a right line. Chipman, from Vermont, the successor of Tichenor, or rather, as you knew the Senate, of old Robinson, is firm, & indeed, intelligent. Hobart, who replaces Burr, you know. (By the way it is said that Burr is irretrievably ruined by Speculation.) Lawrance is as you knew him *so-so.* Generally right—sometimes egregiously wrong. Stockton from New Jersey ranks high among the able & virtuous men of our Country. Clayton, in the room of Vining, is a worthy & respectable man *after whom there is no necessity, on important questions, of sending the door-keeper.* Lloyd is worth a thousand of his Predecessor. Henry—*he is a sure shot,* and Hunter, in the room of B—rarely, now, votes with the disorganizers.

The President, under circumstances the most trying, and discouraging, has acted, *from* the time of his inauguration speech, a noble part. No instances of impatience, no whining croaking complaints, regardless of the infamous attacks that have been made on his character, he has exhibited a manly fortitude & dignified composure. His conduct has, indeed, increased the confidence of the friends of the government, and I am very much mistaken if it has not commanded the respect of his adversaries.

You will readily believe that the situation of our Vice-President cannot be a very pleasant one. More than once he has heard, in debates, and in terms which could not be mistaken, Philipics pronounced against the author of the letter to Mazzei. He is, I have no doubt, the very life and soul of the opposition.

You will have seen the President's Message in which he communicated to the Legislature the result of the mission to France. Directly the reverse, of what might reasonably have been expected, was the effect. Anderson soon moved a resolution, in the Senate, to call on the President for his instructions to the Envoys & for their communications to him. About this time it was

whispered that those dispatches contained evidence, not very honorable to the purity of french republicans. The motion of course was permitted to sleep. In the meantime impressions were attempted to be made, and not altogether without success unfavorable to the Government. It was said that the whole policy of the Executive, from the commencement of the french revolution, had been unfriendly to, & intended to produce a rupture with, that power; that neither the instructions given, nor the agents employed were intended to produce an amicable adjustment, and in short, that the President dared not expose his conduct to the public. It was added, that the measures recommended were warlike, and might impose a necessity of declaring war, of which the Legislature was exclusively the Judge, and as such entitled to all the means of forming a correct opinion. This reasoning incessantly enforced, was not without effect, and Mr. Allen was induced, from a conviction of the impossibility of taking any effective measures while the existing temper prevailed, of moving an address for the papers. The President determined as was foreseen he would determine, and the papers were laid before Congress. They are undoubtedly forwarded to you. On the first view the whole faction was overwhelmed with confusion. The leaders, in both houses, declared a perfect confidence in the integrity & wisdom of the President, and a conviction of the profligacy of their former friends the french. Many of our friends believed them sincere and expected an Union of Councils and Exertions. But already their tune is changed, & they will endeavor to fortify their supporters against the impression. They say that Talleyrand is a very corrupt & unprincipled Scoundrel, a friend of Royalty & that this conduct might naturally be expected from the Company he kept in this Country. That, however there is no evidence that he acted by the orders of his Government. Some go further & say that all we can justly complain of, is, the non-reception of our Envoys, which might justly have been expected from France for the injuries she had received from our Government.

There were certainly strong objections against publishing the communication & which would have been conclusive, if withholding the publication, could have prevented its publicity. But the substance was known before the order of the Senate for that purpose. The mischief was, therefore, done, and the only ques-

tion was, whether we should avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded us of acquiring confidence in the Government and Union among the people. The effects as they respect both these objects will, I believe, be considerable.

The Senate has this day passed a bill authorizing the President to procure 16 ships of 22 Gunns each to be employed as Convoys. There is also before the house a bill for the establishment of a foundery. The measures which I hope will take place are the passage of those two bills; the procuring arms, ammunition & cannon. A fortification of our ports, raising immediately a corps of artillerists & another of cavalry, an authority to raise 30,000 men to be added to the Military establishment & to accept the tender of voluntary Corps. (This last a measure of security to the great towns principally.) To authorise the capture of any french armed Vessels which shall attack any of ours, & all such as shall be found within 20 leagues of our coasts—A legislative declaration that all treaties with france are become void—A comprehensive alien act, and revenue sufft. to sustain the necessary expenditure, and preserve the public credit. If something like this cannot be done, I shall not deem the public safety provided for.

Chancellor Livingston has started in the election ground in New York against Mr. Jay, but I hope without any prospect of success.—In Massachusetts Sumner is reelected by an immense majority.

The Bubble of speculation is burst, which I deem a very happy circumstance, tho' vast numbers and among them many worthy people are involved in ruin by it.—Our old friend Mr. Morris has been sometime in gaol. Nicholson is confined in his own house—Wilson is ruined. . . .

Your affect friend

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

WM. HINDMAN TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, April 12, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Our good Friend the Duke is now here, & as firm strong & decided as ever in his Country's Good. I have not seen him since the Receipt of your Letter, I will inform Him to Day what You say of Him.

Genl. James Lloyd is Mr. Henry's Successor in the Senate, & inferior to no Man in Federalism & real Love to his Country. He is a Gentleman of good Talents, amiable & of unexceptional Character, & by our Friends deemed a great Acquisition. It was said that our Friend Henry expressed himself shortly after his Appointment as Governor, too warmly in Favor of Mr. Jefferson, which injured Him much with the Federalists in the Legislature of Maryland, & it was supposed prevented his Brother-in-Law Mr. Winder from succeeding Him, as Genl. Lloyd had but one vote more than Him.

In a Letter which I wrote to Mr. Hemsley last Decr., I requested Him to inform You, that I had received a Letter from the President of the Senate of Maryland, saying that You had rendered Yourself highly popular in our State, by your friendly & useful Attention to our Bank Stock, & had given the Legislature the highest Satisfaction ; this is the present Reward You must accept from the State for the Services You have rendered Her, the Time may come when You will receive the highest Retribution.

I fear poor Murray has an unpleasant Time, you can best tell what the Dutchmen will do with Him.

I hope our Commissioners are not now in France : the Publication of their Dispatches I flatter Myself has done much Good to our Country, it must sink the Jacobins & tend much to unite Us ; I am told the Opposition Party of our House have lately had a Caucus, at which They agreed upon strong internal defensive Measures ; when We get upon Vessels of War for the protection of our Commerce I fear They will give Way. A Bill has just come to Us from the Senate for fitting out fourteen armed Vessels not exceeding 22 Guns ; the Antis in our House count upon 51 on their Side, We 55, so that if the Federal Members would all attend & be as firm & united as the Opposition, the Power is with Us ; I flatter Myself that many of the Opposition will be constrained to do right, as the People at large will not longer endure the Injuries committed on Them by the infamous & abandoned Men who now govern France. . . .

Adieu

Yours sincerely & affy.

Wm. Hindman.

R. King to General Pinckney.

London, April 13, 1798.

Dear Sir :

I have recd. yours of the 27th ultimo. I will not yet believe, tho' my apprehensions are great that Mr. G. will consent to stay at Paris after you and Genl. Marshall shall have been sent away. It seems impossible to mistake the absolute Duty of the situation ; you ought all to go, or all to stay : there is no third course ; as in my belief will be proved by the public opinion of our country. . . .

With sincere attachment &c.

Rufus King.

R. King to General Marshall.

London, April 13, 1798.

My Dear Sir :

I have considered my Letters to Genl. Pinckney as written jointly to you and him, and therefore have not particularly acknowledged the Letter that you sometime past wrote to me. By General Pinckney's last Letter, I have reason to apprehend that I may not see him before his return : the object of this Letter is to entreat you to take England in your way and give me the opportunity and advantage of confering with you not only upon what has passed but what is likely to occur respecting our connection and affairs with Europe. . . .

Accept the assurance of the sincere attachment & Respect &c.

Rufus King.

R. King to E. Gerry.

London, April 13, 1798.

My Dear Sir :

I have received your Letter of the 28th ulto. by Mrs. Mount Florence, and the next day had an opportunity of forwarding the enclosed Letters for the President and Mrs. Gerry by a ship that was on the point of sailing for Boston.

In the Letters that I have lately written, you will perceive that I long since despaired of Success for the Mission to France, because I believed that the Directory had settled a Plan concerning America, from which they wld. not be diverted, and which was incompatible with our independent Rights and just Pretensions; your Last Letter confirms my opinions. How you were to be withdrawn from the Stage, I could only conjecture; but I never doubted, if the Directory were to regulate your exit, that it would be done with a reference to their own views, and not to the propriety that belongs to the proceeding or to the Justice due to our Country. They could not, in my apprehension have devised a more insidious and more mischievous Plan than that which they have chosen. It is impossible to believe for a moment that, with a view to a negotiation, they can really prefer one to another of our Envoys; when measures are in view, personal attachments and aversions do not impede their accomplishment. The proposal to send away two and retain one of you is treacherous, and if acceded to, may be injurious; but in my belief, will be disgusting and universally condemned by our Country.

I see this subject in so strong and unclouded a light, that I avail myself of the authority of a long friendship to entreat you to distrust your own mind, if it has suggested a doubt even concerning the only course that remains for you to adopt. You must either all go, or all stay. There is a plain line of propriety and duty in this alternative, any other course may ensnare us. I have not the smallest knowledge of our Country, and will forever, hereafter, disclaim every Pretension to judge beforehand of its opinion, if the President does not with the united will and approbation of his Constituents immediately recall the individual who, separating from his Colleagues, shall consent to remain at Paris after they, without cause, shall have been sent away.

The freedom of this Letter would require an apology, did it not proceed from a pure zeal for the Welfare and Honor of our Country, and was I not convinced that it is the office as well as the Right of Friendship to avoid reserve upon Subjects in which the reputation and happiness of our friends and Country may be deeply affected.

With the most sincere Esteem and attachment &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to Col. Pickering.

Private.

London, April 16, 1798.

Dear Sir :

I yesterday received a letter from General Pinckney, a copy of which is annexed, confirming my apprehension of an open scism in the Mission, and of Mr. Gerry's determination to separate from his Colleagues. Mr. Talleyrand's Letter to the Envoys ought to have removed every doubt respecting the intentions of the Directory and must open the eyes of all who are not obstinately blind to the views of France concerning our Country. I can entertain no doubt of the course that the President will adopt on this extraordinary occasion ; I shall send this with a Dispatch to Portsmouth this evening. . . .

Your faithful servant

Rufus King.

P. S. The Prince of Peace has resigned or been removed, & Mr. Turguet, the Fr. ambassador rules the Sp. nation !

G. Cabot to R. King.

Brookline, April 16, 1798.

Dear Sir :

. . . Yesterday I received a paper containing the proceedings of our Envoys at Paris ; they exhibit a degree of depravity in the French Govt. which very few people can believe. I owe to you & to Mr. Pickering the confession that the Directorial Conduct is much more *gross* than I apprehended, but to myself I owe the declaration that they *can not possibly* be more wicked than I supposed them. I wish it were possible for me to give you any correct opinion of the effect which these communications will produce on the temper & spirit of our Country—you have concluded that they will silence the clamours of Jacobinism & unite all Parties ; doubtless they ought to do this & to excite a sentiment of universal indignation & resentment which if properly guided wou'd secure us against every essential danger ; but I dare not pronounce that such good fruits will be reaped. I

have great fear as well as some hopes. It is natural that we shou'd wish to avoid a contest (if possible) where so much is to be suffer'd & everything endanger'd—& it is not unnatural that our people shou'd shut their eyes to injuries rather than acknowledge that they see them & thus admit the *indispensable obligation to repel them*, or *provide to repel them*. I have endeavored to convince those I meet that an avowed determination of desperate resistance wou'd secure us in any event & if we are united wou'd prevent an attack, but there is an extreme reluctance to do anything which may imply that we are in danger of meeting those terrible calamities which French Ambition is inflicting on other Nations. . . .

Your affectte. friend

G. CABOT.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, May 1, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The effects of the publication of the instructions to our Envoys to france, and their dispatches to the Executive on the people, as far as my information extends, has been prodigious. It is, however, said that the city of New York is an exception to the general state of the public mind in the eastern district of this Country: and that it is probable that Edward Livingston is reelected against our Friend Philip Livingston, who was opposed to him. There never has been, probably in the United States an election so actively nor so acrimoniously contested as the last in your State. We are consoled by the concurring information, which we received from every quarter, that Mr. Jay has succeeded by a great majority.

The depredations on our commerce and the numerous failures which have resulted from speculation and the spirit which created and accompanied it, unfortunately, pervaded more generally than you can well imagine the mass of our people, and have created much embarrassment, and probably more in New England than elsewhere, because there the spirit was most ardent, and the means most general. I was yesterday informed that 400 actions were entered at the last court of common pleas in Berk-

shire, about three times the usual number at the corresponding terms. This is generally the case in New England. It is unfortunate that this should be the case at this time, yet I have no doubt, that the people will, in that part of the United States, if the government is faithful, act with spirit & effectual decision.

The leaders of the opposition, and indeed the whole corps, were astonished & confounded at the evidence exhibited at once of the purity of the Executive, and the profligacy of their beloved friends the french, and they have made proportional exertions to defeat the natural effects. Letters from several members of the house, containing many false statements, in point of fact, and more false reasoning, have got into the hands of the friends of Government & been published. It is no longer wonderful that the people thus deceived & misled have been in opposition to the measures of the government—a government which they have been taught to believe was perfidious in its conduct to other nations & insidious, indeed traitorous, to its constituents.

Till this morning I thought that Letters by the packet might have been received at the post office to-morrow, but I am informed that this is the last day and I have indulged myself in this scrawl to you while waiting for a committee which is directed to report an alien bill.

I am yours sincerely

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

R. KING TO AMERICAN STUDENTS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH.

LONDON, May 2, 1798.

GENTLEMEN:

I have had the honor to receive a letter without signature, but which purports to be from the American Students at the University of Edinburgh, inclosing sundry papers from, and asking my interference in behalf of, a number of Americans taken in arms and confined as Prisoners of war in Scotland.

Having heretofore without success applied to the British Government for the discharge of several American Citizens who had been taken in French Privateers, I have no reason to believe that a Repetition of the like application in behalf of those, in whose

favor you kindly take an interest, would receive a different answer ; more especially as the motives which are alleged to have engaged the latter in the Privateering Service of France are not more justifiable than those which influenced the former. It would give me much satisfaction to comply with any Request that you should approve or recommend, but you must be sensible, that as Great Britain has a perfect Right to treat as prisoners of war all Persons taken in arms against her, we can have no such *Right to demand* the release of our fellow Citizens, who from any motive, may have changed their neutral for an enemy character.

Having been denied when we asked their Release as a Favor, we ought not to expose ourselves to a second Refusal.

With Sentiments of Esteem & Regard &c. &c

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING. NO. 71.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, May 3, 1798.

EAR SIR :

It is probable that France will continue her actual hostilities against the commerce of the United States, without a formal declaration of war, and new pretences may be advanced for decrees that will embrace the remnant of our vessels not comprehended in former Decrees. Of such new Decrees or of plans aimed against our Commerce generally, or of open war, you are likely to gain the earliest information ; and the immense importance of transmitting it speedily to the American Government is apparent. It is therefore the desire of the President that in the two former cases at your discretion, and in case of open war without fail, you would dispatch a fast sailing vessel with the intelligence to the nearest port she can make in the United States, from whence the person charged with your dispatches must send them forward in the most expeditious manner to the seat of Government. . . . We have authentic intelligence from New Orleans that the Posts of Walnut Hills and Natchez have been evacuated and that our Troops are in possession. A Letter from Mr. Ellicott advises me that he was packing up his instruments and baggage to move down to the 31st Degree of Latitude, ex-

pecting to commence the running the boundary line the second of April.

Addresses are coming in from all quarters approving of the measures of the Government in relation to France, and pledging life and fortune to defend our honor and independence.

With great respect & esteem, &c.

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 72.

LONDON, May 11, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Tho' Mr. Gerry joined his Colleagues in the Declaration to the French Government, that no one of them was authorized to take upon himself a negotiation confided to them all, it is the opinion of Major Rutledge, who arrived here a few days since from Paris, as well as of others, that a public reception will be offered to Mr. Gerry, and that every effort will be employed to amuse him and to mock his Country with the parade of an insidious negotiation. I cannot refrain from expressing a hope that this humiliating scene is soon to close and that instructions are now on their way to Mr. Gerry to follow his Colleagues, from whom his own honor, and, what is more, the public welfare forbid that he should ever have separated.

. . . A very important event has passed at Vienna. Bernadotte, the French Ambassador at Vienna has withdrawn from that City in consequence of a popular movement of which you will see the accounts in all the Papers. We as yet know nothing of the Resolution of the Directory on this subject. . . . The Emperor is strong in Italy, and his military establishment is much improved since the Peace. Both he and the King of Prussia are said now to see more clearly than heretofore the Dangers with which they are threatened. But whether they can suppress the little Interests and miserable Jealousies that France keeps alive and excites between them; whether they are capable of uniting upon one great, disinterested but all important idea, is more than my limited information permits me to determine. Without a coalition against France, and that a speedy one, all that is South

of the Baltic must be revolutionized and fall beneath the Power of France. . . .

Ireland is in a wretched state ; martial law prevails throughout the country, and every day supplies new proofs of the intimate connection that subsists between the Chiefs of the Malcontents and the Directory. . . . Several persons have been taken up and confined ; . . . the Government are said to have obtained proofs of a Conspiracy formed by some of the Members of the Corresponding Societies to assist the French in case of a descent, to set fire to London. . . . The trial of O'Connor and the other Persons indicted for Treason will come on the week after next ; after which the Government will publish the Proofs of the Conspiracy.

At a late meeting of the Whig Club, Mr. Fox gave us a Toast "The Sovereignty of the People" ; and the King on Wednesday last struck his name out of the List of Privy Councillors. . . .

With perfect Esteem & Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. HAMILTON.

LONDON, May 12, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

It will not surprise you that an open scism accompanied by mutual reproaches took place between our Envoys before they separated. Mr. Gerry remains at Paris and there is a strong opinion that great pains will be taken to persuade him to consent to a public reception in order to deceive and mock his Country with overtures of an insidious negotiation. Marshall and Pinckney left Paris about the middle of April ; the former I hope is on his passage to Philadelphia, the latter will embark early in June.

You will be at no loss to understand this state of things. Nothing but vigour and energy will save our Country. Unanimity cannot be expected. Moderation and forbearance with all the virtues that meekly follow in their train have been faithfully employed and without success. It is now time, and the wretched Pictures exhibited by the Countries where France has introduced her detestable Principles, should admonish us to give up half-way measures with half-way men ; they do not belong to the Times in

which we live. The people of America will support their Government, if that Government acts with decision, if it appeals to the Pride, the Patriotism, and the Honor of the Nation! But if it temporises, if it wastes itself in words, if it stops short of the only course that remains for its adoption, consistently with the public Safety, the next Election will convulse the Country, and may, as the Directory intend and expect it shall, give the Government to those who will deliver it up to the same ruin that continues to desolate Europe.

There is a slight appearance that things are mending upon the Continent; but little interests, little jealousies and little men, whose united influence is opposed to the only effectual Remedy for the mischief, forbid us to expect it until the Evil has spread still wider: for so wretched are the Governments on the Continent, not yet subverted, that the best hope is from the People who are cured when the Fire has passed over them.

I received a short Letter from you a few days since without date, which gave me great satisfaction, as it authorized the hope that the public opinion was sounder than that of its Representatives. War will encrease the public Taxes; these are unpleasant Subjects for meditation; the Passions must be attended to; they must have an object, there is a great one. I can't explain myself. I have had no occasion for reserve with the Secretary of State, because I write to him in cipher.

Yours &c.

R. K.

R. KING TO THE RIGHT HONBLE. THE LORD CHANCELLOR, &C.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, June 1, 1798.

MY LORD:

I have been informed, and in a way that leaves no doubt of the fact, that Mr. Mollison, in behalf of the family of Russell, has lately received from the Exchequer, full compensation for the losses of that family in Maryland, and that no further opposition will be made in their behalf against the transfer of the Bank Stock, of which Russell with others were the Trustees.

Having so often troubled your Lordship on this subject, I am unwilling to say a word more respecting it, being persuaded that

no unnecessary delay will retard its Settlement : but as I supposed that the Claim of the Russell family has been the only impediment to be removed, and as that no longer exists, I take the liberty to express to your Lordship my earnest desire to be able to inform the State of Maryland what is likely to be the result of their application, and I should be very particularly obliged to your Lordship, to enable me to give this information by the Packet that sails in the course of next week.

With perfect Consideration & respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

J. A. SMITH TO R. KING.

DUBLIN, June 1, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

The person above all others, to whom I ought to have written is yourself, for it is to the respect which was paid to your name, that I am indebted for all the attention whh. I have received since my arrival in this country. I will not attempt to apologise for that which cannot be excused, and will only declare that although I have not been attentive in expressing them, I have never ceased to feel all those sentiments of gratitude so justly due to the politeness I experienced from you. The fact is, I have been a thousand times on the point of writing to you, but was loth to trouble you with a letter without giving you some account of the situation of this country, the Truth of which might have been depended upon. But such is the curious manner in which things are conducted in Ireland, and such is the chaos of misrepresentation, that I have been always kept in a state of uncertainty, and had only the satisfaction of finding that others whose penetration was far superior to my own were in the same predicament as myself.

The history of most countries is stained with crimes, but that of Ireland, more particularly, presents a picture of violence and *wrongheadedness*, both on the part of the governors and governed. The administration of affairs has generally been committed to a set of men who have seldom hesitated to sacrifice the interests of the country to their own ; while the people, in many parts extremely wretched, and consequently idle and addicted to drunkenness, have been forced by the oppression of the middle

men, or squirearchy, as it is termed, to acts of outrage often attended with robbery and murder. Hence the origin of the White Boys, the Steel Boys, the Oak Boys, &c. At length arose the Volunteer associations, who at first conducted themselves with the greatest propriety, and obliged England to acknowledge the Independency of the Irish Parliament ; but soon they were seen attempting to overawe and intimidate that very Parliament, the freedom of whose deliberations it had been their great object to establish.

Things remained after this for some years in a state of quiet, during which period the country rapidly improved. It was soon, however, discovered that the Parliament was not more independent from the acknowledgement which had been made, but that by far the majority were named by the Peers and wealthy commoners in the interest of the Crown. In a word that the corruption which had been introduced into this country for the purposes of Government had increased instead of diminishing. A desire of *reform* manifested itself in the North, under which expression and catholic emancipation were classed all the grievances that still remained to be redressed. The Jealousies arising from a difference of religion, and which had been the cause of so much mischief, were laid aside and a society was formed of "United Irishmen," whose views at first, I believe, were moderate and constitutional. Conciliation might then have been used with advantage. But perceiving that Govt. treated their petitions with contempt they were induced at length to turn their thoughts to France. It was at this moment that their most respectable members quitted them, and they were left to leaders for the greatest part, equally without Consideration or Principle. The military were now let loose upon them, and after a great deal of wanton cruelty and devastation, of which the most wretched were generally the victims, the North was put down, but remained in a state of sullen tranquillity. In the meantime the contagion was communicated to the South, where it found infinitely more bigotry and misery to work upon. The wretched inhabitants, suffering under the violent measures of Govt., were easily prevailed upon by persons, probably in the interest of France, and determined to go to all lengths, that it would be a meritorious thing to overturn the Government ; and when they were told that they should be free

from Tythes and have land for nothing, there was no withstanding the temptation. It was now thought proper to permit the Troops to live at free quarters, and the most dreadful Cruelties were practised to enforce confessions.

The advocates of revolution thought this the moment of rising, and, we are told, that a conspiracy was discovered having for its object a general Insurrection and Massacre in the City of Dublin, as well as in the country around. How far this is true I am incapable of judging, but this I am willing to believe that a revolution in this country would be attended with circumstances the most atrocious. In this state of anxiety we remained until Thursday Morning, the 21st May, when the City of Dublin was thrown into the greatest consternation by the information that the mails had been stopped and that a partial Insurrection had taken place in the County Kildare. You will have read in the papers of the Massacre of the Troops in the Barracks at Prosperous, of the attack on the gaol at —— and of the cruelties committed by the Insurgents at Hacketstown, Dunsaghlin Goreys &c., and you will be equally shocked on the other hand at reading the accounts of the different attacks made upon these wretches at Tara Hill, &c, where three or four hundred have been put to death at a time, with the loss of six or eight men. A company of Yeomanry Horse among whom was the young Earl of Ormond proceeded to Dunboyne on an information that the Insurgents had appeared there. They found, I am told, fifteen persons sitting in the churchyard, whom they immediately put to death; they then proceeded some distance on the road, and finding others whose appearance displeased them, they treated them in the same summary manner. In short nothing can be more shocking, and in many instances more absurd, than the scenes that are passing in this country. Notwithstanding the great force under the command of Govt., the communication with the South was interrupted for six days, and was at length opened by Sir J. Duff, who marched from Limerick with three or four hundred men, and is supposed to have put to death a great body of those wretches to which Genl. Dundas had granted a capitulation. The City of Dublin in the meantime presented a scene of indecent and ridiculous confusion, which left little doubt that if a small body of French troops had landed, Ireland would have been lost. People were seen parading the street in the middle of

the day with pistols in each hand; yeomanry galloping backwards and forwards; numbers of persons taken up, flogged and otherwise tortured to force confessions; dead bodies exposed in the Castle yard and crowds flocking to gratify their curiosity, and observing by what stroke in "the sword exercise" they had been killed. Several persons hanging at the lamp posts, and dreadful reports that the Catholics had determined to murder all the protestants, and that a great many servants had purchased arsenic for the purpose of poisoning their masters. In short, my dear Sir, it would be difficult to convey to you an idea of the dreadful situation to which this unfortunate country has been reduced, and the little probability that it will soon be restored to tranquillity.

The seeds of suspicion and discontent are too widely sown. As an instance of this, I will only mention the case of Mr. Brown, gentn. of property in the County Kildare. As soon as the alarm was given he joined the Yeomanry and fought with great bravery agt. the Insurgents, when a few moments after he was served with a warrant as one of those persons who had been seen (as it was reported) at their head. Other gentlemen have fallen under the same suspicion and have been arrested by Govt., and I was told yesterday that a gardener of Mr. Grattan was flogged at Bray, until he was induced, probably to relieve himself from immediate pain, to utter expressions unfavorable to his master. Among other curious papers of the day, you will see one of Alderman James, who has opened an office for receiving Information, where secrecy is promised and rewards in proportion to the magnitude of the Information. . . . The town of Wexford is supposed to be in the hands of the Insurgents and Govt. are marching troops in hopes of surrounding them. Those that were in force in the Mountains of Wicklow, disappeared on the approach of the military. I have just seen a private letter from a gentleman who lives within 8 miles of the town of Enniscorthy, giving the dreadful account of the murder of 14 families by the Insurgents. They did not spare even the children. From his window he saw the houses in flames. He has barricaded his own and with the assistance of a party of military, is determined to defend it. It is said that 2 companies marching across the country with two howitzers were attacked and obliged to retreat with the loss of one of the howitzers. Should the Insurgents have contrived to give infor-

mation to the French and these last risk the landing of a few troops, the country, I fear, would be lost. Ryan who was wounded by Ld. E. Fitzgerald was buried this morning, a great body of yeomanry attending his funeral.

You will excuse this long letter, my dear Sir, and believe me very truly your obliged Humble Ser.

POST OFFICE, DUBLIN.

The North, as Ld. Charlemont assures me, is perfectly tranquil. The publication of the Correspondence of Mr. Pinckney, in which America appears to so much advantage, and the corruption of the Directory so completely unmasked, has been of great service to them in opening their eyes to the insidious policy of the tyrannical Republic. My best compliments to Mr. Rutledge.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, June 2, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I have one minute to inform you that I have received your letters no. 69. and your Nos. 71 . . . together with your private letters of April 7, 9 and 16, accompanied by General Pinckney's to you of March 14, 27 and April 4.

You have expressed the indignant feelings which their perusal must excite in the breast of every honest and independent mind. G——s conduct is unpardonable. I hope the Directors did not permit General P. to visit the south of France, because I hope that both he and General M. were out of France before April expired.

ROBERT TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 3d June, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . By this time you have doubtless seen in the public prints the despatches from our Envoys in Paris to our Government. The incessant efforts of the democrats to impeach the integrity of

our executive—the misguided zeal of many of our virtuous fellow-citizens in favor of France—and the urgent necessity for greater unanimity induced the publication of the despatches. The publication was made by the Senate with a majority of two votes. The democratical party in the House of Representatives were very clamorous for the publication until they became acquainted with the intelligence communicated. From that moment they opposed the publication, and finally they carried a majority against the measure. The Senate finding this to be the case instantly directed the publication. The crisis of our affairs compelled the Senate to overlook all former precedents and to take upon themselves the responsibility of a novel and extraordinary act in diplomatic concerns. The act has produced the most magical effects. A spirit of warm and high resentment against the rulers of France has suddenly burst forth in every part of the United States, and addresses from all bodies and descriptions of men are pouring like a torrent upon the President and both Houses of Congress.

I suppose the fact to be that since man was created and government was formed no public officer has stood higher in the confidence and affection of his countrymen than our present President now does. His firm and manly tone of conduct has regenerated all the energies of our revolutionary character and placed us, I hope, upon an eminence from which we shall look down with contempt and safety upon the machinations and power of the French Directory. So irresistible has been the current of public opinion in favor of the government that within a fortnight past it has broken down the opposition in Congress.

A very important bill for authorizing the capture of French privateers upon our coast passed a few days ago without opposition ; and yesterday we received an account from Philadelphia that a Bill for suspending all commercial intercourse between us and France and its dependencies until the adjustment of our differences, passed through the Committee of the Whole, in the House of Representatives, without debate, and no doubt is entertained that it will formally pass into a law.

The democratical cant now is,—the friends of the government, as they call themselves, have at last succeeded in their favorite object of a war with France ; they must fight their own battles ;

we will take no part in them. What excellent Republicans! to say they will not aid in carrying into effect the measures agreed upon by a majority of their representatives,—this, however, is in character with all they have heretofore done—and I fear will be with all their future conduct.

Considering the strength of the opposition and its deadly animosity against the administration, the government has accomplished miracles—a provisional army is directed to be formed—our frigates are beginning to guard our coast—purchases are making of merchant vessels for the purpose of equipping and sending them to sea as auxiliaries to the frigates—magazines are forming—a bill of direct taxes is on the point of passing—and generally a system of defence is getting into operation. . . . In a word, my good friend, I can assure you that we consider the present crisis as the most awful since the days of vandalism. If the storm now raging in Europe should travel across the Atlantic and spend the remnant of its force upon us, we shall meet it with fortitude. All extremities will be encountered, and every sacrifice made to preserve our sovereignty, our constitution, our liberties civil and religious. Be under no apprehensions, therefore, that we shall disgrace our ancestors, or the founders of our freedom. We know by the melancholy experience of the Republics in the neighbourhood of France the inevitable ruin that awaits us if her principles should ever be planted in our soil. . . .

For my own part I have made up my mind decidedly not to survive the independence and freedom of my country—and in speaking this language I deliver you the sentiment and fixed resolve of all your friends in the circle of my acquaintance. . . .

Hamilton is well and is all sensibility to the honor and interests of our country. His practice is extensive and lucrative. . . . For this twelvemonth past this poor man—Hamilton I mean—has been most violently and infamously abused by the democratical party. His ill judged pamphlet has done him incomparable injury. . . .

God bless you and yours

Rob. Troup.

Wm. Bingham to R. King.

Philadelphia, June 5, 1798.

Dear Sir :

The Publication of the Instructions which evinced the Sincerity of the Government in its wish to make Peace with France, by an Acquiescence in Terms, which induced an abandonment of its Rights, has opened the Eyes of the People, & convinced Some of the most blindly obstinate, of the Delusion they lay under.

The Spirit of the People is roused, & the Enthusiasm which prevails would astonish those Persons who recently contemplated the apparent Apathy of the American Character, suffering the greatest Indignities without indicating a Disposition to resent them.

I wish the French Duke * was here, & if his Chagrin, arising from disappointed Hopes in this country, had not riveted his Resentments, he might be led to change those unfavorable Opinions which he has expressed on our Subject in a Work recently published at Paris. When he first arrived in this Country he sought it as an Asylum, & was so highly gratified, that he was extravagant in its Praises. But when he saw a Prospect open for his Return into France, & supposed that he could facilitate his Views by his abuse of the United States & the People, he regarded every Object with a jaundiced Eye. This Opinion of his Conduct arose from my own Observations & I have been told, is confirmed by the Publication of his Book. . . . I hope some Answer will be made to it ; for, such Sentiments, falling from so great a Height, may make a considerable Impression, & be injurious to the American Character ; it is said he has prefixed his Name to the Work.

By the Addresses from all Quarters of the Union you will observe that the People are ripe for the Support of the most decisive Measures of the Government. There is more danger at present of overstepping the Bounds of Prudence, than of falling Short, in the Adoption of such a System, as the Occasion may call for— The Friends of this Country will greatly rejoice at finding so little of the Jacobinic Spirit prevailing in it & the Knowledge of this Circumstance will impress Europeans with additional Confidence.

* Duc de Liancourt.

We are much alarmed for the Fate of our Commissioners. If they have not left France previous to the Knowledge of the Publication of the Dispatches, I dread the Consequences. We wait with great Anxiety for the Result.

Yours,

WM. BINGHAM.

JOHN LAWRANCE TO RUFUS KING.

PHILADELPHIA, June 5, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Since the publication of the five dispatches, from our Ministers at Paris, in which Messrs. X Y & Z display so great a share in the Negotiations, public Opinion has undergone a material change, in our Country, and from the Evidence, furnished from the various parts of it, I believe we shall exhibit, when seriously called upon to act, a Conduct not unworthy of a People, contending for the preservation of their Independence and Government. As unimportant as the French now consider us, we *may* convince them, in the progress of our Controversy, it was better for them to have preserved the good will of this country, than created its enmity: from the former, much was to have been gained; and from the latter more may be lost than they have apprehended: however, I now consider, as they are unwilling to turn from the Error of their ways respecting us, we must do what may be necessary, to do ourselves Justice,—we have hitherto acted on the defensive except on our Coast; how soon we must act otherwise, cannot be long in doubt: and acting under a conviction of great Injustice, Insult and Injury, we may create more inconvenience to them, than they have expected—we shall experience some, undoubtedly ourselves: but we must remember the Objects of the Contest, and cheerfully submit to whatever may be deemed proper, to accomplish them. The public prints will inform you of the Acts passed by the Government. Many have been passed relative to our Army & Navy. We shall soon, I hope, be respectable in both, and what is yet necessary to be done, I expect will be produced before we rise.—Union and Firmness I hope will prevail, and

carry us well through the contest, however arduous it may be. This Contest has been forced on us unjustly and which we have taken every honorable and proper mode to prevent.—So much for public Concerns. . . .

Yours very sincerely

JOHN LAWRANCE.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

June 6, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The time has come that the people of this country are awakening from those slumbers which resembled death more than sleep —you will see & admire the spirit of the President & which he daily infuses into the people.—I have been extremely mortified at the continuance of our Envoys at Paris & for which I shou'd not have been able to account satisfactorily without the intimations you have given—however it has been our fate to be assisted by our blunders sometimes as well as by our wisdom & it may yet prove beneficial to the country that some of the Commissioners are superlatively fastidious.—judging from the external complexion of the Diplomacy it is universally understood here that Mr. is no less chagrined than his colleagues with the arrogance of the french Tyrants & this idea has certainly operated powerfully to silence many Fractious People who cou'd never be influenced by better motives. The News papers will tell you every thing & therefore I need tell you nothing of a public nature, but as I have long been one of the Desponding Patriots I ought to say to you that things are going better than I had feared & that I do not wholly despair of seeing a tolerable degree of Union & firmness in defending our Country & vindicating its rights—in a word I think we shall stand fast unless G Britain yields ; I go no further at present altho' I am persuaded if we would act as we ought no nation in the world can subjugate us—if the temper of the House of Reps had been right last year at the time of the extra Session, I am persuaded our danger wou'd have been less & G. B. wou'd certainly have felt a little more encouraged to make

those immense efforts which she is called to make in defence of her own existence & that of civilized society : I feel confident however that (under God) her force is fully adequate to her protection & I have constantly believed that it wou'd be well for us & all the *un*conquered nations that France shou'd with all her Energies attempt an Invasion of England—I think the Expedition wou'd issue in the ruin or disgrace of the french force, & if it shou'd, the subjugated nations wou'd be immediately free—certainly if the contest is on the Sea the chance must be in favor of the English even if their numbers are inferior & I shou'd think the British Govt. very improvident indeed if it does not make a certainty of having a Naval force always equal in strength to any that the French & the *enslaved* Nations can possibly bring against them—I say this because it is completely in the power of the british to provide such a force of themselves, without drawing any assistance from Russia or any other power, whose aid is nevertheless to be obtained if possible on almost any terms.—I have never yet realized nor can I believe that the french will trust themselves on the Sea—with all their boasting they fear the English on the Sea more than they themselves are feared on the land, & at this late period of the war when the English Naval power is at its acme it wou'd be rashness & folly to encounter it with an unformed & unskilled fleet. I look therefore for some other development of this great scheme. You will see that the U S are equipping & have already sent out some Cruisers to pick up the french privateers & Buccaneers who infest our Coast—if Congress will authorize 50 instead of 12 such Vessels, many of which may be very small, the Coast will be kept clear, & a good body of men will be ready to act against those who shall attempt to transport troops here by & by, if such a thing shou'd happen—I trust that in this kind of warfare our people will prove equal to any in the world.—at this moment there is more tranquillity here than usual, the clamour of Faction is in some good degree silenced & a sober attention to the interesting affairs of the nation seems to suspend many slight differences among individuals—there was more of the Jacobin Spirit in this vicinity than any part of New England except at Portsmouth—it has subsided or changed very much & I pray God it may never revive or return.—

Believe me ever your sincere friend.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Sir Francis D'Ivernois on Fate of Switzerland—R. King to Secretary of State —Publication of Envoys' Dispatches—France will not declare War, may release Vessels—Irish Troubles—Emperor of Russia will help England—R. King's Dissatisfaction with English diplomatic Ways—Letter to Genl. Hamilton—Consul Bosc on Slavery in S. Carolina—West India trade Orders —R. Troup—Warlike Tone against France in the U. States—Capture of Vessels in West Indies—T. Pickering on the Envoys—R. King to Secretary of State—Irish Rebellion and probable Emigration—Talleyrand's Duplicity with Envoys—R. Troup—Warlike Measures against France—John Adams will not disgrace the Country—Recall of Mr. Gerry—Sedgwick—Measures adopted not strong enough—American Politics—Cabot believes England with the U. S. can command the Ocean.

R. King to the President of the United States.

London, June 6, 1798.

Dear Sir:

The fate of Switzerland is an instructive lesson to America. The Newspaper Reports of the ruin of that brave and innocent People are so detached and imperfect, that I thought it would be useful to obtain a connected and plain account of this afflicting Event. I explained my wishes to Sir Francis D'Ivernois, who immediately prepared the Letter, a translation of which I have the honor to send you. This Letter is addressed to you, and the original will be forwarded by the next opportunity. Sir Francis desires that it may be understood that he can have no objection to the Publication of it with his name or in any other way that you shall judge best calculated to promote the welfare of our Country.

With perfect Respect & Attachment, &c. &c.

Rufus King.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 75.

LONDON, June 6, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

The President's Message of the 5th of April and the Instructions and Despatches of the Envoys were published here on the 15th of May, and immediately afterwards translated into French and thro' a variety of channels sent into France. We have the Paris papers to the 30th of May, which are entirely silent upon the affairs of the United States, and private letters give us no information respecting either Genl. Pinckney or Mr. Gerry.

The Government vessel despatched with a letter of Recall to the Envoys arrived at Havre on the 11th of May. I have heard by the way of Holland that about the 14th of May, Mr. Gerry informed some of our Countrymen at Paris that Talleyrand had told him that the Directory would soon enter upon the affairs of the United States, and that he (Mr. G.) thought it probable that the Directory could now consent to terms that we could with honor and advantage accept. From the same quarter I have been informed that two American Vessels have lately been released in some of the Tribunals of France ; and I can readily believe both accounts. Many persons here who applaud and admire the conduct of our Government towards France (and it has the singular good fortune to be approved by all parties) have supposed that the Directory would declare war against us. As this would not increase, but probably diminish, the plunder that she commits upon our commerce, and as it would moreover shut up the mouths of her Partizans and compel them even to unite against her, instead of a declaration of war, she will, in my opinion, release some of our ships, appear to recede from some of her demands, and send you a soothing and insidious message by Mr. Gerry, who, in vindication of his own conduct, must appear to believe the sincerity of that of France. . . .

In Ireland, which I still continue to believe to be the object of the Toulon Expedition, the Rebellion is not yet overcome. Many partial engagements have taken place between the Loyal troops and the Rebels, which have in almost every instance ended in the overthrow of the latter. . . . There is great reason to believe that the Irish Malcontents expected the descent of the French to have taken place about the 22d of May, and that the insurrec-

tions which broke out in different places at that period are to be accounted for by this expectation.

The Rebels are either without arms or very badly armed, and are therefore easily overcome by the royal Troops. . . . The prematurity of the Insurrection has given to the Government a very great advantage, and should the descent hereafter be made, the danger will be greatly diminished by the recent overthrow of the Rebels. . . .

. . . Though some doubts are entertained respecting the authenticity of the Manifesto that has been published in the Newspapers, in which the Emperor (of Russia) says he will immediately equip 22 Ships of the line and 250 Gallies in defence of the freedom of the Trade of the North of Europe, it is certain *that he has recently expressed to England a fixed Resolution to assist her as far as possible in the war against France; that his* Ambassador at Vienna *has likewise urged the Emperor to make the requisite remittances to England to fulfil his pecuniary engagements there*, and that according to all appearances *he is* zealously endeavouring *to persuade Austria and Prussia to unite with Russia and England in a new league for* the safety of Europe.

Notwithstanding the mysterious Policy *of Vienna*, it is believed that *this Court* is not blind to *its* proper interest and that with the *Court of Petersburgh it is inclined to form a new Coalition against France*, which is prevented only by the persevering repugnance *of Prussia.** . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.†

LONDON, June 6th, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

We have certain intelligence that the Toulon fleet has sailed. The number of troops, of transports and of men of war are variously stated, but it is known that Bonaparte commands, and that the fleet is a very great one. Its destination is the subject of inquietude and of conjecture. A few days will bring us more per-

* Italics in cipher.

† *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 298.

fect accounts, and from the force and position of the British fleet under Lord Vincent, the public are in daily, not to say hourly, expectation of hearing that he has discovered and destroyed this boasted armada.

If Ireland is the object, the insurrection has been ill-judged and premature. In almost every instance, the insurgents have been dispersed, and the quarter round Dublin is now restored to the king's peace. Still however, if a moderate French force, with a supply of arms, could now be thrown into Ireland, the issue would be dubious, so deep and general is the desertion. Great Britain is unquestionably in a better and more secure, as well as more united state, than she has been since the commencement of the war. With her the question with France is at issue, and so far as regards Europe, upon her alone must it essentially depend. For upon the continent, French principles and French influence seem still to extend themselves in every direction. Though it is more than a fortnight since the publication of the instructions and dispatches of our Envoys must have been received in Paris, neither their papers, nor letters from France take any notice of them. Gerry is still there, but about to return home, and, if I mistake not, will be the bearer of a soothing and treacherous message from the Directory. Be upon your guard. France will not declare war against us. No. Her policy will be to pursue the same course she already has done and which has served her purpose in Italy and among the honest, but devoted and ruined Swiss.

I will say, that, if after all that has occurred among ourselves and in other countries, we are content to be duped, and cajoled, and betrayed, we shall deserve the fate which they are preparing for us.

Yours affectionately

R. KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 76.

LONDON, June 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . It is a disappointment to me that I am not able to inform you that anything is yet arranged concerning the Question before the Commissioners. Their business is now actually at a

stand. I continue to press Lord Grenville upon the subject and he renews to me a sincere desire that measures may be fallen upon to expedite the Decisions of their Courts and in this way to avoid the Question concerning the Powers of the Commissioners. . . . I have hitherto forborne, from motives that you will be at no loss to conjecture, *to express to you the dissatisfaction and even the disgust that I often experience in* * our intercourse and connection with this Government. *The indifference, the procrastination and in short the exclusive principles by which they consider almost every question* that is brought before them, *should admonish us, as it has done* every other Nation, *to depend upon ourselves as much, and upon others as* little as possible. With these sentiments (which the experience of my residence here has contributed very much to confirm) you will conclude that I have been much gratified with the political views developed in your No. 7.; and in correspondence with them, *I have always carefully avoided*, particularly upon the Subject *of Convoys, to ask anything which could be considered as a mere favor solicited by us and gratuitously conferred by them.* I will resume this subject when I give you an account of the answers that I shall receive from Lord Grenville respecting certain parts of your No. 7.

. . . Annexed are copies of two intercepted letters from the French Consul at Charleston.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

The two letters from which extracts are given below are interesting in many respects, as showing the feeling in Charleston towards the French Republic at the time, and as foreshadowing some of its plans. A large portion of each is of a merely personal character and is therefore omitted here. M. Bosc, in the confidence of friendship with his correspondent, exposes his unwillingness to go to Wilmington, whose commerce is of no value, and then speaks of a desire to be transferred to some other post, which would be more acceptable in every sense. He says, referring to two letters previously written:

* Italics in cipher.

CHARLESTON 4e Pluviose, An. 6.

. . . Toutes deux te parloient de ma situation morale et politique, et t'invitoient de me faire sortir d'un Pays, ou regne l'esclavage et ou je suis signalé comme un Philantrope, par consequent comme un homme dangereux. Le vice-consulat de Wilmington est à supprimer pour son inutilité.

Je te demande de nouveau, mon cher, de me faire employer en Floride ou en Louisiane, si ces contrées sont reunies à la Republique, et dans le cas contraire dans toute autre colonie. J'imagine que depuis le 18e Fructidor les causes qui s'opposoient à ce que ma Sévérité Republicaine fut preférée a la Souplesse Contre Revolutionnaire de certain individus n'existent plus ; que la totalité du Directoire sent la nécessité de ne mettre dans les places supérieures que des amis éprouvés à la liberté, que les Patriotes de 1789. Je ne crois pas qu'on me conteste ces qualités, que ta es la pour rappeler. Depuis mon arrivé ici je n'ai éprouvé qu'une fois regret d'être sorti de la France ; c'est que j'ai appris le mort de Louvet et l'affreuse situation de la France. Mais quoique moins éloigné d'y retourner depuis que mon ami s'est un peu calmé après que les contre-revolutionnaires sont démasqués, je désire encore passer quelque temps dans des pays nouveaux. Je conçois la probabilité de faire servir mes connaissances et mon goût pour les arts agricoles aux progrès d'une Colonie dans laquelle j'aurois de l'influence. Celle de la Floride me sourit plus que les autres, parce qu'elle est toute entière a former, les 80 Familles qui forment en ce moment la population de la campagne se disposant a passer avec leurs esclaves dans les autres possessions Espagnoles, si la cession a lieu. L'histoire naturelle y est, dit on, fort riche et les détails de l'établissement de construction que le Ministre de la Marine y formera, sans doute, me donneroient cette activité d'occupation dont je sens le besoin et que je ne puis jamais espérer de trouver à Wilmington.

Chaque jour la situation des Français, amis de leur pays, devient plus désagréable en Amérique. L'influence Angloise domine entièrement, et si je ne suis pas individuellement insulté, c'est que je ne sors pas de Michaux, que je ne vais à la ville qu'une fois en 15 jours, pour sçavoir des nouvelles et recevoir mes communications officielles. Les emigrés de St. Domingue m'ont pris si fort en haine depuis que leurs espérances contre-revolutionnaires sont

evanouies, que quoique fort peu me connoissent de vue, ils me dechirent continuellement et cherchent de faire passer leurs fureurs dans l'âme des Americains. Mon ignorance de la langue Angloise fait réellement ma méritеûse sauvegarde, mais on me fait craindre l'arrestation, si la guerre est declarée. J'en ai parlé au ministre dans ma précédente dépêche et je lui ai parlé encore dans celle que je suis ici, moins parceque j'ai peur, que parceque je crois qu'il est de la Dignité de la Republique de faire respecter ses Représentans, quelque mince que soit le rang qu'ils occupent dans la Hierarchie des Pouvoirs. Adieu, cher ami. . . .

Bosc.

Au Ministre des Relations Extérieures de la Republique.

Charleston, 4e Nivose, An. 6.

Citoyen Ministre :

. . . Depuis ma dernière Lettre, l'Esprit public s'est beaucoup tourné contre nous. Les Huletans des Campagnes qui nous environnoient, ont été particulièrement seduits par les calomnies des amis des Anglois. Fréquemment la Cocarde Nationale est insultée par des propos injurieux à la Republique. Les Bruits les plus absurdes, les nouvelles les plus extravagantes sont repandues à dessin de nous perdre de plus en plus dans l'opinion. Un voyage que vient de faire en cette ville l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, probablement pour organizer une Expedition contres les Florides, si la Guerre a lieu, a achevé notre Discredit. Tout le monde craint pourtant la Republique. Les Propriétaires d'Esclaves surtout redoutent, que la Suite d'une Declaration de Guerre ne soit une descente d'une armée des Noirs de St. Domingue, contre laquelle ils sçavent qu'ils n'auroient pas le secours des leurs. Ma position n'est rien moins qu' agréable dans les circonstances actuelles. J'ai été signalé par les Emigrés de St. Domingue comme un Philantrope, un Jacobin, un Espion des Terroristes ; et quoique le resultat de leurs premières Calomnies, dont je vous ai dejà entrétenue, n'ait pas été conforme à leur veux, ils ne perdent point Courage, et on me fait craindre l'arrestation malgré mon titre diplomatique au premier bruit de la Guerre. . .

Salut et Respect.

Bosc.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, June 8, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

Since writing you a day or two past, I have the pleasure to receive your letters by the packet and rejoice to find my hopes confirmed by your opinions that we shall not be wanting to ourselves in our conduct towards France.

Immediately on hearing the proceedings of the Admiralty Judge at St. Domingo, I remonstrated to this government against them, and was without delay answered that General Simcoe had no power to erect the Court, that the appointment of Judge Cambauld was illegal, and all his decrees void; and that those who had unfortunately suffered by them must, as in the Martinique cases, apply for satisfaction to the High Court of Admiralty in England. I expected and so it was determined, that orders should have instantly been dispatched to suppress the court; this was omitted from the negligence of the officer to whom the duty belonged in the Admiralty, hence the continuation of the Court at St. Domingo. Orders have, however, at length been sent to suppress the Court.

The instructions of the 25th of January 1794, a copy of which, was on the 7th of February sent to the Secretary of State, have been misrepresented or not understood. Instead of enlarging, the effect of them will, as it was intended it should, be to contract the description of cases, in which the trade of neutrals will be liable to interruption. The order, as it is called, of the 6th of November 1793, authorized the capture of all vessels carrying supplies to, or laden with the produce of the French West Indies. The instruction of the 8th of January, 1794, revoked this order, and substituted another in which the *bona fide* neutral trade between the United States and the French West Indies was considered legal—while that between the French West Indies and Europe was liable to interruption by the vessels being sent in for adjudication. The late instruction of the 25th of January, which I have thought a point gained, enlarges the rights and security of the trade of neutrals, for instead of former restraints, it is now admitted, that a direct trade by neutrals between their respective countries and the French, Dutch and Spanish West Indies, out

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 300.

and home, and likewise the direct voyages from those colonies to any port in Great Britain are lawful and not liable to interruption.

That the naval officers will often exercise their authority, however limited, in abuse, will continue to be the case so long as the military profession is disgraced by a sordid love of gain, and so long as the system of the Admiralty Courts of England shall be so little satisfactory as they really are. We are, as you will naturally suppose, extremely impatient to receive information from the Mediterranean. It appears certain that the Toulon expedition sailed about the 19th of May. The force is variously reported. Buonaparte is supposed to be with the fleet, which is said to be thirteen ships of the line, as many frigates and nearly four hundred transports—all the naval characters agree, that it is next to impossible that they can reach Ireland without discovery. Indeed from the prevalence of the winds from the west, a single ship would, it is said, be at this season perhaps two months in making the voyage from Toulon to Ireland. The opinion that has the most advocates is, that the expedition is against Portugal—that the troops will be disembarked at Carthagena or Malaga in Spain, and that they will cross the mountains to Portugal. It is well understood that from the want of subsistence they could not have marched through Spain. But Portugal has no money, and all the plunder that would be obtained would not defray the expenses of the expedition. The enterprize would reduce Spain under the more complete control of France. Cadiz would become a French port. The English would be expelled from the Tagus. The Spanish fleet would be relieved as soon as the windy season arrives, and from the Tagus and Cadiz the expedition may go to the Brazils and the treasure of South America may be at the disposal of the Directory. Besides the country may be revolutionized on the French model, and this may prepare for the measures to be adopted toward us. Letters from Lord St. Vincent, of the 19th of May (when his fleet off Cadiz consisted of twenty five sail of the line, in excellent condition) induce the belief that Sir Roger Curtis would join him from the Greek station by the 22d or 23d, with the sail of the line. His orders are to leave a force to block up Cadiz and watch the fleet, and to proceed with the residue of the fleet to search for and fight the Toulon fleet, and

according to everything that we know, there is great reason to expect that he will be in season to intercept them even should their object be Carthagena or Malaga. 'Tis against every probability that the Toulon expedition can pass the Gut without discovery.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, June 10, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Every day brings us new and decisive proofs of the growing unanimity throughout the whole extent of our territory. Addresses to the President are constantly coming in—meetings are holding, and the people are resolving with heart and hand to support the government in all such measures as the public councils shall devise for the protection of our independence and liberties. Even Governor Mifflin, alias Secretary Dallas, in an address to the officers of the State of Pennsylvania on the necessity of putting themselves in warlike array, speaks in very harsh terms of the Government of France, and considers it as having forfeited all claims to our gratitude and friendship. In short all may be truly said to be united and determined to take our stand.

If Great Britain should happen to fall, it will be an event all shall deplore with all the sincerity the necessary consequences resulting from it will naturally inspire; but such an event will not deter us from the combat in which we are about to engage. The sense of the studied insults and unjust aggressions of France, is so deeply rooted that the nation will freely encounter every possible extremity to convince her that we are a free, virtuous and spirited people.

In this city we are putting on quite a military face—volunteer companies, of horse and infantry, are raising; and meetings of the old officers of the army and navy—and of the citizens, in the different wards have been had to concert measures for the defence of our port. All parties compose the committees appointed for this object, and all join in the necessity of prompt and efficacious measures. We shall apply to the Governor for an immediate call of the Legislature to give us aid. The Secretary at war is mo-

mently expected here on the same business—and we hope soon to be in a situation to prevent our being disgraced by a few frigates, however unable we might be to prevent an impression by a formidable fleet and army.

Congress have not yet adjourned, and there are appearances of their continuing in session without an adjournment. Gallatin continues to clog the wheels of government, but he has not sufficient strength to stop its motion. Without him the party would be completely scattered. He constantly preaches the duty of resisting all foreign attacks, and professes warm zeal for the constitution and country.

Giles has gone home with a broken heart and ruined constitution. Edward Livingston has been home for several weeks and I see no symptoms of his return.

The young men of Philadelphia, this city and Boston have come forward in mass, with the most patriotic and determined addresses to the President, and made an offer of their lives in the service of their country. They have gone farther and claimed it as a matter of right to compose the van of our army. Their addresses and the President's are extremely affecting and will be read with exulting pride by posterity. The fourth of July will be celebrated with great animation and pomp.

Tell our friends Mr. Gore and Mr. Trumbull that the Eastern States stand like old grenadiers in their ranks, firm, erect and looking well to the right. One soul animates them ; and if the French invade their shores I have no doubt the Yankee Doodle will triumph over ça-ira.

If you should meet any of our Envoys to Paris in London, you may tell them that their conduct has given the most entire and universal satisfaction. Upon their return, they will be received with all the ardor of affection that can possibly be expressed by men who have a love for virtue and a respect for talents and firmness. Their memorial to the Directory is considered as one of the first State papers of the age. You will read it with infinite satisfaction. A few days ago their despatches down to the middle of March were received from them. They are all published and contain nothing more than repeated demands for money ; we will not however give them, as our Envoys have already informed them, a single sixpence. We are uneasy lest our Envoys may

be arrested and imprisoned. Our hope is they have left France. . . .

The old *Chief* is again furbishing his sword. If there be a dignus vindice nodus, and he should be invited he will take the field and so will Hamilton. . . . Burr has been re-elected a member of the State Legislature for this city. He was a member the last year; and his conduct very different from what you would imagine. Some conjecture that he is changing his ground. He concurs with us decidedly in measures for defence of our port. . . .

The City is perpetually improving in buildings &c. The Park near your house [Broadway on part of lot where the Astor House now stands] has made your situation not only pleasant, but has given it an air of elegance that will please you. . . .

God bless you,

Rob. Troup.

P. S. Congress have lately passed an Act for establishing a naval department to be under the direction of a *Commissioner of the Navy.* Your friend Cabot was appointed — but declined; afterward Benj. Stoddart of Maryland; he declined—and the office is still vacant.

June 11th.—It is reported by way of the West Indies that the British court have issued orders for capturing all neutral vessels bound to French, Dutch, or Spanish ports. A Judge Cambold or Gambold, of very considerable celebrity in protecting pirates, has it is said lately condemned many vessels under these orders. Capt. Cochran of the Thetis has likewise recently captured several vessels, and the captures, from the reports respecting them, cannot be accounted for except as the effects of these same orders. This business has created very unpleasant sensations in the public mind. If true, and the system is persisted in, I have no doubt it will lead to a rupture. By this morning's paper I find Foster's resolutions are postponed for a fortnight by 44 to 40. . . . Mr. Blount has given notice that when Foster's resolutions are brought forward, he will move similar resolutions against Great Britain. The democratical party will be highly gratified with a war agt. Great Britain; and the friends of the government are not now in a frame of mind to bear a blow from any quarter.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Private.

Philadelphia, June 12, 1798.

Dear Sir:

. . . . The conduct of Mr. Gerry surpasses the fears of those who knew him intimately and anticipated mischief from his appointment. To the errors of usual wrongheadedness, must be added folly, meanness and treachery; the latter I should not have suspected; but his conduct is not to be satisfactorily accounted for on any other principle. Altho' the evil to his country is equal, I wish it may be found attributable only to an excess of vanity and weakness.

This morning I received a letter from Mr. Murray dated April 12th, and conveying information * from Genl. Pinckney dated at Paris the 6th of April. By this it appears that Mr. Gerry with unpardonable arrogance and folly had determined to take upon himself the whole responsibility of the Mission agreeably to the *designation* of the *Executive Directory!* and that Generals P. and M. were to be ordered to leave France. There is, however, one consolation in this, that those two excellent men will be out of France and safe when the publication of the first dispatches of the Envoys will be known there. If they would then guillotine Mr. Gerry they would do a favor to this Country; but they will keep him alive to write, à la Monroe, a Book, which will equally express his misconduct. . . .

T. Pickering.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 78.

London, June 14, 1798.

Dear Sir:

The Toulon Expedition continues to be the object of anxiety and of uncertainty. The affairs of Ireland are most alarming, the rebellion having burst forth in Antrim, and Ulster being in danger of a revolt. Should the insurrection thus extend itself over the North, the South in which symptoms of disaffection have appeared will not remain quiet. In consequence of this critical state of Irish affairs, Lord Cambden will be recalled and Lord Cornwallis sent as his Successor. The military capacity and ex-

* Mostly in cipher.

perience of the latter have recommended the change which does not originate in a dissatisfaction with Lord Cambden, whose zeal and exertions have been entirely approved. In case the Rebellion is suppressed, which must be effected or England is lost, thousands of the fugitive Irish will seek an asylum in our Country. Their principles and habits would be pernicious to the order and industry of our people, and I cannot persuade myself that the Malcontents of any character or country will ever become useful citizens of ours. It is my duty seasonably to apprize you of the probability of this Emigration: but it belongs to others to decide what the safety and welfare of the Country may require to be done, should it actually take place.

We have Paris papers to the 9th inst. The "Bien Informé" contains a Correspondence between Talleyrand and Mr. Gerry—the object of which is the disavowal of the Bribe and the sacrifice of Mr. Talleyrand's agents. Mr. Gerry is called upon to give up their names, which, after a faint opposition, he consents to do, under the limitation that they shall not be published as having been received from him. The Correspondence is preceded by a piece, which, tho' anonymous, undoubtedly comes from the office of foreign affairs. It represents the Envoys (always excepting Mr. Gerry) as indisposed to the restoration of friendship between France and the United States; as refusing a direct intercourse with the Minister of foreign affairs, who often solicited it, and as surrounded by men of Intrigue who constantly missled and deceived them. These indispositions of the Commissioners, it is alledged, correspond with the views of the American Government, which desires a war with France, in order that it may have an opportunity to co-operate with England against the French and Spanish Colonies, and especially that it may be enabled to establish in the United States a Monarchical Government. The piece concludes as I have before told you it would by declaring: "Notwithstanding the injuries and provocations that have been offered with the hope to excite France to declare war against America, that, superior to her just resentments, she has resolved to consult only the happiness of the two Republicks, and to call the whole world to witness the sincerity of her disposition which she has not ceased, and will never cease, to manifest to live in peace with America."

If we are the dupes of this repeated and bare-faced effort to deceive and divide us, we must shut our eyes to the fate of Switzerland and of the other victims of the pretended friendship of the great Nation. It must be the subject of perpetual regret that Mr. Gerry suffered himself to be separated from his Colleagues; for had he remained firm, they would all have been received and Europe as well as America would have been spared the scandalous scene that has passed.

With perfect respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 79.

LONDON, June 15, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Notwithstanding his pretended delicacy, Hauteval by no means denies the agency ascribed to him in soliciting the Bribe required by Talleyrand. Colonel Trumbull, who was at Paris soon after the arrival of the Commissioners, has more than once informed me that Hauteval told him that both the Douceur and the Loan were indispensable, and urged him to employ his influence with the American Commissioners to offer the Bribe as well as the Loan. . . .

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c.

RUFUS KING.

ROBERT TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 23d June, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I seize a few minutes to inform you that the die between us and France is finally cast. General Marshall arrived here on Sunday last. His arrival was unexpected and his stay with us very short. I have no other apology to make for our not giving him a public demonstration of our love and esteem. You can form no conception of the flow of affection for all our Commissioners. Mr. Gerry's continuance has created much uneasiness, but all appears satisfactorily explained by the intelligence this day received from Philadelphia. The newspapers herewith sent will furnish you with the President's last message to Congress, in which he de-

clares he will never send another minister to France without previous assurance from its government that the Minister shall receive that honorable distinction, which is due to the representative of an independent, free, and powerful nation. . . .

Mr. Marshall has been received in Pennsylvania with high proof of public attachment. . . . I am far from thinking that our treaty with France will now be considered as binding. In other words, I believe it will be declared to have been broken by France, and therefore that we hold it to be void.

Thus, my good friend, we are about cutting asunder, if the separation has not already taken place, the bonds that have long united us to France. We must either submit to being a colony of that wicked and domineering republic, or we must exert all the means we possess to preserve our sovereignty and everything that is valued and sacred in society. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost, and like our virtuous ancestors we deem nothing to be valuable without the enjoyment of freedom. It is impossible to foresee what may be our future destiny. If it be the design of Providence that we should fail in the contest, we shall, at least, merit the esteem of posterity.

The bills for suspending all intercourse with France—for capturing French privateers on our coast—for sending off disaffected or seditious aliens—for arming our merchantmen—for raising a provisional army—for direct taxes—for borrowing money &c—have been passed, and I have now no doubt but all other needful measures will be promptly and pretty unanimously taken. . . .

Inform our friends Gore and Trumbull that John Adams will not disgrace his country and that his country will support him. There never was, and indeed there never can be, a man of more solid popularity than he now possesses. . . .

Your very affectionate friend

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 82.

"LONDON, June 27, 1798.

"It is now believed that this Expedition (from Toulon), is destined for the Nile from whence the Army will cross the Isthmus of Suez to the head of the Red Sea, whence it is expected that

the Ships of Tippo, with such others as shall have been collected at that Spot will receive, and by the aid of the periodical west winds transport them to India."

T. PICKERING TO R. KING. No. 18.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, June 27, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . Mr. Gerry having persisted (contrary to the opinion of his Colleagues and obvious propriety) in his determination of staying in France *to prevent an immediate rupture*, as he was *persuaded* to believe, I wrote him, on the 25th instant, the inclosed letter of recall,* which when you have read, be pleased to seal and forward to him, if still in France, or anywhere in Europe.

The public opinion is becoming more and more correct in regard to France, the ambition, lust of domination and rapine of whose Government have at length become so apparent that multitudes, whose former attachment and prejudices had blinded, now view it in all its deformities and horrors. With the general indignation at the insults and injuries received from that Republic a martial spirit is rising and extending.

A Bill has passed the Senate for declaring our three Treaties with France no longer binding on the United States. I presume it will also pass in the House of Representatives without much difficulty.

T. PICKERING.

* In this letter Mr. Pickering writes, giving a positive recall:

"The respect due to yourselves and to your Country, irresistibly required that you should turn your backs to a Government that treated both with contempt, a contempt not diminished but aggravated by the flattering but insidious distinction in your favor, in disparagement of men of such respectable talents, untainted honor and pure patriotism as Generals Pinckney and Marshall, and in whom their Government reposed entire confidence, and especially when the real object of that distinction was to enable the French Government, trampling on the authority and dignity of our own, to designate an envoy with whom they could condescend to negotiate. It is therefore to be regretted that you did not concur with your Colleagues in demanding passports to quit the Territories of the French Republic sometime before they left."—He says further, that in laying his [Mr. Gerry's] letter of April 16th before Congress, the President declared the negotiation at an end and that "he will never send another minister to France, without assurances that he will be received, respected and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful and independent nation."

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, July 1, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . In my last I gave you some account of the publication of the first dispatches from our ministers in france, & the considerations which induced the adoption of that measure. The effects, out of congress, have been considerable,—It has stimulated those who before felt interested—awakened the indifferent —in many instances dispelled delusion, and in some, perhaps, converted the opposers. Instances of the latter are few, if any, among those who affect the character of leaders. In congress the opposition remains unaltered, except as to their pretences. They are, indeed, no longer a french faction, but, as heretofore, they invariably oppose everything and propose nothing. Less effect has been produced by the disclosure of the outrageous conduct of france, in the state of New York, than in any other state east of the Delaware. In the late election six out of the ten representatives are incorrigible jacobins.

The measures of the legislature have been as much below what they ought to have been, as above what might have been expected from the materials of which it is composed. So equally are parties divided in the house, that measures to be successful, must be graduated by the feelings & opinions of the most cool and feeble of our friends. . . Long since, in my opinion, a wise policy required a declaration of war & an immediate and complete preparation for that state of things. Several of our friends, however, believed it would tend to discredit them among their constituents, —that the opposition would endeavor to create, in the popular estimation, a new denomination of parties—those of peace & war. For myself, I believe, this calculation extremely erroneous. —If Congress adjourns without a *declaration*, I am persuaded, it will have a directly contrary effect. In that case the people will be addressed with some plausibility & more effect, and induced to believe, that the friends of peace, may save them from the calamities of war. But, on the other hand, if war be inevitable, it may reasonably be hoped, that the people, in their selection of characters, will choose those who are best qualified to conduct it. Unless, among our most respectable friends in the house, there is an absolute despair of success; the measure will be brought for-

ward & I presume in the course of two or three days. The Speaker last evening, indeed, told me, he presumed it would be done on the 4th inst.—(Dayton is now in advance of the first rank of federalism.) It has not been thought prudent to pass it in the Senate with a possibility of rejection in the House. In this opinion I have fully concurred. Should it pass the House there is no doubt it will prevail in the Senate. Indeed I know no man, except our friend Bingham, who can be called federal, who will not vote for it.

The President is daily rising in the opinion & affection of the well disposed; and in the same proportion *the second* is becoming more & more an object of abhorrence & detestation.

The conduct of our old friend Gerry has astonished all who were not intimately acquainted with him, but he has behaved much better than I expected—Nothing could have made me regret, but I now rejoice that I voted against his appointment.

The plunderings of the french and still more the mad speculations which have been so extensively pursued by many in our country is the cause of great embarrassments. The rage to get rich without industry or economy was more general than can well be imagined. With the great destroyers, Morris & Greenleaf, who are in the gaol of this City, Wilson who is confined in Norfolk, Virga. &ca. &ca. there is hardly a county in any of the eastern States where there are not *monuments* of the prevailing mania. . . .

I am very sincerely,

Your friend,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

July 2, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your extreme inquietude occasioned by Mr. G's conduct will be much abated before this can reach you—his course has been indeed the most dangerous that cou'd have been taken & had the knowledge of it been possessed by our Jacobins six months ago it wou'd have enabled them to work great mischief,—our divisions wou'd have been more marked & confirmed; at this time it is unpropitious but the evil is circumscribed, as all the follies &

weaknesses which have been exhibited at Paris are well known to his Great Patron they must necessarily produce great Chagrin & I sincerely wish he may never recollect how much his friends have differ'd from him in estimating Mr.' G's character. Altho' I am happy in being disengaged from the political world yet I am too much interested in its events to refrain from observing them. I have expressed to you often my high opinion of the competency of G. B. to withstand all the power which France can possibly employ against her so long as her Govt. stands & the nation is politically united. I have sincerely wished that an invasion might be attempted not doubting that it wou'd issue in the disgrace of France, but I have at no time believed that so mad a project wou'd be executed. It will give you great pleasure to see by the public papers how fast our indignation rises against the French & that we are in a fair way to get rid of every tie which bound us to that seductive & perfidious nation—our people are learning every day that we have everything to fear from the arts of France & therefore are becoming reconciled to the trial of arms. This new state of things must bring new & interesting duties to our Minister in London ; I know he will discharge them with ability & fidelity & I hope with success. Doubtless the British Govt. & indeed every Statesman in Europe who is opposed to French Domination, will rejoice to know that the United States are about to engage heartily on their side : it is true that we shall do little more at first than provide for our own defence, but we are capable of greater efforts after we are fully engaged, & a variety of considerations unite to render our association in the war extremely favorable to G. B. ; we are at least sufficient for a make weight where the scales are so nearly even, & if our Destiny had thrown us on the other side, as we cou'd not remain neutral, G. B. must have yielded to so much discouragement. *But I am fully persuaded that G. B. in concert with the U. S. can command the ocean in opposition to all Europe, Russia alone excepted* & if the war shou'd continue several years, these nations wou'd enjoy exclusively the Commerce of *all* America & Africa & the best part of Asia & Europe—the Colonies of France & the Nations subject to her power wou'd soon listen to the pleas of Necessity & wou'd voluntarily receive the Commercial Ships of those who alone woud supply their wants. Already a fleet of armed Merchantmen have

sailed from Boston carrying 130 Guns & as this spirit is extending itself the little pirates from the West Indies will not be able to annoy us much in future ; our public vessels carrying from 14 to 44 Guns will be increased to 40 or 50 in the course of the year & surely we are capable of doing much more.

Vive vale.

G. C.

CHAPTER XXIV.

France to send skilful Intriguers to U. S—Bonaparte's Fleet from Toulon may meet Nelson—Ireland's Union to England must come—American Consuls should give Certificates of Residence—Conquest of Malta—Miranda—Treaties with France set aside—U. S. must defend themselves—Hostile Measures passed by Congress—Washington appointed Lieut. Genl.—Troops to be raised—Patriotic Addresses to the President—Decatur captures French Privateer—France may declare War against the U. S.—Mr. Murray suggests England's Interference for People of Holland—Copper for the U. S.—Members of French National Institute to be sent to the U. S.—Republic of Blacks in St. Domingo—T. Pinckney would support the Government—Irish likely to emigrate—Should have Certificates of Charter—Washington accepts Command—R. King gratified by Firmness of U. S.—Its Effect in England—Its Government and People decided.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 83.

London, July 2, 1798.

Dear Sir:

We desire farther information respecting the views of France from the following extracts of the Paris papers. The project of sending Mr. Sottin, lately the Minister of Police, and other restless and skilful Intriguers, under the character of Consuls into our country is the same as that by which they have succeeded in overthrowing the Independence of Switzerland and other nations. If any thing could exceed the past insolence of France, it is the Mission of a corps of Revolutionary agents, under the masque of public characters, and who it is presumed (I hope and believe falsely) will be received and permitted to reside among us, after the repeated refusal and expulsion of our public Ministers. I think it is a bold step on the part of France, who certainly risques a refusal from us, which she has as yet nowhere received, and which would, in my opinion, exalt our character still higher in the eyes of Europe.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

Rufus King.

Extracts referred to :

"PARIS, June 18, 1798.

"EXTRAIT DES REGISTRES DU DIRECTOIRE EXECUTIF.

"Le Directoire Exécutif considérant que chaque jour on acquiert des nouveaux indices des coupables intelligences qu' entretiennent les ennemis de la Republique avec les malveillans de l'intérieure ; considérant que les motifs qui ont fait interdire aux Americains l'entrée des Ports de Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, Toulon & Dunkerque, sont applicables au Port de Havre, contre lequel il y a lieu de craindre que la perfidie Anglaise ne dirige spécialement ses funestes intrigues ; oui le Rapport du ministre de la marine & des colonies, arrêté 1. L'entrée du port du Havre est interdit aux batîmens Americains. 2 Ceux des bâtimens de cette nation qui se trouveront maintenant au Havre, seront tenus d'en sortir sous le plus bref delai ; 3 Le ministre de la marine est chargé de l'exécution &c."

"Paris June 18, 1798. Le citoyen Roziers est nommé Consul Général aux Etats Unis ; Garnier, ex-conventionnel de Saintes, consul, & Boscq, vice-consul à Wilmington. Quillet, consul à Tanger, passe à Norfolk ; Bosc à New York et le citoyen Sottin, ambassadeur près la Republique Ligurienne, et ci-devant ministre de la Police, vient d'être nommé consul à New York."

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, July 2, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

France will pursue with us the plan that she has elsewhere found successful. She will endeavour to overthrow us by the divisions among ourselves, which she will excite and support by all the means of which she is mistress. . . .

If any thing could exceed the past insolence of France, it would be this attempt to plant in our chief towns a corps of revolutionary agents under the mask of public characters, and whom she expects, I hope falsely, that our government will receive and permit to reside among us, after having herself repeatedly refused and expelled from her territory our public ministers. . . .

* *Hamilton's Works*, vi., 308.

Another arrêt of the Directory has added Havre to the ports into which our vessels are forbid an entry ; so that we cannot now enter the ports of Toulon, Rochefort, L'Orient, Brest, Dunkerque or Havre. Cadiz and the Texel are closed by the British squadrons, and I apprehend that the Meuse will likewise be blockaded, as the British North Sea fleet is by this time reinforced by the Russian Squadron.

We are still at a loss where Buonaparte is bound. He sailed from Toulon on the 19th of May. My opinion has been that Ireland was his object. At present, it seems to be the general opinion that he never intended to leave the Mediterranean. In a few days we must hear of him. The English confidently believe that he will fall into the hands of Admiral Nelson, who is in pursuit of him. In Ireland, though for some months there will be partial and unimportant risings, the force of the insurrection is broken and the danger nearly over. The chiefs have been without character and without any intellect. There is no indication that they have received a single musket from France, and in general they are without arms, except pikes. There is but one successful remedy for Ireland, and it is that which has proved so successful with Scotland. Ireland, like Scotland, must become an integral part of the British Empire, or she will continue ignorant, ill-governed, oppressed and wretched.

Rufus King to W. Wickham.

Great Cumberland Place, July 3, 1798.

Dear Sir :

I take the liberty of sending you a list of American citizens in whose favor I think there would be a propriety in making an exception in the proposed regulations respecting Aliens. The great number of American citizens residing in different parts of Great Britain for commercial and other purposes, seems to make it requisite, in order to satisfy the provisions of the alien law, that they should be enabled to obtain from our Consuls certificates of citizenship instead of being obliged to apply to me for that purpose.

From the great prudence and good principles of our Consuls in this country I am persuaded that you will be safe from abuse in

accepting their certificates in the place of mine. If this arrangement will be agreeable to you, which should extend to all the districts, I will transmit to you a list of our Consuls and furthermore send to them an instruction on this subject. I should hope likewise that the certificates of our Consuls will be received in all applications for passports upon the arrival and departure of American citizens. To you who are frequently acquainted with the thousand things that occupy the attention of a foreign Minister, it is needless to remark that an arrangement such as I propose must be a very great relief to me.

With perfect respect & esteem.

RUFUS KING.

In despatch No. 84 to Secretary of State, etc., dated London, July 6, 1798, R. King says:

"The late accounts from America, as is natural, have given very great satisfaction here; and I should observe an improper reserve did I not add that all Parties unite in expressing their admiration of the conduct of the President.

"With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

"RUFUS KING."

CIRCULAR TO CONSULS.

LONDON, July 9, 1798.

SIR:

You will observe that with a few exceptions, the late Proclamation requires all aliens to report themselves and obtain permission to reside in Great Britain, and that no alien will be suffered to come and go without a Passport. As it would be inconvenient to our countrymen, dispersed as they are throughout this country and likewise to those from time to time arriving and departing to be obliged to apply to me for certificates of citizenship in order to obtain permission to reside, or passports to depart, the Duke of Portland has consented to my proposal, that our Consuls, in all cases relative to the alien regulations, shall give certificates of citizenship to such persons as shall in a satisfactory manner prove themselves entitled to the same, and that these certificates shall be received in like manner as mine heretofore have been. It is proper that I should recommend to you the greatest caution in

this business, and you will recollect that the certificate is merely to enable the person to whom it shall be granted, to conform to the Regulations of the alien laws, and that it is not to be confounded with Certificates of Protection. You will therefore grant these certificates only to such Americans as are required to register themselves, to those who on their arrival . . . desire permission to land and reside here, and to those who want passports to leave Great Britain ; tho' I think it probable that in the last class of cases your certificates will not be required, as the permission granted to those who shall have registered themselves will sufficiently identify them in their applications for passports to leave the country.

With great Respect I am &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, July 7th, 1798.

Buonaparte has made the début of the campaign by the easy though important conquest of Malta. The island has been supposed impregnable, and therefore was the depository of great wealth, removed thither from Italy. It contained likewise an excellent arsenal, two or three ships of the line, and as many as 6000 excellent seamen. It was the Maltese seamen who made the fine campaign under Suffrein in the East Indies during the American War. Sicily is near, and from thence the French will obtain provisions, should Admiral Nelson attempt to blockade the fleet in the harbor of Malta. Buonaparte may perhaps take possession of Sicily, after which Naples would almost fall of course. We are left to conjecture what are his ulterior plans. I don't perceive that it is believed that the English squadron can, owing to the tempestuous seas, maintain a long blockade. At Rastadt procrastination is the game. The French journalists amused themselves with calling it "the Eternal Congress." I see no likelihood of a concert upon the Continent against France. The struggle is left to England, who certainly maintains it with increased zeal and resolution. For some months past we have not a word about peace. No one appears to think that peace

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 310.

would bring safety. The affair of Ireland is nearly finished. Cornwallis has requested that no more troops should be sent to him and that those on their way should be countermanded. In this state of things we are (for so I consider our situation) forced into a war of defence. Have you received a former letter of mine on this subject? It is of infinite importance that we are not deceived by ourselves or others. We must do more than merely defend. I still think that the object that I have before suggested,* demands all our consideration, wisdom and energy. Don't suppose that I would combine our fortunes with those of others. On the contrary, whatever our interest may require in regard to a co-operation with others, I am averse to indissoluble engagements with any one. The Continent of Europe cannot be saved, but this is no reason why America should likewise perish. France is the only nation that projects enterprises, or succeeds in putting them into execution; all others are puzzled in a perpetual effort to find out and defeat the plans of France, without concerting and attempting to execute one that might give to France the disadvantage of defence. If we follow this course, I dread the issue.

Farewell—yours &c.

I am mortified with the probable result of the election in New York. Mr. Jay according to probability, is re-elected, but how very considerable has been the opposition. Besides what is to become of us, if we return such members to Congress, as I think it likely will compose a majority of our next delegation?

T. Pickering to R. King. No. 20. B.

Department of State, July 9, 1798.

Dear Sir:

. . . An act was passed last week (July 7th), declaring "That the United States are of right freed and exonerated from the stipulations of the Treaties and of the Consular Convention heretofore concluded between the United States and France, and that the same shall not henceforth be regarded as legally obligatory on the Government or citizens of the United States."

An Act authorizing the expulsion of dangerous aliens was

* Probably Miranda's expedition.—Ed.

passed some days before, and a Bill from the Senate for punishing seditious persons and libellers will probably pass the House of Representatives to-morrow. . . .

An addition is to be made to the Standing Army of eight or twelve Regiments, and the officers of the provisional army are to be appointed. . . . General Washington has been appointed Lieutenant General, with the command of all the armies of the United States, raised and to be raised. It is probable that he will accept the appointment. The spirit of the people continues rising. . . . T. PICKERING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, July 10, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

Yesterday the President approved the bill for annulling our Treaty and Consular Convention with France. The majority in the House of Representatives for this measure was about ten. The Bill passed the Senate yesterday, and the President must have had it with him but a very short time. . . .

General Washington is appointed Lt. General and Commander in chief of our armies. . . . Congress have determined to proceed to the immediate raising of an army of between 12 and 13000 men; and I have no doubt that an augmentation of it will soon take place.

We are busily engaged in fortifying our harbour. The Governor has just issued a proclamation convening our Legislature at Albany on the 9th of August next to take our situation as a State, and particularly our harbour, into consideration.

The 4th instant was celebrated with great animation and splendor here and in all other parts of the union, from which we have any accounts. A new troop of horse, commanded by our friend Giles and in elegant uniform, made their first appearance on that day and added much to the brilliancy of the scene. Our city resembles a camp rather than a commercial port.

Addresses are still coming in to the President. They all, a very few solitary instances excepted, breathe the dignified and determined sentiments of freemen alive to the honor and sovereignty of their country. Wherever there is a deviation from these

sentiments the President undertakes to *whip* the addressers. The President seems to have all the ardor of youth and all the energies and firmness of meridian life. If we survive the struggle, as I have no doubt we shall, speaking of us as a nation, no man that has figured on our theatre, will go down to posterity with greater lustre than *John Adams*—I will not even except *George Washington.*

Last Saturday Capt. Decatur, who commands one of our sloops of war captured a French privateer schooner of 12 guns and seventy men near Egg Harbour. . . . This is the first capture that has been made. It is a good beginning and it has excited very agreeable sensations. Our coast is much freer than it has been of French Pirates. . .

The spirits of our countrymen are highly elevated; and you may proclaim it everywhere, that we will pay tribute to no nation, and that we shall water our soil with our blood and suffer every hardship before we yield to the imperious demand of any foreign nation.

The last letter I wrote you, mentioned that Mr. Gerry's letters had removed disagreeable suspicions that had prevailed agt. him. I wrote my letter the instant after I had read Mr. Gerry's letters —before I had time to reflect, and before I had an opportunity of learning the public opinion. The truth is that upon reflection I dislike his letters and his conduct. They are both generally disliked. At a public dinner given by both Houses, or rather by members of both Houses of Congress, at which all the public officers in Philadelphia and many foreigners of distinction were present, Mr. Pinckney was toasted and Gerry was omitted. At almost all subsequent entertainments Pinckney and Marshall have been most honorably noticed and Gerry has been neglected. It is understood, and that from Marshall himself, that Gerry has suffered himself to be wheedled in Paris; that he acted there in direct opposition to the wishes and decided opinions of Marshall and Pinckney; and that Genl. Pinckney, before Mr. Marshall left France, spoke to Mr. Gerry in strong terms of contempt and indignation at his behaviour. . . . No two men, however can be more beloved and honored than Pinckney and Marshall. Their two memorials have made a deep impression on the public mind and have done more good in placing the conduct of our

government in its true point of light, than all that has been before said or written. . . .

We are arresting some disorganizers here for libelling the President and Secretary of State—a Mr. Burk and a Doctor Smith—the former a late Irish emigrant and the latter, a late English emigrant, who was connected with Ld. G. Gordon in his famous riots—conduct a press in this city, which publishes a paper called the Time piece. Burr is much suspected to be interested in the press. It is confidently said he was security for the purchase money of the press. Dr. Smith is an elderly man—a brother of the famous Wm. Smith, late Chief Justice of Canada—and as he is a native of America, he claims to be a citizen of the United States. They are bound over to the next Circuit Court which will sit in September. Patterson will preside at it. Bache is under recognizance in Philadelphia for a similar offense. Burr and Rutgers—I mean the rich Col. of this city—are bail for Burk; Smith's relations are his bail. It is determined to try whether we have strength enough to cause the constituted authorities to be respected. I have not a fraction of a doubt respecting the issue. . . .

It is very grateful to our friends that you are now in London. It is of great importance that we should stand well with Great Britain; and we have unbounded confidence in your discretion. . . .

Most affectionately your friend

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, July 14, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I send you inclosed an interesting little piece addressed to Gallatin by a former citizen of Geneva. If translated and published it may do good. We have no news from the Mediterranean since the capture of Malta, nor can we do more than conjecture the future destination of Buonaparte. Turin with its arsenals is possessed by a French army; so that Sardinia is at the feet of the Directory. The Emperor continues to recruit his armies, and is now laying up magazines in the Tyrol. His expenses are said

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 313.

to be equal to those of an open war, and his resources unequal to his present expenditures. Prussia manifests no inclination to enter into a new coalition against France, and there are who suspect a most intimate connection between those powers. In short the fate of Europe is as uncertain and difficult to understand as at any period of the war. It is at least ten days since the spirited measures passed in America must have been known in Paris. We are, therefore, anxious to learn the effect they have produced. They will be entirely disappointed, and my conjecture is, that, contrary to their wishes, their pride will drive them to declare war against us. On the 13th of June Gen. Pinckney was still at Lyons ; his daughter was much better, and he flattered himself with the expectation of being able to reach Bordeaux and to embark by the middle of this month. On the 26th of June, Mr. Gerry was at Paris, waiting, say letters from Americans who are about him, for the ultimatum of the Directory. Letters are sent in every direction by the Americans in Paris, which say that the Directory hold a conciliatory language, and that Mr. Gerry is in hopes to procure terms which will be honorable and satisfactory to his country. I thought it impossible that any future step of Mr. G. could exceed in* and what had passed when he decided to separate from his colleagues and remain at Paris, but I was mistaken. His answer to Talleyrand's demands of the names of X, Y, and Z, place him in a more degraded light than I ever believed it possible that he or any other American citizen could be exhibited.

I send you Bellamy's address. It, as well as all that has been published, serves to confirm the public detestation against the Directory. The American dispatches have been circulated throughout Europe, and have everywhere done much good and increased the reputation of the government.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

My Lord : Great Cumberland Place, July 14, 1798.

I have the honor to send your Lordship enclosed the copy of a letter that I have received from the American Minister at the Hague ; that to which it refers as having been sent by Mr. Wads-

* Words omitted in *Hamilton's Works*.—Ed.

worth has not yet come to hand. I desire to be understood as merely transmitting the Proposition of the Dutch Directory, and not as expressing any sentiments of my own upon the subject or requesting those of the British Government. I ought nevertheless to observe that I will with pleasure send to Mr. Murray such answer as it may be thought proper to make to this informal communication.

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

[*Copy.*]

W. V. MURRAY TO MR. KING, &C., &C., LONDON.

THE HAGUE, 29th June, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I wrote day before yesterday by Mr. Wadsworth, your and my excellent friend. The object of my letter was to request you to obtain, if possible, some relaxation of the Govt. and orders of Great Britain in favor of the Dutch Herring Fishery. On the 24th instant their little fleet of Baasses ought to have cast nets. The proceeds of this annual tour at sea are deeply, almost essentially, important to the poor as provisions; besides as their profits of the year's income to great bodies of poor fishermen, it is all in all.

Sure I am that neither Great Britain nor the Prince of O. can wish to hurt these men, except as they may be considered with their boats as the involuntary means of Invasion. These means, *I believe*, have been suspended as far as they were intended to operate from this point of embarkation. *

I understand that the boats lately in requisition are delivered up all through Flanders to their owners. To these men it was the usage of the Prince of Orange to show great personal kindness formerly. *On this subject I have been spoken to by the Directory and requested to speak to you.* I need not assure you that especially in the poorest state of her affairs, I would not knowingly, as I value my own country's safety, hurt Great Britain or thwart her strength. I wish it success. Pray inform me if anything can be done.

I am dear Sir truly always &c. &c.

W. V. MURRAY.

* See R. K's answer Aug. 16th 1798. Letter of R. K. to Secy. of State. Aug. 20. 1798.

R. KING TO RIGHT HONBLE. LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, July 14, 1798.

MY LORD:

I have this morning been informed that the Lords of the Council decline granting permission for the shipping to the United States of Copper in Sheets and Bolts, unless on my certificate that the same are for the use of the American Government.

Exclusive of the demand which the American Government may have for these articles very considerable quantities are wanted for the Merchant service, which would be exposed to embarrassments in case the permission heretofore granted to export the same shall in future be refused. As I understand that the Manufacturers can supply any quantity of these articles, and consequently the demands from America are not likely to interfere with those of the Naval Department of the Country, I take the liberty to request your Lordship's interference in order that under proper cautions, permission may from time to time be given for the Exportation of Copper in Sheets and Bolts for the use of the Merchant Ships.

In making this request I conform to an instruction that I have lately received from the American Government.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 86.

LONDON, July 14, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

It is more than ten days since they must have known at Paris the spirited measures adopted by our Government; we may therefore every hour expect important information from that country. I think they will declare war against us; that will essentially thwart their plans; but their pride will not leave them an option.

Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society, a few days past received a letter dated the 6th of June from Dupont de Nemours, which states that he with a Delegation from the National Institute are going to the United States of America with the view of improving and extending the sciences: the letter adds that the Directory has given them the requisite passports, and, thro' Sir

Joseph, requests that passports from the British Government may likewise be granted to them. I have been informed that this mission of Philosophers meditates an establishment without the limits of the United States, and within the boundaries of Spain high up the Mississippi ; their objects can hardly be mistaken ; and notwithstanding the moderation and character of Dupont, it is not probable that either the American or English Government will be disposed to give any encouragement to this mission of the Directory.*

There is no news from the Mediterranean since the capture of Malta, and excepting the possession of Turin with its fine arsenal by a French army, I can add nothing to my last accounts of the situation on the Continent. We have a rumour that the American ships in the French ports are embargoed, and that all American citizens are to be immediately sent out of the Republic. Mr. Gerry, on the 26th ult° was still at Paris, waiting according to private letters from persons about him, for the *ultimatum of the Directory* ; General Pinckney was at Lyons on the 13th of June ; his daughter was then much better, and he hoped to be at Bordeaux and to embark by the 20th of this month.

The day after the arrival of the last Packet from New York, † *in a Conference with Lord Grenville, he had heard with horror from Mr. Liston that in a* conversation *between you and him, you had intimated an idea that our Government might be disposed to countenance the establishment of a Republic of Blacks in St. Domingo. I replied that I had no knowledge of such intention and* after saying

* The President, Mr. Adams, in answer to the Secretary's letter, communicating the above, wrote to T. Pickering, Secretary of State :

"QUINCY, Sept. 16, 1798.

". . . I shall not be guilty of so much affectation of regard to science, as to be very willing to grant passports to Dupont de Nemours, or any other French philosophers, in the present situation of our Country. We have had too many French philosophers already, and I really begin to think, or rather to suspect, that learned academies, not under the immediate inspection and control of government, have disorganized the world, and are incompatible with social order. Mr. King judges correctly of the American government, that it has no disposition to give any encouragement to the mission of the Directory. I hope he conjectures equally well of the English."—*Life and Works of J. Adams*, v., 596.

† Italics in cipher.

that I should prefer to see one or two Republicks in So. America, the conversation turned to other and less important Topics.

With perfect Respect and Esteem, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

THOMAS PINCKNEY TO R. KING.

CHARLESTON, 18 July, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR :

The infirm state of my health rendered it necessary for me to leave Congress previous to their adjournment by which means your favor addressed to me in Philadelphia did not reach me until after a long & tedious journey I had returned home—the debates in Congress detailed in the Newspapers will long before you receive. this have enabled you to give an answer to Sir Clement Cottrell on the subject of the present ; but lest this information should by chance not have met your Eye, I have to inform you that I wrote to each branch of the Legislature relating to them the offers of the Courts of G. Britain and Spain to make me the customary present & asking their decision whether or not I should receive them—the Senate passed a resolution consenting to the acceptance, which Resolution was not concur'd in by the Representatives. No reason was assigned for this rejection but from the course of the debates it appeared that the Majority were actuated by general motives of policy & not by such as peculiarly related to either party. I am convinced that you either have or will put the refusal in its proper point of view, so that no umbrage may be taken where I believe none was intended to be given.

The increased spirit of union which has lately been manifested in the United States & the general determination to support our independence at all hazard & against every assailant must have afforded you much satisfaction. This spirit, if not universal is as general as could have been expected—if there are any Americans still deceived concerning the views & intentions of the French toward us, nothing I think could have continued the delusion but the conduct of Mr. Gerry. I fear that to want of judgement in this character may be added qualities of a more criminal nature—The present questions which seem to divide the sentiments of the friends to our independence are an immediate declaration of war, & an Alliance with Great Britain. I am of opinion with those

who are averse to both measures, preferring to go into the war if necessary without the declaration; continuing our preparations for a vigorous opposition & actually repelling every aggression both at home & abroad until we see the effect of our late measures, which I am well assured will astonish the French Government, whether or not they may cause any alteration in their councils. And as to an Alliance offensive or defensive with any power on Earth I have a multitude of reasons too tedious to detail against that measure, one is founded on past experience, as we are now paying the penalty of a former engagement; another is that I have no faith in these paper bonds when the pressure of circumstances tends to dissolve them; a third is that these compacts must be neutral & might drag us on into war contrary to our interest & inclinations when the cause of war may no longer exist; but above all I wish us to stand on American ground—at least I wish the experiment fairly to be made; if then we find we can not go alone, it will be time to call for assistance.

Truly Yours

THOMAS PINCKNEY.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

Private.

LONDON, July 19, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

On the 14th inst Mr. Gerry was still at Paris, and the Americans about him continue by their letters which are sent in every direction to amuse their correspondents with Reports that the Directory hold a conciliatory language concerning America, and that Mr. G. has hopes *that he shall be able* to obtain for his Country Terms that will be honorable and satisfactory. This is precisely what the Directory must desire that he and they should say and circulate at the moment they expect a Rupture between the Two Countries. How he will justify his residence at Paris after the receit of the letter of Recall sent to him & his colleagues I cannot conjecture; he certainly feels and acts differently from what most of his Countrymen would do in his situation. There is a most extraordinary and to me a most satisfactory contrast between his conduct and language and that

of the President. So striking is the Difference that the question has been often asked, by those who do not understand our constitution, by whom our Ambassadors are appointed, and who has the power to recall them ; the supposition being that these powers do not reside in the President whose opinions are so much at variance with those manifested by Mr. Gerry. . . .

We still have nothing more than vague Rumours concerning Buonaparte, and the squadron under Nelson since the capture of Malta. At Rastadt there is the appearancee of pretty firm Resistance to the last Note of the French ministers. But nothing positive or satisfactory can be inferred from the present Posture of negotiations there.

As I have intimated to you would probably be the case, I perceive that numbers of the disaffected Irish will be expelled and that they will be disposed to plant themselves among us. It was the practice of the Emigrants from Scotland to bring with them Certificates from the religious Societies to which they belonged, of their honesty, sobriety and generally of their good Character ! Why should we not require some such Document from all Emigrants, and it would be well to add to the Testimonial that the person to whom it was granted was not expelled from his Country and had not been convicted of any crime. I am, I confess very anxious upon this subject. The contrast between New England and some other Parts of the U. S. is in my view a powerful admonition to us to observe greater caution in the admission of Foreigners among us. If from the emigrations of past time we have suffered inconvenience and our true national character has been disfigured, what are we to expect from the Emigrants of the present Day ? . . .

With great haste

R. K.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 24th July, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I now enclose you Gen. Washington's acceptance of the command of our armies. This is much admired and thought to add another gem to that crown of glory he has so long worn. Congress have adjourned ; our Treaties with France are dis-

solved ; no declaration of war has taken place, although we are on both sides in a state of actual hostility.

The temper of our countrymen is still continuing to mount higher and brighter. We shall not dishonour our country. . . . Our general officers are appointed. Hamilton is the first on the list as Inspector General, with the rank of Major General ; next to him is Pinckney, our Envoy to France as Major General ; then comes Knox as Major General. . . .

God bless you

ROB. TROUP.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING. No. 23.

" DEPARTMENT OF STATE, July 25, 1798.

" DEAR SIR :

". . . You will have seen by the news papers that General Washington has accepted the office of Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States. This has given great satisfaction and contributed to heighten and extend the rising spirit of the people of the United States. . . ."

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 87.

MARGATE, July 28, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I have as you will suppose been much gratified with the late intelligence from America : if anything can preserve us from the distress and ruin which continue to extend themselves in Europe, it will be our thinking and acting concerning France with that wisdom and firmness of which the President gives us so illustrious an example. We shall not only thereby save our own country but we shall do more ; our example beyond what we imagine will encourage others to unite in that resistance which alone can rescue Europe from Slavery and Barbarism. Men of all parties, and of every country agree in applauding the moderation, the justice and the wisdom of our Government, and never perhaps did the publication of any negociation more completely serve to decide and settle the public opinion than that of our mission to Paris has done. It has given reputation to our country, and besides been advantageous by closing the mouth of the apologists of

France. I wish I could send you even a tolerable program respecting the affairs of Europe. Many people think that great events depend on the success or failure of the Expedition, which nobody understands, of Buonaparte. We know nothing of consequence from the Mediterranean since the capture of Malta. A frigate returned from thence to Toulon with despatches and a general officer on board, has been met and captured by an English frigate and we are told that Buonaparte with his fleet had left Malta two days before the English fleet that pursues him arrived there. The prevalent opinion is that there is a great probability that the French fleet will be overtaken and defeated. The conferences at Seltz between that Ex-director and Count Cobenzel, which it has been said related to the affair of Bernadotte at Vienna, have broken off, and, as is given out, without effecting their object. At Rastadt the ministers continue to exchange notes, and to protract the negociations as if the winding up of their business depended upon events that had not yet arrived. The conquest of Switzerland and the occupation of Turin by a French army enables the Directory to complete the Revolution of all Italy whenever they please. In Ireland the Rebellion is at an end, a general amnesty with a few exceptions will soon be proclaimed ; many of the inferior chiefs will be permitted to go into exile. I have before intimated the probability of such a measure, and hope the President will have power to exclude from our country all such foreigners whose residence among us would be dangerous. England strong in her union and confident of her resources manfully resolves to maintain the struggle with the enemy ; no one speaks of peace ; and all seem to think and act as tho' arms alone could protect them from the misery that is suffered by the people of France. You may observe in some of the newspapers indications of a change in the Ministry ; no credit is due to them ; the Ministry undoubtedly possess as great, and perhaps a greater portion of public confidence and support than were ever bestowed upon any former administration, *and in respect to the favor of the King, so long as they will continue the war, so long they will receive his protection ; indeed the opposition are too small to form from among themselves a new administration ; and could they do it, neither the King nor the Nation would confide in them.**

* Italics are in cipher.

I don't say this without the highest and most convincing proof that it is true. The Paris papers of the 13th give with fidelity the late news from Philadelphia. *Mr. Gerry* was still *there !* Dupont (a letter from whom to his sister that lately fell into my hands is sent enclosed*) had arrived at Bordeaux after a short passage from New York. We may judge of his Report from the tenor of this letter. We have accounts from France, which tho' probable, need confirmation, that on the 9th instant an Embargo was laid on all American Ships, and yesterday there was a rumour that the same measure had been adopted in Holland. The French papers of the 10th are silent on this subject, tho' they mention the encreased probability of an open rupture with the United States. I have taken such measures as I think will give me early information on this subject, and in a certain event, I am prepared, to send out safe and expeditious intelligence thereof.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. HAMILTON.

31st July, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

You will believe that I have been much gratified with the late intelligence from home. France has calculated all her plans on our disunion, and the expectation that her friends if not more numerous would be more active and possess greater energy than the friends of our Government; or rather she has believed that our Government like that of every country that she has succeeded to overturn and enslave, would act with such timidity and in so qualified a manner, that the affections and support of the People would be easily withdrawn from and even turned against it. If the Government continues to speak and act with decision, the people will become more and more united, and still better inclined to execute its purposes. This opinion should be taken in connection with an observation (the importance of wh. appears to me the greater the oftener I consider it) that I have suggested in more than one of my late letters. The composition of addresses and the forming of volunteer associations who will have

* Not found.—ED.

nothing to do, are for the present well ; but they will cease to be novelties and soon become tiresome, and to be secure you must have some sufficient object that will interest and employ the passions of the Nation. The mere defensive system of the enemies of France has been a principal cause of her success, and if we adopt the error we shall be exposed to greater Risques than by a bold and active system, which, exclusive of being the most certain means of safety, would promise the acquisition of great and lasting advantages.

The Destiny of the new world, and I have a full and firm persuasion that it will be both happy and glorious, is in our hands. We have a right and it is our duty to deliberate and act, not as secondaries, but as Principals. The object and the occasion are such as we ought not in respect to ourselves and others to suffer to pass unimproved.

I have nothing to observe in reference to the subject of regret and complaint,* mentioned in your last letters. You will not doubt that all the means in my power have been employed to correct the mischief ; they have served only to convince me that it is incorrigible ; it is an evil too deeply rooted and too powerfully protected to be cured ; and it is something gained to know that it is so. If we are wise we shall have the agents that will place the remedy in our own hands.

A Frigate returning from Malta to Toulon and a general officer has been captured by an English frigate, and we are told that Buonaparte had sailed on his expedition two days before the Eng. fleet that pursues him arrived there. If so, the French fleet is in great danger. Many persons think that great events depend on the success or failure of Buonaparte's expedition. All the late

* Reference is probably here made to a letter of Hamilton, June 6th (vol. vi., p. 298), in which occurs the following passage: "How vexatious it is that at such a juncture there should be officers of Great Britain, who, actuated by a spirit of plunder, are doing the most violent things, calculated to check the proper amount of popular feeling (in the U. States), and to furnish weapons to the enemies of government," and mentioning several cases of outrages in the W. Indies, such as Cambauld's at the Mole, and the captures of vessels by Cochrane of the Thetis, he closes: "There seems a fatality in all this. It cannot be doubted that the British Cabinet must at this time desire to conciliate this country. It is to be hoped they will not want vigor to do it with effect, by punishing those who contravene the object."—Ed.

arrivals from Paris say a new storm is at hand ; but none express a hope that the changes it may effect will render the condition of France or of others better. Gerry still hangs about the Directory ! ! At Rastadt the Congress continues, and the jealousies between Austria and Prussia artfully kept alive by the common Enemy, prevent that hearty union without which no successful cooperation will take place against France.

In Ireland the Rebellion is suppressed, and our Government will I hope have the power and the inclination to exclude those disaffected characters, who will be suffered to seek an asylum among us. England is more than ever united and resolves with confidence in the superiority of her resources to prosecute the war. There is no talk of peace ; nor is there any appearance wh. wd. lead to an opinion that new overtures for that purpose are likely soon to be made.

On the other hand France is extremely embarrassed any longer to find the money necessary to maintain her army and carry on the war.

Be so kind as to present my affectionate respect and congratulations to the Governor. I ought to write to him, but I consider a letter to him or you as nearly the same.

With great truth and attachment &c. Yrs.

R. KING.

P. S. We have just heard that Gerry has received his passport. At the close of Talleyrand's letter, sending it, he says though the Directory, as a measure of precaution, has laid an embargo upon all American vessels, " telle est la répugnance du Directoire à considérer les Etats Unis comme ennemis, que malgré leurs démonstrations hostiles, il veut attendre, qu' il y voit irrésistiblement forcé par des hostilités réelles."

R. KING.

CHAPTER XXV.

King to R. Troup—French and Irish Affairs—Benedict Arnold—To Secretary of State—French Affairs—United States must be firm—Reports of Volney—Lord Grenville on Relations of the United States with France—Gerry's Arrival at Spithead—King's Failure to see him—Duverne de Praisle sent to Philadelphia—His Character—Dr. Logan's Arrival at Hamburg—King to W. Vans Murray—Negotiation between England and Holland—Mr. Derby desires to import Saltpetre from E. Indies to America—King to purchase Muskets and Cannon for the United States—King's Admiration of the Firmness of the Govt. of the United States in Relations with France—Conversation with Lord Grenville on the Effect of the Rupture of Treaties with France—Probability of Revolution in S. America—European Politics—To S. Williams relative to Seizure of Nails as Contraband—Cabot on European Affairs—Also on the Condition of the United States and its Firmness.

R. King to R. Troup.

July 31, 1798.

My dear Sir :

I give you a thousand thanks for three letters that I have lately received from you. They have given me more information and more satisfaction than all I had heard for the preceding six months. We are delighted with the firm and manly conduct of our Government. If any thing will save us from the Snares and Ruin prepared for us, it will be the resolute and plain Policy of which the President's conduct is so worthy an example. We everywhere gain applause and admiration ; even from those who have strong prejudices to overcome in speaking well of any of our measures.

Such persons as have lately returned from Paris concur in their reports of the disappointment and chagrin of those who are most intimate with the Directory. Nothing can exceed the rage of the apostate Americans, who have so long misrepresented and disgraced their country at Paris. Mr. Gerry remained there, when

we last heard from thence. The information lately received from Philadelphia, which is to the 20th of June, has been received and published with tolerable fidelity in the French papers. The late law, authorizing the Directory to make domiciliary visits is the return of terror and forbodes another Revolution. The Expedition agt. Engd. is of tedious preparation.

The Rebellion in Ireland is suppressed and there is reason to believe, so numerous and vigilant have been the English ships of war, that not a single musket, nor a single officer have been landed in Ireland. If measures are not employed to prevent it, you will find that considerable numbers of the disaffected will seek an asylum among us. Notwithstanding all you may hear to the contrary, England is more united than ever; confident in her resources and, thoroughly convinced of the importance of the contest, she will manfully maintain it, until Peace can be obtained that will bring security. The French have demonstrated their inability in respect to the threatened invasion, in not having attempted even to succour Ireland whom she encouraged to revolt. If England is wise she will pursue a Policy that will hereafter preserve her from that anxiety and expence to which she has been so often exposed by Ireland. Scotland was formerly equally troublesome; but since the Union the Scots have been loyal; the same measure would probably produce the same effects in Ireland.

We are waiting with impatience for further news from the Mediterranean—At Rastadt nothing is decided and the Congress continues. The jealousies between Austria and Prussia prevent their union, without which both these nations must undergo a Revolution. Our Agent in the case of captures has just recd. from the Exchequer in payment of the awards of the commissrs. and of Sir Wm. Scott and Dr. Nicholl, about £70,000 Sterling, and there is a prospect of a satisfactory termination of the cases of capture that fall within the purview of the Treaty. . .

You have undoubtedly heard that here, as well as with you, all the country have been permitted to form volunteer corps—in the Parish of Mary-le-bone, the tradesmen associated and a proposal was made to appoint a number of half-pay officers to be their officers. General Arnold lives in that Parish, and a rumour circulated that he wished a command. The tradesmen met and resolved that General Arnold, having once betrayed and deserted

his duty, ought never again to be trusted, and that they wd. never serve with him or under his command.

Yours,

R. KING.

P. S. We hear that Mr. Gerry has demanded and received his Passport. Mr. Talleyrand informs Mr. Gerry, "that notwithstanding the hostile preparations in America, the Directory will wait until they are forced by actual hostilities to declare war." They do not easily relinquish a plan, and they appear moderate and humble, in hopes that we shall relax and that in the end they shall succeed.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 88.

LONDON, August 1, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

It is confirmed that France has laid an Embargo on all American vessels in her ports, and I have reason to apprehend that the same measure will be enforced in Holland. The knowledge of what has been done in France will hasten the departure of such of our ships as are in the Dutch ports. Excepting ten or twelve at Bordeaux, there are but few American vessels in the French ports, and I do not learn that the number is considerable in Holland.

Mr. Gerry received his Passport on the 15th ulto., but was still at Paris on the 25th, tho' proposing to leave it to embark at Havre; Genl. Pinckney has reached Bordeaux, where he experiences new embarrassments on account of the Embargo, but expects to receive permission to embark in the ship in which Dupont and others lately returned to France. I have sent you by various channels Talleyrand's last letter to Mr. Gerry, which having been published in Paris, has been republished here. You will doubtless regret that Mr. Gerry's unfortunate separation from his colleagues has furnished an occasion for some of the Remarks that this letter contains, the principal object of which, agreeable to the original and avowed hopes of the Directory, and which it appears they still cherish, is the establishment of that division among our People, and between them and the Government which will enable France to regulate the destinies of America, in the manner she continues to rule those of Europe.

We have intelligence from Boston as late as the 3d of July, and it is highly satisfactory; but unless we are patient, firm and persevering, and can thereby succeed to deprive France *of the opportunity* of employing the means among ourselves upon which she relies to effect her purposes, we shall notwithstanding our promising beginnings ultimately become the victims of her insidious and destructive policy. For consider the rapacity and insolence that she daily practises towards those who have unhappily fallen beneath her power: she knows how to assume the language of justice and of moderation to others; and to attain her object with deep dissimulation displays in the most captivating manner the images of candour, of sincerity and of Justice. My anxiety is lest our Country may be deceived by her false appearances, and after all we have ourselves experienced, and after the dreadful commentary upon French moderation and justice exhibited in the fate of the Swiss, that we shall find those among us who will become the advocates of a system that will prematurely bring the new world to that ruin, that has nearly overwhelmed the old. I am informed and I believe correctly, that the Reports of Volney which are in the highest degree gross and offensive in regard to our Government, represent the separation between the northern and southern States and between them and the western country, as events that nature has ordained and which France can with ease and advantage at any time effect. The Reports of Dupont differ in this respect from those of Volney, and the former also represent the people to be more united and better inclined to support their Government than the latter conceives them to be. . . .

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

Secret.

DROPMORE, Aug. 3. 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I am very much obliged to you for the interesting information contained in your letter of the 31st July. The spirit which the United States continue to display in the present crisis of their affairs affords the best prospect, & the surest means, for the main-

tenance of their consideration abroad & of their tranquillity at home. You know how sincerely I concur with you in every wish that you can form for the success of the wise & dignified measures which your Government is pursuing.

In my opinion the tone of Talleyrand's last letter to Gerry on sending him his passport plainly shows that those measures have already produced a great part of the effect to be expected from them. But if this affectation of friendship & conciliation succeeds in imposing upon your people, and induces them or their Government to relax its efforts, the whole of what has been done will be useless and the same course will be to be again pursued with less expectation of ultimate success.

You know I am never very sanguine in what I say to you of continental affairs, in Europe. If all or any of those Powers whose ruin is either completed, or in the regular progress of completion, had shown half the energy that has been displayed by the British & American People, they would have been safe, we should have been triumphant, and America would have been a tranquil and uninterested spectator of the troubles which the infernal spirit of atheism and modern Philosophy had produced in France.

It would be too much to persuade oneself that they are yet fairly roused from their fatal Lethargy & impressed with a true sense of the nature of the crisis in which they are placed. There are however just now appearances more favourable with respect to Austria & Russia than we have lately been accustomed to see. Between the former of these Powers & Naples a defensive Alliance has been concluded for mutual support against France, and any attack by the French against Naples for receiving or supplying our ships (which the Neapolitan Govt. has engaged to do) is to be considered by Austria as a casus fœderis. This stipulation seems to render a renewal of the War almost certain and Austria is preparing for it accordingly. The conferences at Seltz are entirely broken off. Cobenzel & Neuchâteau had both orders to *demand* satisfaction on the affair of Bernadotte, and as neither was authorized to *give it*, nothing was settled on that head. Cobenzel had also orders to remonstrate & treat on the subject of the Italian & Swiss revolutions since Campo-Formio, & Neuchâteau refused to talk on these events which had happened, as he said,

by the will of the Italian & Helvetic nations! Nothing was therefore agreed to, but the whole negotiation was referred back to the ordinary channels of intercourse, the negotiators separated, as I learn, *with great mutual politeness.*

I mention these particulars to you in confidence not to be talked of here, but with such liberty to state them to your Government to whom I conceive it may be important to be accurately informed of them. If there was more energy & union on the continent, I should think the prospects of the present moment very favourable, but be the conduct or the state of the continent what it may you [may] be assured that neither the principles nor the conduct of this Country will vary.*

Believe me ever with the most sincere regard, dear Sir, your most faithful humbl. servt.

GRENVILLE.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 90.

MARGATE, August 5, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The last Paris papers, which are to the 30th of July, are uninteresting; but the information from thence by Dover & Hamburgh confirms the inference that may be drawn from Talleyrand's farewell letter to Mr. Gerry, that the spirit of our people and the wise and dignified conduct of our Government have already produced a great part of the effect to be expected from them. Should however this affectation of friendship and conciliation succeed in imposing upon our people, or should it induce them or our Government to relax in the only sure means of saving the Country, the whole of what has been done will be useless, and the same course will be to be again pursued with less expectation of ultimate success. Difficult as it undoubtedly is with the best and most regular information, to form a correct opinion respecting the affairs of Europe, I shall forever believe that if those powers whose ruin is either completed, or in the progress of being so, had shown half the energy that continues to be displayed by

* Mr. King's dispatch to the Secretary of State, No. 90, August 5th, contains the information given by Lord Grenville used generally in the language of his letter.—ED.

the people of America, they would have been safe, England would long since have been at peace, and we should have remained the tranquil and uninterested spectator of the troubles which the infernal spirit of atheism and modern philosophy had produced in France. When the enslaved nations will awake from their lethargy cannot be predicted, and it would be too much to persuade ourselves that they or those, who are on the eve of ruin, are yet fairly roused or fully impressed with the crisis in which they are placed.

But I have this moment learned, and you may give full credit to the information, that there are just now appearances more favorable, and particularly in respect to Austria and Prussia than we have lately been accustomed to see. Between the former and Naples a defensive alliance has been concluded for mutual support against France; and any attack by the French against Naples for receiving or supplying the British ships of war, which the Neapolitan Government has engaged to do, is to be considered by Austria as a Casus fœderis! This expectation, so very important in the present posture of affairs in the Mediterranean, seems to render the renewal of the war almost certain, and Austria is accordingly preparing for it. Through the same channel that I have obtained this highly interesting intelligence, I also learn that Cobenzel and Neufchâteau in their conference at Seltz have orders to demand satisfaction in the affair of Bernadotte; and as neither was authorized to *give it*, nothing was settled on that head. Cobenzel had also orders to remonstrate and treat on the subject of the Italian and Swiss Revolutions since the Treaty of Campo Formio; the Ex-director refused to talk on these events which had happened, he said, by the will of the Italian and Helvetic nations.

Nothing was therefore agreed, but the whole negociation was referred back to the ordinary channels of intercourse, and the negociators separated, as I hear, *with great mutual politeness*. I hope to be able to send this letter by the Packet, tho' the mail has been despatched, as I consider it to be of great consequence that the President should receive the earliest information of the present and probable state of Europe; respecting which if there was greater energy and union upon the Continent, the prospects of the present moment might be considered as favorable. But

let the conduct or condition of the continent be what it may, I am assured that neither the principles nor the conduct of this country will vary.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD SPENCER.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, 11th August, 1798.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Spencer, and has the honor to inform his Lordship that the American Brigantine Sophia ——— Master which the Government of the U. S. sometimes since dispatched to France for the purpose of bringing from thence their Envoys at Paris, is now arrived at Spithead with Elbridge Gerry Esq, one of their Envoys, on board.

The Sophia was forced to put into Portsmouth in order to escape a French Privateer which they had every reason to believe was in pursuit of them. She had also been stopt, soon after leaving Havre, by the British Frigate Niger, Capt. Woodhouse, from whom Mr. Gerry received every mark of the most polite attention. Mr. Gerry being desirous of prosecuting his voyage with all possible expedition, and anxious to prevent future interruptions by his Majesty's Ships of War, has sent a confidential person to Town, with directions to Mr. King to apply immediately for letters of safe conduct from the English Government, addressed to the Commanders and officers of its fleets.

In compliance, therefore, with this request, Mr. King takes the liberty of soliciting the necessary Passport and flatters himself that he cannot in any manner so effectually and readily obtain it as in Lord Spencer's interference ; he confides in his Lordship's giving every facility to Mr. Gerry, not only in consideration of his public character, but of his being personally the intimate friend of Mr. King.

Copy.

Mr. Nepean presents his compliments to Mr. King, has the honor of enclosing to him the Protection he has desired.

Mr. Nepean imagines that no great difficulty would arise in accommodating Mr. Gerry on board the Cleopatra, charged with

the outward bound Convoy to America, if he or Mr. King should have any particular wishes on that head. Mr. Nepean opened Mr. King's letter in Lord Spencer's absence.

ADMIRALTY, Saturday Afternoon.

R. KING TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

LONDON, Aug. 13, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

Your letter of the 10th arrived at my office on Saturday, and was sent that evening to me at Margate, which place I left the next morning before the arrival of the mail ; by the return post however I have at length received it. On Saturday Mr. Munro sent you *my Passport* which cannot be of any use to you ; he had and as I conceive agreeable to your desire, applied for and by this mail has sent you a Passport from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

I am extremely sorry that my absence from town prevented my receiving your letter on Saturday, as in that case I should have gone immediately to Portsmouth to meet you ; I still hope for that pleasure and it will afford me much satisfaction to receive you in London ; the visit cannot be uninteresting to you, and with the belief that you will have both time and inclination, I have just sent Mr. Munro to the Duke of Portland's office to procure and forward to you the requisite Passport.

I should not put our meeting upon this footing, but would be with you to-morrow morning, was I not obliged to be in town both to-morrow and the day after. If, however, you shall feel any disinclination to come hither and will wait, which the adverse winds are likely to compel you to do, I will meet you at Portsmouth on Thursday.

Our accounts from home are as late as the 10th of July ; tho' not official, I believe them authentic. You already know the tenor of the Laws for the Protection of our Commerce, and likewise of those which authorize the Capture of French Privateers. The Law suspending all commercial intercourse with France and her Dominions has been followed by another declaring all our treaties with that nation void ; and I have seen in a Norfolk pa-

per of the 5th of July the copy of a Bill that had been twice read in the Senate of the U. S., which, after reciting the French aggressions, enacts that the Government and People of France and of their Dependencies are to be deemed Enemies of the U. S., and that any person owing allegiance to the U. S. who shall adhere to them, giving them aid and comfort shall be deemed a Traitor, and on conviction suffer death.

A private letter that has been shown to me from Baltimore of the 10th of July states that Colonel McHenry, Secretary of War, was then there on his way to meet General Washington, who had been appointed Commander of the Army which he has accepted.

With respect to this Country, you will naturally suppose that the intelligence from America is received with great satisfaction. Upon this and other important points, a meeting between us, would, in my opinion, be advantageous to our Country. I have but a moment before the mail closes to renew my assurances of Esteem and to beg you to believe me your faithful friend.

R. K.

R. KING TO ELBRIDGE GERRY, ESQ.

LONDON, August 14th, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the pleasure to receive your Letter of yesterday, and as the winds continue unfavorable, I am in great hopes that we shall have an opportunity of meeting before you sail.

If you do not come to London, but remain at Spithead, I will see you there on Thursday. Your letter of to-morrow in answer to mine of yesterday will regulate my conduct in this respect.

I have very strong reason to believe that a person has been sent from France to Philadelphia, with a commission not friendly to the U. S. ; but under what assumed name, or on what ship he went over I don't know. By this mail I have sent to our Consular Agent at Portsmouth a despatch to Col. Pickering with instructions to send it together with a Packet of newspapers on board the Sophia, if she has not sailed.

I am, Dear Sir, your ob. & faithful friend.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 91.

LONDON, Augt. 14, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Gerry sailed from Havre on the evening of the 8th, and was chased into Portsmouth on the 10th by a French Lugger, which he conjectures was sent to sea for the purpose of intercepting him notwithstanding his Passports.

I have by his desire sent him a Passport from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; and although from his letter to me I perceive that he is anxious to proceed on his voyage without delay, I have desired him to come to London, thinking that our meeting might be of public advantage. If he should be disinclined to leave his ship, or to come here, I have informed him that I will meet him at Portsmouth on the 16th, before which my engagements do not permit me to leave London.

Several letters of a later date than those heretofore noticed passed between Mr. Gerry and Mr. Talleyrand before the former left France; the last which was received by Mr. Gerry at Havre announces the Arrété of the Directory of the 31st of July concerning the Privateers of the West Indies. This arrété is published in all the papers.

I lose no time to inform you that Duverne de Praisle, who under the name of betrayed the cause of the Royalists in France, has been sent to Philadelphia with his sister (with whom he lived in a state of prostitution) and that I have very strong reason to believe that some commission, not friendly to the United States has been given to him.

He is an officer of the Army, a man of talents, and unlike most of his countrymen, cautious and discreet. I don't know under what name or in what ship he went over; but he may be discovered by his conversation, which, with all his reserve, habitually turns on the countries he has visited; which are America where he served in de Grasse's fleet; England where he was sometime a prisoner, in 1782; and the Black Sea, where he was sent to assist in taking a survey of the coasts. He is remarkable from an uncommon dark and downcast look, tho' he has sharp eyes; he is about five feet seven or eight inches high, and has a swing in his walk like that of seamen. His sister, tho' somewhat better

looking is not unlike him ; they have a child the issue of their incestuous connexion.

I have no letter from you later than your number 13.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

P. S. I have just received a second letter from Mr. Gerry in which he informs me that it turns out to have been an English and not a French Lugger that chased him into Spithead. The Commander of the Lugger by order of his superior officer has waited upon Mr. Gerry and made an apology for having chased the Sophia. As Mr. Gerry appears to be anxious to reach America with the greatest expedition, I am apprehensive that I shall not have an opportunity of meeting him.

2d P. S. By the Hamburgh Mail that has just arrived, I am informed that on the 27th ulto. Dr. Logan arrived there on a Danish vessel. He kept himself very quiet, waited on the French agent there, but not on the American Consul. He is said to have been charged with letters from Mr. Jefferson and others for Fayette, Merlin and Talleyrand : the French agent without hesitation gave him a Passport for Paris where he expressed much anxiety to arrive before Mr. Gerry's departure ; but in this he has been disappointed. He gave the idea of being sent by the American Government, and that his mission required expedition & secrecy. I shall probably know what was the tenor of his conversation at Hamburgh, and will, if of any consequence, hereafter communicate it to you.

I know the Doctor and am at no loss to understand the object of his Mission.

R. KING TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

LONDON, 12 P.M., 15th Augt., 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I have this moment received by Express yours of this date. I should have been on my way to meet you, but not receiving any answer to my letter of the 13th in course by the mail that arrived this morning, I concluded that you had sailed before it reached Portsmouth. This I the more regret, as it is now impossible that

I can arrive at Portsmouth within the time that you prescribed. I am therefore reluctantly obliged to give up the hope that I had entertained of an interview with you before your return. . . .

Wishing you a safe and Expeditious Passage,

I have the honor to remain, Dr. Sir, Your ob. & faithful St.

R. K.

R. KING TO WM. V. MURRAY.

In W. V. Murray's Cipher.

LONDON, Aug. 16, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

It is almost certain that the war will soon be renewed, at least between Austria and France. The political timidity of Prussia will prevent the king from acting; but a war with Austria supported by Russia would favor any disposition that may exist in Holland to emancipate themselves from France. It will be difficult for England by any formal act to discard the Prince of Orange, tho' as I have before told you, and as the past history of England and Holland proves, the non-existence of the Stadtholderate will not impede a friendly and useful connexion and Treaty between the two Countries: a reform would perhaps be preferable to an abolition of the Stadtholderate.

Wadsworth has reported to me a conversation with Shimmelpennick that passed, I believe, in your presence, and which may be made the commencement of at least an informal negociation between Holland and England. No one can approve the old constitution of Holland. England desires to see, and would gladly assist in, any suitable manner to establish a rational, free, and efficient Government in that Country: she would engage to all persons perfect security against every sort of personal or other inconvenience on account of the past and would moreover become the guaranty against the abuse, which might be apprehended from the weakness of the Prince of Orange.

The portion of authority which he or his family should retain in the new System, would be matter proper for discussion, and you may say that a person on the part of England will meet such per-

son on the part of Holland, by which I mean all the Provinces, as shall be sent to any convenient place that they shall name confidentially to confer upon these important concerns.*

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO RIGHT HONORABLE HENRY DUNDAS.

LONDON, Aug. 16, 1798.

SIR :

I take the liberty to send you the enclosed, a copy of a letter that I have received from Mr. Lane, a merchant in the city, who is the agent of Mr. Derby a respectable citizen and merchant of the United States.

Mr. Derby is desirous of sending, with the utmost expedition a small ship to Bengal for the purpose of purchasing and exporting from thence to the United States, a cargo of Saltpetre : this he cannot do without the permission of his Majesty's Government. Notwithstanding I have on a former occasion obtained thro' your interference for my countryman Mr. Babcock a permission to export a quantity of Saltpetre from Bengal to the United States, I should feel some hesitation in repeating the application, did not the present situation of the United States, and a precise instruction that I have lately received from the President, make it my duty to give all the aid and encouragement in my power to our Merchants to carry to the United States every species of military stores, the acquisition of which is daily becoming more important to us.

Under these circumstances, so different from those which have heretofore existed, I take the liberty to request your interference in order that permission may be given under such cautions as may be thought requisite to —— Bullock, Master of the American Ship Benjamin, belonging to Elias D. Derby to purchase at Calcutta 130 tons of Saltpetre and to export the same from thence directly to the United States.

With perfect Consideration and Respect, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

* See R. K. to Secy. of State, Aug. 20, 1798.

R. KING TO RT. HON. LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Aug. 16, 1798.

MY LORD:

I have been instructed to cause to be purchased and sent to the United States with the least possible delay 25000 muskets, as many Iron cannon for the naval service, consisting of equal numbers of 24. 18. 12. 9. 6. & 4. pounders as can be purchased for £6000 sterling, and of Iron cannon for the land service, consisting of 32. 24. 18. 12. & 9. pounders, as can be purchased for £4000 Sterling, and I have reason to expect orders for a farther supply.

It is my wish that this order should be executed in such manner as shall least interfere with the system of the Ordnance Department. Several of the Manufacturers of Birmingham inform me that they can manufacture more arms than are at present demanded by the Ordnance Department. I mention this circumstance with a view that the Government orders may be enlarged in case that it shall on consideration appear adviseable that the supply we want should be furnished from the Tower. As it is my intention to send these military Stores by several vessels, a delivery of them by parcels will suit as well as to receive them all together. It is however of very great importance to us that we obtain them as soon as possible. . . .

With perfect Consideration & Respect,

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Aug. 16, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . The President is at Braintree. On his way he met with every mark of distinguished attention. Here his reception was the most splendid I have ever seen. . . .

Philadelphia is again visited with the yellow fever. It is said to be as malignant as it was in the year 1793. The consequence is that the inhabitants are generally leaving it. Almost all the public offices are removed to Trenton. We are healthy here. . . .

Very truly yours

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 93.

LONDON, Augt. 17, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I have not succeeded in effecting an interview with Mr. Gerry, who probably sailed from Portsmouth last evening or this morning.

We have a report that Congress have passed a law annulling all our Treaties with France; should this be true the moderate tone manifested in the late Letters of Mr. Talleyrand may probably change. It is not my duty to make comments upon the effect already produced by the firmness that I so much admire in our Government, but I cannot suppress the expression of my anxious hope that we shall test the sincerity of these conciliatory overtures by the past conduct of France towards other powers, as well as by her present treatment of our citizens, of their Property under the unrecalled arretés respecting the Trade of Neutrals. We should constantly remember *that the Tiger crouches before he leaps upon his prey.**

In a conference that I had yesterday with Lord Grenville, *he assured me of every facility in their power in the execution of an order for arms that I have received from the Secretary of the Treasury. We conversed upon the new state of things that would arise upon the abolition of the Treaties between us and France.* He intimated a wish *that the two articles in our Treaty respecting Ships of War, Privateers and their Prizes might be revised*, in order that they should become more precise and less liable to misconception or disagreements; *he suggested the expediency of abolishing the distinction between National Ships and Privateers, from the difficulty in certain cases of distinguishing the one from the other, it being a practice with the French to lend their Frigates to private adventurers and then again to employ them in the national service;* he said he hoped to be understood as not wishing *to hasten any measures of this nature*, but merely as suggesting *a subject that might become of consequence seasonably to attend to*, and added that he should *write to Mr. Liston to this effect.* I told his Lordship that I was *without any late information from Philadelphia, that I heard of the Laws having passed to which he referred, but that I had no*

* Italics in cipher.

certain account of it ; that such a measure opened a new and extensive view of the affairs of the United States and of *Great Britain, and one so different from that which had heretofore existed that I could not consider any instruction of antecedent date* as in any degree applicable *to such a new state of things ;* that I was however persuaded *that we should be disposed to consider and explain any of the Articles of our Treaty* so as to avoid misconceptions or disagreements *about their meaning ;* that it undoubtedly occurred to him *that the duration of the commercial parts of the Treaty depends upon the Settlement of certain points not concluded between him and Mr. Jay, and upon the adjustment of the West India Trade ;* that consequently *the maritime Regulations to which he had alluded, and which would become so important by an elder Treaty* than that which should exist between *France and the United States, would depend upon a satisfactory and seasonable agreement upon these unsettled points.* He replied that he was *quite aware of this circumstance ;* that for his own part he *had no hesitation to say to me that* he thought *the state of the Continent dubious ; that a century perhaps would not restore it to what it was ten years ago ; that he felt more and more encouraged in the union of the people of Great Britain and in their ability to outlive the storm ;* but that they must *essentially change their connection ; that they must look to America* instead of *Europe, and from its increase and prosperity they hoped and expected to find what they should lose in Europe ; they therefore should be prepared at a proper time to go into the* consideration of the subject *with a sincere desire of an arrangement that being mutually beneficial and satisfactory should promise to be durable.*

Our Conference here took a turn to the *probability of the Revolution of S. America ;* he was fuller and more explicit than he had been on any former occasion, always understanding *that my conversation* on this subject *was personal and wholly unauthorized. This digression which treated of the practicability and of the means of effecting the measure,* tended to shew to me *that they have at times considered and combined with their views of a future connection with the United States, the independence of the Spanish Continental Colonies.* I did not perceive, nor do I believe it to be the case, *that they have any recent information of the present Temper, disposition or plans of these Colonies,* a knowledge *more easily procured from the United States than from Europe and which is indispensably*

requisite to the success of an enterprize to accomplish the Revolution. He spoke of the *government to be established in those as a Revolution.* He thought *our System would attract and receive their approbation,* and made some remarks upon *the apprehensions* to be entertained on account *of their genius and character,* which especially *in Peru* was said to be *highly animated and full of enthusiasm;* and concluded by observing that he was more and more confirmed in the opinion, that *none but Englishmen and their Descendants knew how to make a Revolution.*

Another subject *of some consequence to others was discussed in this conference,* a Report of which I must defer until my next Dispatch.

We have nothing by the last mails from the Continent and are still ignorant of the destination and fate of Buonaparte. *Russia* has become alarmed lest Greece is the object, the revolution of which *would begin that of her Dominions; the reappearance* of Kosciusko *in Europe has increased the inquietudes of Russia. A late Treaty between the two Emperors stipulates a succour of 16 thousand men to Austria in case of a renewal of the war with France. The force is inconsiderable,* but knowing the *character of the Emperor Paul, the engagement* is a beginning and in this light *very important.* It is more and more confirmed that *the political timidity of Prussia will prevent the king from engaging in the war.* Prince Repnin has entirely *failed in his object,* and is about leaving Berlin. The great business of Seyes is to convince this monarch of *the interest that the Nation has to remain quiet and to grow rich,* while their neighbours *are distracted and impoverished.* The delusion will be seen when it is too late.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SAML. WILLIAMS.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Aug. 17, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I am very glad that you have asked my advice in the prosecution of an appeal from a Vice-Admiralty Decree, concerning a quantity of 10d. nails as contraband of war. Several decrees of

this character have been rendered particularly by the upright and learned judge Cambauld, who has gone further, and on account of the delinquency of the neutral for carrying to the enemy in some cases, a bale of Osnaburgs, which instead of being employed for sails, are used for negro clothing; and in others, a cask of nails, which instead of being used for Ship Building are employed in House Building, has condemned the Ship and the residue of the Cargo. It is true that small nails and even Brads are used in finishing the Cabin of a vessel; but as well might the Admiralty Court condemn Window Glass, because this article is used in glazing the windows of a ship's cabin, or leather, because it serves to prepare the Boxes of the pumps, as they can condemn any species of nails beneath the size of what is called Dock Nails, a smaller sort of spikes, and which are the only nails that can with common sense be alleged *to serve directly to the equipment of Vessels.*

That in the provincial Courts of Admiralty such decisions may have happened, when we know the character and capacity of some of the judges, is not to be wondered at; but that in the High Court of Admiralty, especially in the Court of Appeals, a decree so entirely preposterous should be even apprehended is truly surprizing. I will never believe it possible, until it has actually been given, and the sooner we decide the question the better. A trial cannot be had in any case, in which, according to your statement, the point will be more simple and easy to be settled.

I therefore desire that you will by all means, prosecute the appeal, before the Lords; that you may perceive that on this occasion I follow the sentiments of our Government, I transmit to you the extract of a Letter that I have received from the Secretary of State, which shows the importance of a decision that shall put this question at rest.

With great Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. I need not remark to you that the supply of nails for the building of mills & houses and particularly for Negroes is a valuable branch of the *American West India Commerce.*

Henry Dundas to Rufus King, Esq.*

Copy.

Parliament Street, 18th August, 1798.

Sir :

I have received the honor of your letter of the 16th instant, enclosing a letter from Mr. Lane, a Merchant in the City of London, stating that his Correspondent Mr. Derby of Salem in the United States, is desirous of sending a Ship to Bengal for the purpose of exporting from thence to the United States a Cargo of Saltpetre.

Independent of any personal consideration, which would induce me at all times to pay attention to any wish of yours, I can have no hesitation in contributing to afford every possible facility to the Government of the United States, which my influence with the East India Company can tend to procure, and I shall instantly forward your application to the Court of Directors, who I flatter myself will feel no hesitation in complying with your wish.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obed. humble St.

Henry Dundas.

G. Cabot to R. King.

August 18, 1798.

Dear Sir :

I am just now favored with your's of the 12th & 26th of May. You are in the midst of great events which occupy the attention of the whole world & for whose issue we feel a particular solicitude. We speculate more on what is passing on your side the water than the affairs which are transacting here ; indeed it is impossible we shou'd not see that our destiny is involved in the fate of Europe. If France succeeds in executing the projects of her mad ambition, it appears to me a Feudal System worse than the old will be established over the whole face of the civilized world. We shall see only two sorts of people *Soldiers & Slaves.* While conjecture is rambling everywhere with the Toulon Fleet *I* have ventured to *opine* that they are gone into the Euxine in concurrence with the Turks to attack the Russians in that quarter &

* Answer to R. King's Letter, Aug. 16, 1798.

thus to divert their force from the borders of the Baltic. There Germany may be also checked, & there the disaffected Polanders may be easily rallied. If such is the object, its first success may be great, resulting from surprise & from a security against the Fleets of England which wou'd be shut out from the passage of the Dardanelles : but it wou'd ultimately be favorable to England by engaging Russia to act with vigor against all the undertakings of France. If however Nelson overtakes them I expect a profitable victory & this wou'd seem to be certain if the French are not acting in concert with the Turks.

Our accounts from Ireland are to the first week in June & are affecting—if the Govt. succeeds however in fully suppressing the Insurrection as is expected no one can doubt that the power of G. B. will be greater than before ; the anxieties about Ireland will cease & the Royal army there will form a new security against the French.

I saw the *P* last week at Quincy, he is extremely dissatisfied, (I think), with Gerry ; he maintains however that he can do no harm now, but he supposes the Directory will try new artifices to restore their party here. I think Congress will be called together early in November *if anything occurs to render it expedient.* You will see that they have not done enough altho' they have done many good things. We are still tainted with Jacobinism in various parts of the U. S. but the majority of Antijacobins is certainly very great on the whole & I think we are in less danger than we have been these 5 years,—among the military arrangements you see Hamilton is named first after Washington, but several sorts of people are endeavoring to establish the opinion that Knox and others cannot serve unless their rank is above Hamilton's, because Hamilton's rank in a former war was below theirs. I hope that Mr Pinckney will not be ensnared by those fallacious plausibilities which have been successful (as I am told) with Knox ; the Country needs all the aid of H's talents & I trust will have it.

I know nothing of Mr. Pitt's scheme but what I infer from the remarks in your letter, we ought to make liberal allowances for the extraordinary circumstances in which G. B. is placed, but it will be unfortunate for us & perhaps for her, if she is obliged to adopt any measures which will furnish new food to the french

Partisans in the U. S. Some of the great men about you still entertain the belief that an Invasion is to be attempted ; I have often wished it but never for a single moment cou'd believe it. It must certainly give you great pleasure to know that we are earnest in equipping a little navy & that we shall soon have 50 vessels of all sizes—say from 10 to 44 guns. You will be equally glad to hear that our Interdict of french trade has already produced very uneasy sensations among the West India Cutthroats & I think if we are steady & G. B. cooperate with us, in less than a year the trade of the Enemy Colonies may pass into the hands of G. B. & the U. S. ; but this I think shou'd not be admitted unless those Colonies throw off the Jacobin Yoke.

Notwithstanding almost all Europe is enslaved by France yet to me it appears that France is on the decline—I hope the time so often mentioned by the Clergy is at hand when the wrath of man having praised the Lord *the remainder of it he will restrain.* A line from Gunn lately informed me that the Georgians were federal & other information corroborates his—the bold and patriotic language of P. Adams has done infinite service among the people.

G. C.

CHAPTER XXVI.

King to Secretary of State relative to Negotiations between England and Holland—To Lord Grenville on Talleyrand's Proposals to Gerry and Lord Grenville's Answer—Also Application for the Use of certain Cannon given by George II. to South Carolina and then in Halifax—Yellow Fever in Philadelphia—Apprehended Difficulty with Commissioners under sixth Article—Military Appointments—Hamilton and Knox—King to Secretary of State—French Perfidy and Outrage—Also his Satisfaction with the decided Measures against France—State of Europe—Landing of French Troops in Ireland—Ignorance of the Destination of French Fleet from Toulon—On the Eve of a Recommencement of the War on the Continent—Irish Rebellion—Dr. Logan in Paris—King complains to Lord Grenville of Proceedings of English High Court of Admiralty in the Matter of Captures—Pickering's Opinion of Gerry—Correspondence about Muskets—King to Hamilton—Military Appointments—Pickering on the same—King says the Conduct of the President and of America wise and approved in England—Circular to Consuls as to Commissions to armed American Vessels.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 94.*

Secret and Confidential.

London, August 20, 1798.

Dear Sir :

Mr. Murray has on several occasions *informed me that dispositions and views existed among certain influential persons in power in the country where he is, to throw off the odious dominion of France : the object of these communications has been to procure from England assurances of support on certain points, and relaxation in the rigour with which the war is carried on, particularly against the Dutch Fisheries.*

These communications have always been so loose, informal, and imperfect that I have, on his account as well as others, felt considerable embarrassment *in permitting myself to be drawn into an affair, the*

* In cipher.

real character whereof I was so little able to appreciate. So far as I could give precision *to the principal wishes of these persons, they desire an assurance from England that she would discard the Prince of Orange, co-operate with them to extricate themselves from France and assist them in establishing a Government which should exclude the Stadtholderate.*

After considerable hesitation I took an occasion to mention the subject *with frankness*, disclosing at the same time all my own *doubts to Lord Grenville.* He treated it, as I have been accustomed to find him treat all other subjects, *with candour and good sense;* the result of the conference was *a Letter that I wrote to Mr. Murray, in which* without communicating *to him that I had conferred with this Government I observed to him, as of myself, that considering the State of Parties in Holland, it being certain that a very great body of the nation are still attached to the House of Orange, it seemed to me a difficult step to be taken by England, to give any such assurance as seemed to be desired;* but that I could venture with considerable confidence in my own opinion *to say, that there was nothing in the presumed sentiments of England, or in the past history of the two Countries, that forbids the expectation of a sincere and beneficial connexion and intercourse between them, should Holland again*, as heretofore she has done, *abolish the Stadtholderate.*

Upon the other point *I wrote a note to Lord Grenville* in which I communicated to him the representation *Mr. Murray had made to me, of the very great distress of the poor in consequence of the interruption of their Herring fishery, and of the humanity as well as Policy of some relaxation in the orders given to the English Cruisers* upon this subject, adding that I desired to be understood as giving no opinion of my own, nor as *soliciting any answer from the English Government;* my sole object, being the *bare communication of what I understood to be the wishes and sentiments of others. I informed Mr. Murray of what I had done, and that I should send to him such answer as I received; I have not received any, nor is it likely I shall.*

Mr. Wadsworth, who lately arrived here *from Holland, by the desire of Shimmelpennick*, related to me a conversation that passed between them, *which I thought it adviseable*, especially at the present moment *when according to appearances the war between France and Austria is about to recommence, to communicate to this Govern-*

ment. This was done at the conference which I gave you an account of in my No. 93.

My letter to Mr. Murray, a copy of which is annexed, was the fruit of our conference. I have thought it my duty to state this affair to you for the information of the President. It will naturally occur to you that Mr. Murray's safety may depend on secresy.*

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

MARGATE, Aug. 26, 1798.

MY LORD :

If your information is not so late, the inclosed Letter,† which I pray you to return to me, will communicate intelligence of some importance. Talleyrand with much earnestness urged Mr. Gerry to wait at Paris for Instructions, which he expressed his belief to be on their way, and which would remove all his scruples respecting his powers to treat separately with France. We see the explanation of this Scheme in a motion that has been made in the House of Representatives to address the President, requesting him to instruct Mr. Gerry to treat separately with France on the basis laid down in the Instructions originally given to him and his Colleagues.

The proposition was treated with great and uncommon marks of indignation and negatived by 51 against 30 voices.

R. K.

P.S. Are we to despair of Buonaparte's being intercepted by Nelson ?

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

MARGATE, Aug. 26, 1798.

MY LORD :

I take the liberty to send your Lordship inclosed the copy of a Letter that I have lately received from Colonel Pickering respecting a number of Iron Cannon said to have been given by the late King George the 2nd to the Province of South Carolina ; these

* See letter to him in cipher, August 13th.

† This letter is not among R. King's papers.—ED.

Cannon which are represented to be entirely useless at Halifax, would be of great service in the defence of Charleston.

If there should be no objection against their being received by South Carolina upon such terms as may be thought proper, I beg your Lordship's permission to suggest the expediency of a Duplicate of the Instructions that may be given to Governor Wentworth on this subject being delivered to me to be sent to Philadelphia, in order that the requisite measures may be taken to receive and transport the Cannon from Halifax to Charleston. As I think it of the greatest importance not to lose a moment in the execution of the orders that I have lately recived for a supply of Military Stores, I beg your Lordship to have the goodness to give me the earliest answer in your power to the application that a few days since I had the honor to make to you on this Subject.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

DROPMORE, Aug. 27, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I return you your letters with many thanks. The papers to-day give us General Washington's letter, which is I think extremely well written and calculated to produce the best effect. We have nothing about Bonaparte or Nelson, nor can we I think expect to hear yet, as the letters from Constantinople were of so very recent date.

The French are, thank God, a good deal too late in their Irish Expedition. Two months ago such a debarkation would have been matter of some uneasiness; now, I trust, it cannot but terminate more advantageously for us than if the thing had not taken place.

Ever, my dear sir, most truly yrs., G.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING. No. 26.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, TRENTON, Aug. 29, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The yellow fever has again driven us from Philadelphia; the public offices are removed to this place. The fever is more

malignant than in any former year; upwards of eighty persons, chiefly adults, died in the 48 hours from the 25th to the 27th inst. The poor are the principal sufferers; most of those who have the means have left and are still leaving the city. . . .

The President a few days after the adjournment of Congress (which was the middle of July) set out for Massachusetts, and will probably remain at Quincy till Autumn. Your numbers 69 and 71 were read by him; but no definitive opinion on the important question relative to the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners in London was formed. I am apprehensive of serious difficulties in the Board of Commissioners at Philadelphia; those on the part of Great Britain claiming a jurisdiction in cases which we conceive were never contemplated in the Treaty, and Mr. Guillemand concurs in these claims. The United States have been exposed to great disadvantage by the continued absence and sickness of Col. Innes; he is dead, and Samuel Sitgreaves Esquire is recently appointed to succeed him. Perhaps in my next I may have it in my power to state the principal points on which the British Commissioners insist; and if they persevere in their claims, probably the American Commissioners must stop the proceedings by a secession. . . .

Your account of the reception of the Instructions to and dispatches from our Envoys to the French Republic is highly gratifying; it was anticipated that their publication would do much good in Europe as well as in America. Here they produced their natural and obvious effect on all unprejudiced and unperverted minds. But you are too well acquainted with public Bodies to have expected, or rather to be surprised if there was not a very material change in the conduct of one side of the house. The constituents, however, of many members are proving and will prove that their opinions and feelings have not been justly represented in Congress. This, perhaps, will nowhere be more visible than in North Carolina. The prevailing sentiments of the Country are undoubtedly expressed correctly in the general spirit of the addresses to the President of the United States. . . .

Complaints against Judge Cambauld have continued. I am glad that orders for suppressing his court are at length to be sent out. . . .

T. PICKERING TO RUFUS KING.

Private.

TRENTON, Aug. 29th, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Some of the military appointments will please you. The public voice had declared the *Chief Command* ought to be conferred on Col. Hamilton. This was before it was imagined that General Washington, at his advanced age, would again take the field. Since this event he has designated Col. Hamilton to be Inspector General with the rank of Major General; then General Pinckney and next General Knox for Major Generals. I know that General Washington hesitated only between the two first, and that he had no question that General Knox should follow both the others. Yet General Knox to my surprise has more than hesitated to serve under Col. Hamilton; looking back to his rank in the American War, whereas the army now to be raised is to be a new one, and the nature of the impending war imperiously demands the advancement of the best talents wherever to be found, and whatever their grade in a former war. I am not, you may suppose, singular in my opinion; of all the members of Congress who spoke of the chief command in my hearing, not one ever mentioned the name of General Knox; and consequently, as they expected he would be called into service, they contemplated for him a station subordinate to Col. Hamilton. I believe, however, that some sort of compromise is proposed which will subject the question to a future decision.

I understand that Baron Steuben's case may be cited as a precedent in favor of Col. Hamilton. The Baron was appointed "Inspector General with the rank (and pay) of a Major General." The like words were used in the appointment of Col. Hamilton. The Baron it was decided should take rank as a Major General from the date of his appointment over the other Major Generals, who were subsequently appointed; and, consequently, as Col. Hamilton was first named on the List of Nominations, he must precede in rank all the other Major Generals named at the same time. I believe the Senate would have passed on his nomination and have adjourned to the next day, and then have decided on the rest, if they had suspected a serious question would have arisen between him and General Knox.

*You must know that the President wishes Knox to precede Hamilton whom he dislikes extremely, and whom he would have named first; but that the order of the names was designated by General Washington, who claimed as a condition of his accepting the Chief Command, the privilege of prosposing his principal officers.

Mr. Caro forwarded his letters from Falmouth; writing me that he was obliged to go immediately to South America. But I presume he advised you of this step.

R. KING TO JAMES MAURY, ESQ., LIVERPOOL.

MARGATE, Aug. 30, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

No Commissions have been sent to me for American Vessels, nor do I think it likely that any will be sent, it being my opinion that the delivery of these should always take place within the United States. I can have no hesitation in recommending to such of our Ships as are armed (and I request you to afford every suitable aid and encouragement to those who are inclined to arm), to defend themselves to the utmost of their power against the French cruizers.

Yrs. &c. RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 95.

MARGATE, Sep. 3, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Tazewell whom Mr. Gerry sent to me from Paris with a copy of the Correspondence between him and Talleyrand, informs me that no copy of it had been sent to you, so that should an accident happen to Mr. Gerry, or to his papers, you would be without information of what passed at Paris after the expulsion of General Pinckney and General Marshall.

This consideration has determined me to send you a copy of that delivered to me by Mr. Gerry's Secretary. I see nothing in these papers that ought in the least to change our opinions of the

* In cipher.

insidious views of France. The arreté of the Directory, and which their agents will represent as a concession of importance, will furnish a profitable job for those who shall be appointed to distribute the new commissions ; but so long as the Laws authorizing the capture of neutral property remain unrecalled (and so far from being revoked, they have since the date of the arreté been confirmed as you will perceive by a letter from Boulay Paly, member of the Council of 500, inserted in the Echo of the 26th ulto), it must be a matter of indifference to us whether our vessels are captured by Privateers with new or with old Commissions.

The pretence for this arreté is of a piece with the vindication of Talleyrand respecting X. Y. & Z, and the justice and sincerity of the Directory should be ascertained not by their words but by the following contemporaneous fact.

Hayley an American citizen, master of the American Ship Hare lying in the Port of London, laden with a rich Cargo, the property of an American, and bound to New York, went with my Passport from London to Paris, where in a personal interview, not with the Agents of the Minister of Marine, but with the *Minister himself*, he disclosed his plan of bringing the Ship Hare and her Cargo into France, and to enable him to receive the profits of the fraud without risquing the punishment of piracy, he demanded and received from the Minister of Marine a Commission naming him the Commander of a Privateer that did not exist ; with which in his Pocket he returned to London, and soon after carried the Ship Hare and her Cargo as a prize into France.

The Ship and Cargo were both claimed by the American Owners and upon the unveiling of this infamous proceeding before the lowest Tribunals, the judges hesitated and finally refused to sanction so unheard of a fraud ; tho' instead of restoring the property to its lawful owners they on some frivolous pretence adjudged both Ship and Cargo to be good prize to the Nation. Lately the Tribunal in the last resort, upon the appeal of Hayley, has reversed the judgment of the lower Court and decreed the Ship and Cargo to be condemned as good prize to the Renegade.

If a transaction more grossly corrupt and infamous has occurred in the West Indies, where I admit that the examples of fraud and violence have been sufficiently numerous under colour of authority from more than one nation, I have not heard of it ;

and yet with this case of unequalled infamy and corruption before them, sanctioned by the highest Tribunals of the Nation, the Directory expect to amuse us with the disavowal of the conduct of a few subaltern Agents in a remote part of their Dominions ! ! !

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 96.

MARGATE, Sept. 5, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I lately received your No. 20 ; the four or five immediately preceding missions have not yet come to hand. The Newspapers inform us that Congress has adjourned, and I have seen with the greatest satisfaction the military appointments that have been made and the other important measures which have been adopted by the President. If we have constancy and firmness to act upon our own Systems, which France by every possible intrigue will endeavour to disturb and defeat, we shall not only save our Country from the mischiefs that have been plotted against it, but we shall acquire a reputation in our own eyes, as well as in those of others, that will increase our security and in other respects prove highly advantageous in future times. It does not appear that the Law annulling our Treaties with France, or that extending the authorities of our public armed Ships to capture any French armed Vessels, were known at Paris on the 30th ulto. These measures with dismission of the French Consuls are of a character to bring to a speedy decision the questions between France and the United States.

If we do not within a few days hear of a Declaration of War against us, I shall conclude, what I am inclined to believe will be their choice, that they will wait for the effect of the Publication of the Correspondence between Mr Gerry and Mr Talleyrand and of their Vindication against the Report of our Envoys. The French Report that I send you by this opportunity contains several Paragraphs, which though not important, should not escape our notice. Duverne de Baisle, of whose mission I gave you an account in a former letter, drew up and delivered to the

Directory a plan to revolutionize Canada with certain portions of the United States, and there is reason to believe that his late mission to America is connected with this plan. We are still entirely ignorant notwithstanding the variety of Reports which continue to circulate concerning the real object and situation of Buonaparte. The accounts from Constantinople that a body of French forces had arrived at Alexandria are believed by this Government, but it has heard nothing from Nelson since he passed the Straits of Messina, nor is there any intelligence whether the troops landed at Alexandria are the main body or only an advanced Corps of Buonaparte's Army. At Paris there seems to be the same uncertainty respecting the situation of the two Fleets. The preparations for war are carried on with the greatest activity by both France and Austria. At Rastadt the Congress appears to be drawing to a close: the French Ministers have delivered their ultimatum and insist upon an immediate and decisive answer: the Deputation of the Empire seem inclined to yield, but the Emperor avoids a definitive answer. There are strong tokens of a spirit of Revolt throughout all Italy, and notwithstanding the late Offensive and Defensive Treaty between the French and Swiss Directories the Swiss are radically discontented, and under favorable auspices would almost unanimously rise to expel the armies of France.

On the 22nd. ulto. a body of French Troops, whose exact number is not yet ascertained, landed with a quantity of military stores at Killaloe in the Province of Connaught in Ireland: this force must be inconsiderable as they are supposed to have disembarked from only three frigates, who brought them from Bordeaux. It is now nearly a fortnight and we have no account that they are Prisoners.

A few days after landing they attacked a Corps of British Troops, whom they compelled to retire with the loss of six pieces of artillery. Lord Cornwallis has gone himself against them, and from the force that he has collected, unless they have been joined by large bodies of the malcontents, there can be no doubt that we shall hear of their total defeat by the next Messenger.

The impression that has been produced by this handful of Frenchmen, and the delay and caution with which they are approached, demonstrate that the Government has but little confi-

dence in Irish loyalty and that it is fortunate that this descent was not made eight weeks sooner. In what part of our Country would 1000 Enemy land and remain unconquered for a fortnight?

With perfect Esteem & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

P.S. I hear that many of our Vessels are changing their flags at Hamburgh and other Northern Ports for those of Denmark, Sweden and Prussia, and that the Masters put on shore and abandon their crews of American sailors!

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Copy.

MARGATE, Sept. 6, 1798.

MY LORD:

I have heretofore with much concern represented to your Lordship the great embarrassment and loss to which the American Commerce has been subjected in consequence of the dilatory and unsatisfactory proceedings of his Majesty's High Court of Admiralty.

The increasing infirmities of the Judge of this Court, and which from his advanced age there is little reason to believe will ever be mitigated, incapacitate him to discharge the Duties of his important office with the ability and dispatch that the undoubted rights and essential interests of neutral nations give them a title to expect and require.

It would be misplaced and altogether useless to enter into a discussion to prove what impartial justice and your Lordship's perfect knowledge of the subject will at once admit, that the right of the Belligerent Nations to capture and retain for adjudication the vessels of neutrals, is qualified and accompanied by a correspondent and perfect obligation to establish Tribunals, that with the least possible delay shall hear and determine all such cases of Capture.

Will it be requisite to proffer proofs which, in respect to the United States are unfortunately but too abundant, of the increas-

ing and ruinous delays to which our navigation and commerce continue to be exposed in the High Court of Admiralty. Property to a very great amount has been unreasonably detained for adjudication in that Court beyond the time requisite for that purpose ; new captures have in succession augmented this capital, and the claimants in cases ready to be heard, after waiting term after term and year after year, subjected to heavy expences, and the discontented witnesses of the cause of these delays have, in several instances, returned home despairing of the re-possession of property that they assert and believe an impartial Tribunal ought long since to have restored to them.

In cases of Capture that have appeared to me illegal, I have sometimes addressed myself to your Lordship for the purpose of obtaining their release. The usual answer to these applications has been that such cases were attended with circumstances which made it proper to subject them to a judicial examination. With confidence I appeal to your Lordship's justice and impartiality to decide how far this answer ought to be satisfactory when, without considering the growing infirmities of the Judge, but estimating the future progress of the Court, by its past proceedings, it cannot be doubted that years must elapse before such new cases would be in turn to be decided.

It will not be thought necessary in order to strengthen our just expectations on this subject to state to your Lordship the extraordinary losses to which in some instances the American Merchants have been liable by the derangement of their affairs in consequence of the capture and indefinite detention of their Ships and Cargoes. The mere capture of the property of a Neutral without those circumstances of aggravation coupled with the delay that notoriously exists in the Court, will, I flatter myself, be thought of sufficient importance to engage your Lordship's interference, which I earnestly hope may not be withheld in order, in such way as shall be found practicable, to remove the cause of these grievous delays, and thereby to afford to all parties the like motives of satisfaction with the dispatch and impartial justice of the Maritime Tribunals of England, as are universally admitted to exist in respect to the other Branches of the Judiciary.

With perfect consideration & Respect

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 97.

MARGATE, Sept. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

Herewith I have the honor to send you copies of my note * and Lord Grenville's answer respecting the Cannon said to have been given by George the Second to the Province of South Carolina, and which his Britannick Majesty has instructed his Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia to deliver to such American officers as shall be appointed to receive them for the service of the United States.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

Copy.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. King, and has the honor to inform him in answer to his note of the 26th ulto. that his Majesty has been graciously pleased to allow that the Cannon therein mentioned (as being at Halifax) should be lent for the service of the United States, on the condition of their being returned by that Government into the King's Stores at Halifax whenever the occasions of the public service may induce the British Government to make a requisition to that effect. The Lieutenant Governor of Nova Scotia will be instructed by the first mail to carry this arrangement into execution in concert with any Officer who may be appointed by the United States for that purpose.

DOWNING STREET, Sept. 8, 1798.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 98.

MARGATE, Sep. 13, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

It is within a few days of four months since the sailing of the expedition from Toulon, and strange as it will appear, we are still ignorant of the ultimate destination and views of Buonaparte.

* August 26, 1798.

Admiral Nelson after looking for him in vain thro' the Seas of the Levant returned with the English Fleet to Syracuse on the 22d of July, from whence, after forming a junction with the Portuguese Squadron which carries his force to 19 Sail of the Line, and revictualling his Fleet, has sailed again in search of the French. Whether with reason or otherwise, there is a disposition to cast blame upon the Admiralty for having sent Nelson into the Mediterranean without a sufficient Stock of Water and Provisions; the failure of which is said to have obliged him to return to Sicily. The rumour is that Buonaparte divided his fleet and landed part of his forces at Alexandria, and the other part at Alexandretta in Syria; that one body will proceed by the Red Sea and the other by the Persian Gulph, and that the French have a marine force under Richery in the Seas of the hither India superior to that of England, and sufficient to secure a passage for the French army to the Malabar Coast; but we have been amused with so many reports on this Subject which have turned out fabulous, that little credit is given to the new ones that continue to be circulated. All we certainly know is, that we know nothing certain of Buonaparte since he left Malta.

No intelligence has been received from Rastadt since the delivery of the French ultimatum. The latest accounts afford further proof of the discontents of Switzerland and that the Roman and Cisalpine Republics are threatened with new convulsions; in the former the Consuls have been suspended, and the controul of the nation taken into the hands of the French General at Rome who has lately suppressed a revolt in one of the Departments by the bloody extermination of the Inhabitants. In the Cisalpine Republic the division among the Patriots is so great that it seems probable that the Constitution will be laid aside, and the Government be confided to the French Commander in chief at Milan. The Grisons refuse to unite with the new Helvetic Republic, which finds few friends and supporters out of the large Towns. Some Swiss peasants who lately surprised and murdered four French soldiers, for which they were condemned to death, went boldly to their execution, glorying that they had shed the blood of their enemy, and calling upon their countrymen to imitate their example. These circumstances connected with the activity of the military preparations of France, Austria, Russia and Naples

leave little doubt that we are upon the eve of a recommencement of the War !

The Invasion of Ireland has ended in the Surrender of the Invaders * ; as yet we have no returns of their number nor of that of the Irish who joined them ; both are supposed to be inconsiderable. The Reports of the Secret Committees of the Irish Parliament which I send you, fully disclose the principles and views of the Leaders of the Rebellion. These are so conformable to those which have prevailed in France, so false and so utterly inconsistent with any practicable or settled form of Government, that I have taken occasion to express my wishes that the United States might not be selected as the Country to which any of the State Prisoners should be permitted to retire.

It is nearly a fortnight since I have received any accounts from Paris. Doctor Logan, it appears, has had an interview with Merlin, has been closeted by Talleyrand, and observes no reserve or decorum in reprobating the conduct of the President, which, if I may credit my information, he asserts is disapproved by a majority of the people, who are alarmed lest his measures should involve us in a war with France ! ! !

The manner in which the Directory answered the offer by Shimmelpennick of the Dutch mediation confirms my opinion that they entertain great hopes and expectations from the publication of the Correspondence between Talleyrand and Gerry, tho' I have again and again considered it, and can discover nothing that ought to change our opinion respecting their views and objects. I am unable to decide whether the offer proceeded spontaneously from the Dutch or was instigated by France ; the commercial interest of the former is sufficient to have engaged their exertions to prevent a war between us and France, which if it did not draw them in, would destroy the little remnant of their Commerce : on the other hand, many and unequivocal circumstances shew that seeing our union and firmness France is adverse to an open rupture ; there are even appearances that she meditates a revision of the Maritime Laws ; and the employment of the Dutch as mediators may be another means by which she may hope to avoid extremities and bring about a new negociation. But all these symptoms are antecedent to the knowledge that the

* See letter 96, Sept. 5, 1798.

Treaties were abolished, and that we know nothing from Paris since *this important fact* was known there.

With perfect respect and Esteem

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

Private.

TRENTON, Sept. 15, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Your letter (private) of Feby 7, expresses your opinion of Mr. Gerry as communicated to General Pinckney, an opinion in which all the public men whom I had heard speak of Mr. G. and I, from my acquaintance with him, were ready to concur. But General Pinckney in a letter to his brother of April 4th says : "I never met with a man *so destitute of candour and so full of deceit as Mr. Gerry**;" and Mr. Marshall is of his opinion. . . .

The Newspapers will have informed you of the extensive calamity of yellow fever, which has visited Philadelphia, New York, Wilmington in Delaware, New London, Boston and Portsmouth, N. Hampshire. It is more malignant and mortal than in any former year. . . .

Your faithful and obedt servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING.

Mr. Fenno, the printer, died yesterday or this day.—B. F. Bache died a few days before. Sept. 17. yesterday I was informed that Greenleaf of New York, the printer of the Argus, was also dead.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, Sep. 16, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have just received your letter of the 24 July—The military appointments [that letter contained the names of them—ED.] are on the whole excellent—with such leaders and a proper spirit in the country, I almost give myself up to a confidence that we shall be secure. I don't like, however, the divisions which continue to

* Italics in cipher.

prevail in New York and regret to see that you divide even between Hail Columbia ! and "*ça ira.*" At this rate we shall hear more of the party, and of the means which France possessed in America.

It is ten days or more since we have anything authentic from Paris respecting our affairs. The Americans, who, on the laying of the Embargo, were conducted to prison as prisoners of war, have been released and an Arreté of the Directory has ordered the Embargo to be raised, tho' we have no accounts that our vessels have in fact been allowed to sail. Logan is announced in the Paris papers as the Envoy of the Patriotic Party in America. He has met Merlin, to whom, it is said, he had letters from Jefferson, McKean and Mifflin—been closeted with Talleyrand, and meets the Party at Skipwith's.

Observe that we know nothing from Paris subsequent to it's being known there that the Treaties are abolished. It is plain that discovering our union and firmness, they intended to regain, if possible, the ground they had lost. They wd. have negotiated a Treaty which they would not, because they are really unable, have performed ! and I should add which they would not have executed, if they had been able. But the Treaties are dead and cannot be renewed ! the ground cannot be regained ; what, when they see this to be their situation, will be their conduct is matter of conjecture. I still believe they will not declare war, and think it probable that they will endeavour to reinstate themselves and their influence among us.

Nelson missed Buonaparte, who it seems has reached Egypt, tho' the accounts are obscure and even contradictory in regard to this fact. Nelson after revictualling his fleet, strengthened by the junction of a Portuguese Squadron has returned to the Levant in search of the French.

War is almost certain and on the eve of recommencing between Austria and France. Naples and Russia will in all probability act on the side of the Emperor. Russia will not reengage, and the German Empire will prefer, according to appearances, to be incorporated with France, rather than to be overrun by her armies, which she would be in case of war.

The invasion of Ireland has made a great noise, excited much alarm and required the presence of the Viceroy at the head of

20,000 men before the handful of invaders laid down their arms. This could not have been so if there had been more confidence in the army ! ! ! and the time and bustle that has been requisite to conquer the invaders reflect no credit on the zeal of the Br. Army.

Yrs. &c.

R. KING TO O. WOLCOTT, SEC. OF TREASURY.

MARGATE, Sep. 17, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

The Messrs. Baring will keep you advised of the progress they make in executing your order for Cannon. As the shipments will be made in different vessels I have instructed them not to insure ; and I now take notice of this circumstance for the double purpose of enabling you to make insurance, if you think it adviseable, and also to apprize you that I shall in no case order insurance to be made here without your special directions.

It is yet uncertain whether we shall be able to procure any considerable quantity of Muskets in this Country. I hope soon to be able to inform you whether we can obtain from the Government or the Manufacturers the quantity ordered in your letter of the 3rd of July : in the meantime I am completing the inquiries that for some time past I have been making in other quarters : being informed that there are about four thousand English Muskets for sale at Hamburgh, I have desired Mr. Pitcairn, our Consul there, to purchase them, if they are in good condition, uniform and can be had for the price that has been named to me.

In case of failure in England I have the prospect of being able to procure about 18,000 Muskets of German Fabrick at Hamburgh, from whence only we are likely to obtain them : in this case we must endeavor to ship them by the Convoys which are established between England & Hamburgh, and then to forward them with a Convoy from England to the United States.

With perfect respect and esteem

RUFUS KING.

R. King to A. Hamilton.*

London, September 17, 1798.

I am charmed with the military appointments. In the main they are quite what they should be. Such chiefs ought to give glory as well as security to their country, and they will do both if the occasions offer. You see that I relapse into my former strain. I know not what you and others, whose sentiments I respect, may think, but I must unsettle all that is best settled in my opinions of the character of the present extraordinary crisis, or I cannot agree that an unimpassioned, phlegmatic, cautious, inactive and merely defensive war, even under the highest toned and most vigorous form of government, is capable of affording a tolerable chance of security against such an adversary as France.

I do not entirely comprehend the views and proceedings of Congress, who appear to have done too much or not enough. But I have been too long acquainted with the temper and composition of that body, not to be able to conjecture the difficulties that arise from the vanities of some, and the obstinacy of others ; and which have given the appearance of inconsistency to their measures.

Congress has adjourned, and it is of the highest importance that we should form a correct opinion of the course that France is likely to pursue. It is plain, that discovering our union and firmness, France instantly decided upon her relinquishment of apologies and loans, and resolved to recede as far as should be necessary to regain her standing ; and if possible, her influence among our people. But she has no intention of doing us justice for the past, or performing what she might be induced to promise in respect to the future. The correspondence between Talleyrand and Gerry, inclusive of other extemporaneous and subsequent measures of the same character, should convince us of the justice of this opinion. Logan, who as we hear, was provided with letters from Jefferson and others, has been presented to Merlin as the envoy of the patriotic party in America. He has been closeted with Talleyrand and speaks openly of his success with the French government. Since his arrival at Paris, the American Seamen have been released, who, on the laying the embargo, were conducted to prison, and the Directory have ordered the embargo to be raised. The preamble of the Arrêt merits attention.

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 356.

"29 Thermidor. Le Directoire executif, considérant que malgré la manifestation hostile du gouvernement des Etats Unis, qui avait determiné un embargo momentané sur leurs batimens, il doit croire qu'à moins d'être livré aux passions du Cabinet Britannique, ce gouvernement fidêle aux intérêts de la *Nation Americaine*, prendra des mésures analogues aux dispositions pacifiques de la République Française dès qu' il recevra la confirmation, et voulant suivre les habitudes amicales et fraternelles de la France, envers un peuple dont elle a défendu la liberté, arrête ce quí suit, &c., &c." These proceedings should be compared with the treatment and language received by our envoys, and we shall from hence be able perhaps to fathom the views and discover the meaning of France. It is analogous to what has been done in other countries. Difficulties and embarrassments complained of by the proper agents of such countries have been aggravated and increased, and in order to divide the people from their government, promises of redress and satisfaction have been given to the popular agents of such countries, which had been refused to the envoys of their governments.

But we know nothing certain of the views of France since it has been known at Paris that our treaties are dissolved. The measures above referred to were of antecedent date. I still think they will not declare war, but endeavor to gain their object by humiliation and intrigue.

The war is on the eve of recommencing between France and Austria. Prussia will remain neuter: Germany will suffer herself to be incorporated with France in preference to being again at war with her. Naples will be engaged, and Russia, according to appearances, will also become active.

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.*

Private.

TRENTON, Sept. 18, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

In mine of the 29th of August I mentioned that General Washington claimed as a condition of his acceptance of the

* All in cipher.

chief command the privilege of proposing his principal officers. This was not correct. He agreed to serve with the reservation that he should have such principal officers in the line and staff as he could confide in. His advice was asked on this subject by the written instructions of the President to the Secretary of War, and the advice being formally given, with respect to the three first (for there is at present no dispute about others) it cannot be departed from without wounding General Washington's feelings, nor indeed consistently with good faith, especially as it was known to the President, that General W. had declared that he relied on the aid of Col. Hamilton, to whom he wrote explicitly that as to his (Genl. W's) friend General Knox whom he loved and esteemed, he ranked him after both Hamilton and Pinckney. This private letter was left open, and the Secretary of War submitted it to the President's perusal. In the face of all this General K. (to whom also General Washington has explained himself) demands the priority of rank, or he will not serve. This, though to be regretted, would be of comparatively little moment, were not the President disposed to admit his pretensions. But the reasons opposed to them and in favor of H. are so cogent and indeed irrefragable, and are now prepared to be laid before the President in all their force, I cannot believe but that he will be convinced, and make all predilection yield to the considerations of public welfare, in which, indeed, his own honor, reputation and influence are necessarily involved.

Your intimate friendship, esteem and respect for Col. H. and your regard for General K. will interest you in this matter ; altho' your first and great concern will be the influence of the President's final decision on the safety and welfare of your country. The result, I hope and trust, will be satisfactory. It must soon be known ; and I will embrace the conveyance to relieve your anxiety which I am sure cannot be less than my own. To you alone of all Americans in Europe have I, or shall I, touch on this subject ; for I know not of any one so intimately connected with *all* the characters in question ; or to whom it will be of so much consequence to communicate information that will be confined within very narrow bounds when at home.

T. P.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 99.

LONDON, Sept. 19, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I can give you no recent account of Buonaparte, except that it is now fully believed that he has landed in Egypt : the French Journals are silent respecting him, while those of Germany are filled with stories of his victories over the Beys of Egypt and the Arabs of the Desert.

The last mails agree with the more direct and recent intelligence from Paris, that we are on the eve of the commencement of the war between Austria and France. Logan has left Paris for Bordeaux on his return to America ; he is said to be charged with Dispatches from the French Government, tho' the Directory seems desirous that it should not be supposed that he has been particularly noticed, or that his visit at Paris has been connected with any political object. The Arreté for raising the Embargo on American Vessels in the Ports of France is dated on the 16th of August ; but I have not heard that our Ships have been permitted to depart ; tho' from the tenor of all our information, it is more and more plain that the Directory will endeavour to avoid an open rupture with America, and as far as possible to regain the former standing and influence of France among us.

How wise and magnanimous has been the conduct of the President ! how honorable to our Nation the support he has received from the people ! All the world is becoming inquisitive respecting America : foreigners do us the greatest justice, and those who dare not imitate, applaud and admire our example.

With perfect Respect & esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE CONSULS.

Circular.

LONDON, Sep. 20, 1798.

SIR :

Congress having authorized the capture of any French armed vessels within the jurisdictional limits of the United States or elsewhere on the high Seas, by private armed American Ships ; a

number of blank Commissions and Bonds, with copies of the Instructions prescribed by the President, have been sent to me by the Secretary of State, for the purpose of being delivered to such of our Merchant Vessels, as shall arm themselves within the ports of Great Britain ; applications for these Commissions may, for the present, be addressed to Samuel Williams Esq, our Consul in this city, and should be accompanied with proofs that the Ship is American property and a statement of her name and tonnage, the number of her Carriage Guns, the number of her men, the names and places of residence of her Captain and Lieutenant, and likewise the names and places of residence of her Owners : as these are presumed to be in the United States the Bonds which are required may be executed by their Agents or Consignees in this Country.

You will without delay communicate this information to the Masters of such American Vessels as are from time to time within your District ; but it does not appear to me requisite to give the subject any other publicity.

With great esteem &c. &c.

Rufus King.

CHAPTER XXVII.

King to Secy. of State and Hamilton on Opinions in France looking for a Renewal of Negotiations—Bingham reports State of Feeling in United States on the Publication of the Dispatches—Pickering gives an Account of Gerry's Arrival in England—Troup—Yellow Fever, its Severity, Causes, and Treatment—Military Appointments—Burr—Political Opinions—Contempt for Conduct of Talleyrand and Gerry—Failures in United States—King—Nelson's Victory—Supposed Purpose of Bonaparte to go to India—Condition of Affairs on the Continent—Lord Grenville on European Politics—Proposes Arrangement as to Duties on Sugar—Cabot draws a Picture of Affairs—Gerry has seen the President; talks prudently—Military Appointments—King to Secy. of State—Dissatisfaction with High Court of Admiralty—Correspondence with Lord Portland relative to the Irish Prisoners—To Wolcott—Difficulty in purchasing Arms—To Secy. of State, in Reference to the Proposition relative to Duties on Sugar—To T. Pinckney—Approves of the Abolition of Treaties with France—Gratified with the Attitude of United States.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 100.

London, Sep. 21, 1798.

Dear Sir:

. . . I this morning received the Paris paper to the 16th instant. "L'Ami des lois" of the 15th Fructidor (Sep. 1st) announces the arrival of a flag of truce at Bordeaux in 24 days from Philadelphia, and Poultier, the editor, asserts that she brings dispatches of the most satisfactory nature to the friends of peace. "Le parti Anglais (dit il) loin d'avoir pris decidément le dessus dans les E. U., est au contraire dejoué dans ses projets sanguinnaires, et la majorité du Congrès vaincue par les procédés généreuses du gouvernment de la *grande nation*, a réjeté tous les plans hostiles qui lui avaient été presentés par M. Adams. Elle a repoussé toutes mesures qui tendraient à troubler la bonne harmonie qui doit exister entre deux peuples amis; et après avoir manifesté

très clairement ses intentions à ce sujet, le Congrès s'est separé au milieu des Bénédictions d'un peuple qui sent tout le prix de son alliance avec la Republique Française, et qui avait deja donné en plusieurs occasions des preuves non-équivoques de son éloignement pour les actes de rupture projettés par *un fonctionnaire infidèle que l'opinion publique accuse d'être vendu au plus infâme de Gouvernemens.* En apprenant l'heureuse nouvelle que nous transmittons à nos lecteurs, nous n'avons pu nous défendre d'un sentiment d'admiration pour la conduite politique tenue dernièrement par le Directoire envers les E. U., conduite qui a opéré des changemens si avantageuses dans notre position vis-à-vis cette puissance, et qui doit nous concilier l'estime de tous les peuples."

It is probably known to you that Poultier's Journal, tho' not strictly official, is one that furnishes the means of conjecturing the Politicks of the Luxembourg. Paragraphs of the same tenor appear in the French papers of a later date, and, if what I suspect be true, before this reaches you, you will have received direct overtures for the renewal of negotiations. If the views of the Directory could be doubted by any one who has impartially observed them, the distinction which continues to be made and kept up between the Government and people of the United States, and the base insinuations of Poultier concerning the President should increase the caution with which we meet the overture of a Nation from whose acts alone we have anything to fear. I persuade myself, if the President renews the negotiation, that he will perceive not only that his own character, so justly precious to his country, but what is dearer to him, that the Constitution and safety of the Country itself, will require a total exclusion of every suspected individual from a share in the negotiation. This is a subject too important not to merit the most profound reflections ; it is one that conceals our only real danger ; there are obvious reasons why it is neither adviseable nor necessary that the Topic should be more than hinted at by me.

The French papers of the 16th inst. contain an account that Buonaparte landed with his army at Alexandria on the 1st of July, and after concluding a Treaty of friendship with the Beys and Arabian Chiefs entered Grand Cairo on the 22d from whence he immediately pursued his march. The same papers announce the receit of Letters from Malta, which state that the English Fleet

had given battle to that of France, which was found at anchor on the coast of Begnières, preparing to return to France : the battle is reported to have been fought with obstinacy and to have ended in a decisive victory by the English.

No dates are given, and the details are obscure ; the event is notwithstanding upon the whole highly probable : the Redacteur of the 16th says we learn *par une voie sure* that two ships part of the Toulon Fleet, have arrived in our ports, one of 80 Guns, commanded by rear-admiral Villeneuve is at Malta, the other of 74 Guns is at Corfu.

With Perfect Respect and Esteem, &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, September 23d, 1798.

You will have no war ! France will propose to renew the negotiation upon the basis laid down in the President's instructions to the envoys. At least so I conjecture.

If the negotiation is recommenced, the most obvious precaution suggests the expediency of confiding it to hands above all suspicion.

We see that we have nothing to fear from the arms of France ; all her skill and energy and resentment will nevertheless be employed to attain her ends.

A treaty, liberal in terms and stipulations, though neither should be performed nor observed, would gain time, and go a great way to restore her injured credit.

The election of President would return before the efficacy and sincerity of the new stipulations and engagements would be experimentally ascertained. To give them any chance of success, they must be liberal to the utmost bounds of our expectations.

Bonaparte reached Grand Cairo on the 22d of July, but we are quite ignorant whether he was opposed by the Beys. It does not appear yet whether he will remain some time in Egypt, in order to consolidate his conquest and authority over that country, or proceed immediately by the Red Sea for India. We are with-

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 359.

out details or confirmation of the victory which the French papers of the 15th and 16th instant state to have been gained over the French fleet by Nelson. The news is on the whole highly probable, and the victory has, according to these reports, been very decisive and glorious. The war is about to recommence.

Wm. Bingham to R. King.

Bellevue, Jersey Shore, Septem. 30th, 1798.

Dear Sir :

The publication of the Dispatches of our Commissioners, which, considering the Nature of them, must have excited some Surprize amongst the diplomatic People of Europe, had an astonishing Effect in creating a Spirit of determined Resistance to French Aggressions. The Friends of the Government have improved the Opportunity of cloathing the Executive with additional Energies.

Another good Consequence will be felt in our Elections, which will return a large Majority of federal Characters. The Result of that of No. Carolina has been very favorable. I hope the Impression will be durable ; but I have my Apprehensions with respect to many of our political Proselytes. I am confident that many of them possess a disorganizing Mind, & that in their Hearts there is still lurking a secret Attachment to the French Cause. But I hope the Government will be made sufficiently energetic to controul the Conduct of such Characters.

It is evident that the Policy of France will be to divide us & if she cannot create a formidable Party by her Intrigues, she will probably have Recourse to Arms, altho' at present she has too many objects of pressing Importance in Europe to attract her Attention, to attempt an Expedition in this Quarter.

Our Commercial People have suffered immensely by French Spoliations & the Country at large is undergoing a very considerable Change, from the scarcity of Money & the stagnation of Trade, which have effected a considerable fall in the Price of Labor & Provisions, as well as in the Value of all kinds of Property. The Fate of England will have a great Influence on the political Situation of this Country. I cannot but entertain very serious apprehensions, for the Result, when I see the preponderance that

France is daily acquiring on the Continent, & no Union of Force or Concert of Governments to oppose her ambitious Projects.

Her Aim is evidently to revolutionize Europe & she has made great Progress in her Views, when she has impressed a Terror, which operates like the Stroke of a Torpedo, & has benumbed all the Faculties of the European Powers. If she continues a little longer in her Career, she will have Europe at her Feet.

We are anxious to hear the ultimate Object of Buonaparte's Expedition. Malta was but a half way House. We suppose it to be India; but by what Route, or what Preparations have been made to effect it, is Matter of Conjecture.

I deprecate the Consequences of the Insurrection in Ireland; if successfull, as it regards England—if otherwise, as it regards this Country. In the latter Case, we shall have immense Emigrations of an ignorant & deluded Class of People, who will make a Merit of resisting every Government, they live under. I cannot see how we can shut our Doors against their admission. A late Law has rendered a longer Residence, necessary to Naturalization, but this will not prevent their seeking an Asylum here; altho' it will deprive them of the Power of influencing Elections.

You inquire if Ross will become Governor. I think & hope he will; all my Efforts will be exerted, to insure his Election. We shall certainly feel his Loss to the Senate; but, in critical Times, he may still be more usefull, as the chief Magistrate of this state; altho' I must confess that the Senate has not appreciated, in point of Talents, by the recent Changes, that have taken place.

You will hear with great pain the melancholy Accounts of the Situation in New York and Philadelphia, again scourged by the Introduction of an epidemic disorder of the most malignant Character. It has caused the Cities to be abandoned, & the Inhabitants to fly in every Direction, to seek an Asylum. You will readily judge the distress which must arise from so general a Derangement, independent of the Loss of so many valuable Citizens, who have fallen Victims to the Disorder. The Physicians are disputing whether it is contagious, infectious, or epidemic; or whether it is a local or imported Disease; they likewise differ about the Mode of treating it. However, if some effectual Means are not adopted to eradicate the Cause of these severe visitations,

the Cities on the Sea-Coast will be considerably depopulated, as the lower Class of People cannot support the Loss & Inconvenience, which arise from the necessity of such frequent Removals.

Yours &c.

WM. BINGHAM.

A. HAMILTON TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Oct. 2d, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

Mr. R. delivered me your letter of the 31 of July. The opinion in that and other of your letters concerning a very important point has been acted upon by me from the moment that it became unequivocal that we must have a decisive rupture with France. In some things my efforts succeeded, in others they were disappointed, in others I have had promises of conformity to lay the foundation of future proceeding, the performance and effect of which promises are not certainly known to me. The effect, indeed, cannot yet be known.

The public mind of this Country continues to progress in the right direction. That must influence favorably the present Congress at the ensuing session. The next will be in all appearances intrinsically better.

Of the executive I need say little; you know its excellent dispositions, its general character and the composition of its parts. You know also how widely different the *business* of Government is from the *speculation* of it, and the energy of the imagination, dealing in general propositions, from that of *execution* in *detail*.

There are causes from which delay and feebleness are experienced. But difficulties will be surmounted and I anticipate with you that this Country will ere long assume an attitude corresponding with its great destinies, majestic, efficient and operative of great things. A noble career lies before it.

Why does not Gouverneur Morris come home? His talents are wanted. Men like him do not superabound. Indeed I wish that you were here rather than where you are, though I think your position an important one at the existing juncture. But we want to infuse more abilities into the management of our internal affairs.

Governor Jay is well. He & all your friends continue to take a lively interest in whatever concerns you.

Adieu. Yrs. Affect.

A. H.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, Oct. 2d, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I sincerely wish this letter could be the messenger of goodness. The reverse is the case. Our city is in the deepest mourning! Since August last we have been again visited with the yellow fever and its ravages have been much more terrible than those of the fever of 1795. Our number of deaths to the 1st of this month exceed 1400. At least two thirds of our fellow citizens are now in the country. We have lost many, very many valuable men. . . . The weather is now getting cool and the fever is consequently beginning to abate. Nothing but frost—and a severe frost too—will restore us to our usual health. . . . For three weeks past the deaths have averaged 45 a day. . . . one day 58. I am in the house I formerly occupied in Broadway, and as my neighbourhood has been healthy, I have remained with my family in town. We have hitherto escaped. . . . Col. Hamilton, Mr. Church and their families have also remained in town, except for a few days past, when out of compliance with the pressing solicitations of Genl. Schuyler they took rooms a few miles out of town; but they have spent the greatest part of the time in town. . . .

The fever has prevailed more amongst the higher classes of citizens than it did in 1795. I do not mean by the term *higher classes* to convey an aristocratic idea. No, no. I only mean those citizens, whose means of living furnished them most amply with medical assistance and all other necessaries to subdue the force of the disease. . . . Philadelphia has been in a much more deplorable state. The fever broke out there before it made its appearance with us, and its devastations have been dreadful. It had not raged long before it was found to baffle all medical skill and all means to subdue its force, and limit its sphere of action. The result was that the inhabitants came to a general resolution

to abandon the city and seek safety in flight. . . . To make the flight more universal, a number of the principal physicians led the way. Rush, however, and others of inferior note to him, remained. It is thought that there are now about 7000 souls in Philadelphia. The deaths for more than a month past have averaged near 70 a day—some days last week they have exceeded 100. . . . All the public offices, both State and Continental, are removed; some to Germantown, others to Trenton and other places. All private business is at an end, and nothing but distress, deep distress, prevails in that quarter.

Our situation is not so calamitous, but is nevertheless very afflicting. Our courts are shut up; our trade totally stagnant, and we have little or no appearance of business. What little commercial business there is to do, is done on this street and on the north side of the City. Our Coffee House is now at the Tontine Hotel, a little above Trinity Church. There our Custom house is kept, and there the Insurance gentlemen meet. I go nowhere but from my house to the Battery and from thence back again. I call in once a day at Hamilton's, and we endeavour to fortify each other with philosophy to bear the ills we cannot cure. We meet with nothing of what our friend Lawrance, when in practice, used emphatically to term *touching*. We meet with no clients and of course with no fees. When that is the case, I need not tell you how deplorable must be the condition of society!

But New York and Philadelphia are not the only victims of the fever. It has also visited Wilmington, New London, Boston, and several other parts of the New England States. . . . We are as usual looking about for a cause. . . . Our last winter was uncommonly long and severe; and our last summer in heat and length has exceeded the memory of the oldest among us. In the midst of our heat, we had the longest heaviest shower ever remembered here; and this by filling cellars, choking drains, &c. put our whole mass of filth into a state of violent fermentation. The foul air arising from this source was increased by a large quantity of beef stored in different places in the neighbourhood of Burling Slip, and which bad packing and extreme heat rendered putrid. Hence the explosion was first made at Burling Slip, and its effects were quickly communicated to almost every other part of the city.

Our medical gentlemen have changed their treatment of the disorder with happy effects. The violent system of the lancet and mercury has given way to gentle cathartics and powerful sudorifics. A Mr. Underhill—a quaker—who is no physician, but a man of infinite humanity and attention to the *poor*, has cured hundreds with the use only of castor oil and sweating teas. Bard and several of our most eminent physicians are decided friends to the new remedies. We have lost fourteen medical gentlemen, amongst whom Dr. Varick, brother of the Mayor, young Dr. Hicks, Dr. Dingley, & Dr. Elihu H. Smith are the most conspicuous. Scarcely a single physician has escaped an attack, and several—such as Dr. Moore, Dr. Rodgers and Dr. Onderdonk—have worn themselves out and taken refuge in the country. Dr. Bard has been ill, but is recovered and will set off for his farm in Dutchess County. . . .

The President was driven by the fever and the heat of the weather from Philadelphia to his farm at Braintree, where he now is. His absence from the seat of government and the derangements occasioned by the fever, have prevented the celerity that was expected in the raising of our army. A fresh misfortune is likely to befal the army. The appointment of General Officers (saving in the rejection of W. S. Smith) was in conformity with a list made out by General Washington and by him transmitted to the President. Upon this list Hamilton stands as first Major General, with the additional appointment of Inspector General. General Washington's idea and the idea of several in the Senate was that Hamilton would be the second in command. This idea is very offensive to General Knox, also appointed one of the Major Generals. The President, it is confidently said, is inclined to favor Knox's pretensions, and I fear a misunderstanding will take place that may materially injure the public service. I hope an adjustment will be effected to the satisfaction of all parties. I know that it is a cause of very considerable anxiety to some of our best friends, and that it is particularly so to General Washington. If Hamilton should resign, he will resume his former station as aide-de-camp to Genl. Washington.

Col. Smith (I mean the President's son-in-law) was down on General Washington's list as adjutant General, with the rank of Brigadier General. There were but three votes in the Senate for

him, and of these was the vote of Lawrance. The objection against Smith I have never heard; we are left to conjecture. Some ascribe his rejection to the utter embarrassment of his affairs; others to his unsteady political course; the true cause I am as much a stranger to as others. I have reason to believe that the rejection made a deep and lasting impression on the President's mind. . . .

Our Legislature met on the 9th of August. . . . They granted 300,000 dollars for fortification &c. and *unanimously* agreed upon an address to the President on the conduct of France. The address upon the whole, considering that Burr was in the Assembly and much superior in talents to any of the opposite party, is better than I expected. It breathes a decided determination to support our sovereignty and independence against France, and expresses strong indignation at the treatment our Commissioners received. . . .

It is said with Confidence that Mr. Jay means to retire to private life, at the end of his current term of service which will be in July 1801. He is sick of the office, and he is a good deal complained of by many of those who supported him in his two first elections. Not half the zeal and energy formerly displayed for him manifested themselves in his favor in several parts of the State at the last election. There will be great embarrassment in the choice of his successor.

Burr still continues in our Assembly. His object cannot be precisely developed; some suppose it to be a state bankrupt law, in which he is said to be deeply interested. Others conceive that he has the government in view. It is certain that he has not discovered a desire to resume his station in the *Senate*. No doubt is entertained that after the publication of the dispatches from our Envoys to France, his conduct showed strong symptoms of a wish to change his ground. He was active and apparently zealous in our measures for defending our harbour: he was particularly courteous to Hamilton and some of the most intelligent of his party have gone so far as to say he certainly expected an appointment in the army. He began in a considerable degree to lose the confidence of some of his associates; and yet before the appointment of General Officers took place, and in the midst of conciliatory appearance, he became bail for the appearance of

Bourk, who was apprehended upon a warrant issued by Judge Hobart for a most infamous libel on the President. I understand Judge Hobart refused to take Burr alone, and that Burr then prevailed upon Col. Rutgers to join him in the recognizance. . . . It is determined to try the force of government in protecting the character and conduct of its officers from the ribaldry and abuse uttered against them in certain papers.

The fever has disposed of *Bache* of Philadelphia and Greenleaf of this city. Poor Fenno is also gone, and we have lost McLean who published our daily gazette. . . . On the whole we count with confidence that the next new Congress will yield a decided majority for honorable and strong measures against France. I am so well satisfied on this head that my mind is at perfect rest.

Madison seems to be in a tomb; we hear nothing of him. Jefferson on his return home from the last sitting of Congress, was indiscreet enough to accept of the honor of a public entertainment in Virginia on a *Sunday*. This fact has been trumpeted from one end of the continent to the other as an irrefragable proof of his contempt for the Christian religion and his devotion to the new religion of France. It has made an impression much to his prejudice in the Middle and Eastern States.

We have seen and read with the greatest contempt the correspondence between Talleyrand and Mr. Gerry relative to Messrs. X. Y. and Z. and with the same emotion we have also seen and read the concluding correspondence between Talleyrand and Mr. Gerry just before the departure of the latter from Paris on his return home. The public mind is now too much enlightened and too firmly fixed in the belief of French falsehood—perfidy—and corruption to give credit to any thing that comes from the democracy of its infamous agents. . . . No declaration made by the President has been more grateful to the feelings of our countrymen, and of course more popular, than the declaration that he never would send another minister to France until we were treated with respect and distinction due to a great, powerful and free nation. . . . I never reflect upon the recent Conduct of France towards us without an ejaculation to Heaven for its special favor in giving us cause to dissolve our

connexion with her. It was a connexion pregnant with the most destructive poison to our morals, our religion—and all those principles and maxims of government that tend to the preservation and increase of human happiness. I consider the Act of Congress which rescinded the treaties as a *new declaration* of our *freedom and independence;* and if my wishes were to be gratified the day on which the act finally passed would be celebrated as a great anniversary festival and honored with the highest testimonies of public joy.

I may be an enthusiast; but, my good friend, I really have such a horror of the French Revolution and the misery it has inflicted upon so great a portion of our species, that I think the Revolution we have just achieved is one of the choicest natural blessings that God in his Providence ever bestowed upon a people.

As to Mr. Gerry, I can say nothing honorable to him, or pleasing to you. De mortuis nil nisi bonum is a maxim as applicable to him as if he was in his grave. . . .

Do you know that Mr. Low has communicated to me your wish to purchase a farm on the North River in Dutchess County; and as I am better acquainted in that quarter than he is, I have undertaken to assist him in procuring information for you . . . but I have written myself into a headache. This pamphlet, for I can call it by no other name, goes by the packet.

Failures with us are still too prevalent. Horace and Seth Johnson just before the fever broke out failed for an immense amount. . . . Comfort Sands has taken his stand at Flatbush in King's County within the liberties of the gaol, where he means to stay. . . . Mr. Thomas the Lawyer in Philadelphia about three months ago, to the utter astonishment of the whole City, absconded after committing the most horrid forgeries and frauds that can be imagined. He in all probability would have been the federal candidate for Congress if he had maintained his former character . . .

Poor Morris remains in gaol. Judge Wilson lately died in North Carolina in the hands of the Sheriff—a victim to misfortune and liquor! Poor Duer in gaol likewise. . . . God help you.

ROB. TROUP.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING. No. 29.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, October 3, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

This morning I received your interesting Letters No. 87, 88, & 89, dated July 28, Aug. 1 and Aug. 5, and shall forward them by this evening's mail to the President, who continues at Quincy. Mr. Henry Rutledge forwarded you letters from New York, where he has arrived in the ship Factor, Capt. Kemp. He informs me that while he lay windbound at Portsmouth, Mr. Gerry arrived there in the Brigantine Sophia. He sailed from Havre on the 8th of August and reached Portsmouth Harbour on the 9th, pursued by a British rowboat, dispatched by the Commanding Officer at the Islands of St. Marcow, to speak the Sophia, as she came from Havre, according to custom in those seas. Mr. Gerry's fears having transformed this boat into one sent after him by the French Directory, insisted on Captain Geddes keeping out of its reach; and to escape the boat they tugged at the Brig's sweeps till she arrived at Portsmouth Harbour, where the boat also arrived two hours after her. Mr. Gerry expected to pursue his voyage in a day or two after the Factor left Portsmouth. Mr. Gerry assured Mr. Rutledge that the motive of his flight was the fear that the boat might have been dispatched after him by order of the French Government, for the purpose of bringing him back, and of committing him to the Temple, or of sending him a Prisoner to the West Indies; adding that after his conduct towards the French Government, he was sensible he had every thing to dread from their enmity. . . .

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 2.

LONDON, Oct. 3, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Nelson's victory off the Nile has been more glorious and decisive than any recorded in the annals of naval Powers; of thirteen ships of the line and four frigates which composed the French force eleven ships and two frigates remained on the scene of action: the details upon this subject and the comparison of the number and force of the two Squadrons, which you will find

in Nelson's dispatch are highly interesting and demonstrate the superiority of the English over the French in this species of war.

Buonaparte arrived at Alexandria three days after the English Fleet had left it. Alexandria was immediately taken possession of : a corps of 5000 troops were left there. Buonaparte with about 18000 men proceeded to Cairo, which he entered on the 22d of July ; the landing and progress of the French were resisted by the Mamelukes and Arabs, and tho' the contests were always unequal, there is reason to believe that the French suffered considerable loss.

Several advice Boats have been taken with Buonaparte's dispatches and a great number of private Letters, some of the latest written since the destruction of the Fleet ; they are all in a desponding stile, describing the difficulties as much greater than were expected, the army to be wasting with disease, and on every side harassed by the Arabs and country troops ; so little has been the success in revolutionizing the public opinion, and so active and hostile are the Egyptians that not even a letter can be sent from Cairo to Alexandria without an escort of 600 horse. The Porte, whom Buonaparte hoped to conciliate by declaring against the Beys and professing a deference for the Ottoman Power, issued a Declaration of War against France on the 2d of Sep., the immediate consequence of which was the sending of the French Chargé d'Affaires to the Seraglio Towers, and the arrest of all the French throughout the Turkish dominions and the sequestration of their Goods.

The ultimate object of Buonaparte is India ; but his complete establishment in Egypt was first to be accomplished. A Letter from the Commissary General complains of their want of provisions and particularly of wine or of some substitute, without which the waters and climate of Egypt will, in his opinion, destroy the army. Buonaparte himself is disappointed and dejected ; in a private Letter to a friend at Paris, he writes his despondency, expresses his intention to return to Paris this winter, and gives orders that his house should be kept prepared to receive him. Letters from Tallien to his wife, written after the Battle, which he saw, and of the disastrous issue of which he says he was about setting out to carry the news to Buonaparte, breathe the same re-

grets and disappointment. The French transports are in the harbour of Alexandria where they cannot be approached by the heavy ships, and at present Nelson has no Frigates or Gun Boats with him. He leaves a number of Ships off the Nile, and returns with the others to Sicily, which will hereafter be the rendezvous of the Fleet that England will maintain in the Mediterranean.

Russia has finally taken a decided part both by a liberal offer of assistance to Austria, and by the still more liberal step of actually sending a Fleet to Constantinople, and putting that and a Russian army, which is upon the Frontiers, under the orders of the Russian Ambassador to be employed on the requisition of the Porte for the defence of the Ottoman Territories. On the whole there is a great probability that the Expedition will totally fail and that the enemy will meet a fate as disastrous as that of the Fleet. The Declaration of the Porte and the disposition of Russia to enter into the war against France are important events, but the Councils of Vienna have become more wavering, as those of Russia have become more decided ; and should the French lower their tone a little more, or should the late Blow induce them to offer to the Emperor further acquisitions in Italy, it is by no means certain that Austria would not snatch at the bait ; tho' neither she nor Prussia can promise themselves security so long as France is mistress of such immense Territories as she at present possesses.

The Directory immediately after the news of the destruction of the Toulon fleet sent a Message to the Councils in which they demand more men and money to enable them to force Austria to conclude peace and to take vengeance of England : it is needless to add that these supplies were instantly decreed.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. The course of events has confirmed an opinion some time since given to you that Sweden and Denmark would make no effectual opposition to the maritime Plunder that their commerce suffers from the French Privateers. Two Swedish convoys laden with deals, iron and naval stores, consisting together of about forty sail of merchantmen under the protection of a National Frigate and Sloop of war, and bound to different ports of Spain, France and Italy have been stopped and sent into the

English Ports: the Swedish Envoy has demanded their release, asserting that the articles composing their Cargoes are not contraband according to the Treaties with England: this is denied on the part of England and the Ships are ordered to be unloaded.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

Private.

DROPMORE, Oct. 4, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I have not a great deal to add to what I last stated to you on the subject of Continental Politics. Russia has, as you may have seen, taken a decided part, both by liberal tender of assistance to Austria & by the still more liberal step of actually sending a fleet to Constantinople, & putting *that* & a Russian army (which is on the frontier) under the orders of the Russian Ambassador there, to be employed, on the requisition of the Porte, for the defence of the Ottoman territory.

We have taken several advice boats with Bonaparte's dispatches & a number of private letters, some of the latter written since the action off Alexandria. All are in a desponding stile describing difficulties much greater than were expected. The army is wasted by disease and continually harrassed by the country troops & the Arabs. Even a letter cannot be sent from Cairo to Alexandria without an escort of 600 horse. On the whole I really think that without being sanguine we may consider that business as over. The Porte declared war against France the 2d September.

The Councils of Austria are still wavering & irresolute, & if the insolence of the Directory is so far humbled by this last blow, as to induce them to hold out fresh lures to Vienna of acquisitions in Italy, I would not answer for it that the Austrians might not catch at the bait, tho' they see the hook it no longer conceals.

I have been desired to suggest to you an idea which might, it is conceived, be beneficial to both our Countries, in the essential article of raising supplies with as little pressure as possible on our own People. It is that by mutual agreement we should retain so much of our drawback on Sugars, & *you* charge the export

of that Article for foreign consumption with such duties, as would supply to both of us a considerable Revenue drawn from foreign Countries, on an article in which our two Nations have no competitors, nor are likely to have any. If you think any thing of this sort practicable, Mr. Pitt would I know be very happy to be allowed to converse with you upon it, & if possible, before this Mail goes out.

Ever, my dear Sir, most truly yours

G.

GEO. CABOT TO R. KING.

Oct. 6, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Dumourier's sketch has afforded me a good deal of pleasure for tho' his ideas of invading England partake of the pride, revelry, vanity & folly of all Frenchmen on that subject yet his picture of the other States of Europe is drawn skillfully & is instructive. We are aware of the danger you have ably described in your letter of the 4th of August & shall profit by your ideas. Altho' the elections in New York are bad we flatter ourselves with the expectation of some great reforms in other States. N Carolina has already gratified us & I expect *our* 3 Jacobiny votes will be reduced to 1, or probably annihilated—should the new Congress be well constituted as is now expected I presume the President will call them together in March if the present house shou'd persist in refusing any thing which the public welfare requires. Shou'd this happen the new house wou'd meet under impressions so favorable to strong & decisive measures that I think they wou'd do every thing that has that character & which cou'd be desired. It has proved unfortunate that Genl Marshall entertained the opinion that France wou'd declare war as soon as the Dispatches published here shou'd reach Paris. In no event ought they to declare war because it wou'd certainly help us without serving them, yet this opinion of Mr. Marshall damped the ardor of some, furnished excuses to others & satisfied a few of the best men that as it wou'd be advantageous to us that France shou'd take the odium & that she would do it, therefore we ought to forbear; however as we always got along as well by blunder-

ing measures as by those we denominate wise, let us hope that even this dangerous delay will be salutary.

Gerry is here—he arrived 6 days since & has visited the President at Quincy—we wait silently to see the part he will take—he has hitherto talked prudently *since his landing*—he approves the vigorous measures that have been adopted & says we must rally round our Govt. & yet it is impossible he shou'd not justify himself & therefore he must say that we might have had an adjustment of differences safe & honorable. If he says this he will renew the clamours of the factions & the hopes of the credulous. Great pains have been taken to guard the Community against plunging into new delusions & much more will be done; there will after all be a prevalence of folly, but I hope not so much as to ruin us.

As you have seen the military appointments, you naturally anticipate the heart burnings which are felt by K. at seeing H. placed where he ought to be. Some Jacobins who associate with K. have stimulated him to demand a Rank superior to H. & even Genl Lincoln has countenanced this demand; upon every principle the demand is unsupportable, but yet it has been listened to in a *place* where it may work mischief. I believe however K. having discover'd that he *might* fail altogether finally, has been prudent enough to say that "if Genl Pinckney wou'd serve in a Station subordinate to H. he wou'd." A perfect understanding of this subject was not to be expected in a moment & many who have not examined it have been led to suppose K. was right. I am satisfied however that he is totally wrong; he relies on a Resolve of the old Congress which provides that in case of election of several persons to similar offices on the same day a priority of Rank shou'd be allowed to those whose Rank was highest previous to the election—but this was a regulation for a *particular* description of offices; & there is in fact another Resolve *general* in its nature which provides that in Elections on the same day the *order* of the Elections shall determine the rank—this is common sense & has been consider'd as proper by the present Govt. It applies to all *New officers* & such certainly as are all who at the time of their appointment are *private citizens*—such were the men concerning whom the question is raised. Conversing with Mr. Liston on this subject he informed me that a

military man who shou'd *from any cause* be *un*officered in England wou'd not be able to avail himself of former rank if he shou'd again enter the service. Probably you may know from others more of this business, but I have said so much with a view to engage your interference with Genl Pinckney, if he is any where within your reach. Knox's objection being really unfounded it is probable Pinckney wou'd not adopt it, & therefore, if he is disposed, can easily smooth over the whole difficulty. For if he is unwilling to enter the service from any other motive he may satisfy Knox by saying to him that he acquiesces perfectly in the order of the appointments as regards himself & wou'd not decline the service but for other reasons—if indeed he serves as is universally desired all difficulty vanishes at once. I have interested myself in this affair because it threatens an embarrassment to the Administration which every good man desired to prevent—I have written *frankly* to the P. on the subject to put him on his guard,—it will be extraordinary indeed if these antiquated claims are to deprive the Country of its best resources.

My last letter from Gore is gloomy in the extreme but nothing has shaken my faith in the execution of the national covenant made with us by G. B. The obstacles have been too great & are ungraceful ; they are greater than I expected & if the business does not wind up well great discontent will grow out of it ; but I still confide in the weight of all those reasons which you are perfectly qualified to enforce, to satisfy the B. G. that a liberal conduct is the only true policy.

Yours truly,

C.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 3.

LONDON, Oct. 6, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

We have had great reason to be dissatisfied with the delays and caprice of the High Court of Admiralty ; these have lately encreased with the encreasing infirmities of the Judge.

You know that the tenure of this office is during good behaviour ; had it been otherwise, I am persuaded that he would long since have been removed ; for his incapacity has been notorious and the Government has received repeated Complaints

on this head from the Ministers of all the Neutral Nations. Learning that the Captors have lately become equally dissatisfied with the Claimants, and that their influence would co-operate with that of those whom a reform would provide for, I thought the occasion a favorable one to renew our Complaints upon this subject, which I accordingly did in a Letter to Lord Grenville, a copy of which is annexed.* The like step was adopted by the Danish Envoy and the Swede would have joined us, had he not been at the moment engaged in an unpleasant Correspondence respecting the Swedish Convoys that had been stopped and sent into the English Ports.

As yet we are uncertain of the effect; but there is considerable reason to expect an arrangement by which Sir William Scott will become the Successor of Sir James Marriot.

I likewise annex copies of a Letter that I lately wrote to the Duke of Portland,† and of his answer‡; though they are both Private Letters, I have not thought it proper to omit communicating them to you. There are occasions and this is one of them, of delicacy as well as of importance, and in which we can only act from our own view of what the public welfare appears to require; I flatter myself that in this instance it will not be thought either that my opinion was ill founded or that the step it gave rise to was impolitic. . . .

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO OLIVER WOLCOTT.

LONDON, 6 Oct., 1798.

DEAR SIR:

[The beginning of this letter relates to efforts made to carry out instructions for the purchase of cannon and muskets, and the difficulty in obtaining in England what were required at the time.]

Under these circumstances you will conclude that I have little or no prospect of procuring in this country the muskets we want.

* See Letter, Sept. 6, 1798.

† Sept. 13, 1798.

‡ Sept. 22, 1798.

I am assured however * *that in the event of an actual rupture with France, we shall instantly receive a part of what they may possess and that the supply shall be continued.*

I stated to Genl. Ross who conducts the business of the Ordnance Department during the absence of Lord Cornwallis, *that though the event to which he alluded had not in fact* arrived *we* thought *it so probable that it was* indispensable *on our part to prepare for it beforehand and in case we* could not obtain in England the supply of Muskets we want that we must turn our attention to the Continent, though we should experience many difficulties in procuring arms from thence, which when we have got them would be inferior to those of England. The General replied that they would give us all the information and aid in their power, and to enable us to escape the impositions to which we should be exposed in respect to the proof, that, if we would contract for their delivery and proof in England, they would prove them for us in like manner as for themselves. He added that tho' he had supposed from the late *Measures of France that they would avoid an open rupture with us and that therefore* we should not be in urgent want of arms, *still if upon his* return from Scotland, wh. would be in about three weeks, *I should* continue *to desire it that they would supply us with* five thousand Muskets from the *Tower.*

I have written to Pitcairn at Hamburgh to ascertain whether we can contract for ten or fifteen thousand muskets, and within what time they can be supply'd to be delivered and proved in England. . . . From all the enquiries I have made on this subject, I am induced to believe that there is no safety in the purchase of Muskets unless they have been regularly proved in some national establishment. I had a prospect of purchasing a quantity of Prussian arms which were to have been procured from the Prussian arsenals ; but the King of Prussia has very lately forbid the exportation of Muskets, in consequence of which a contract that had been made by this country for a supply of Prussian arms has failed. The Prussian arms are of the same caliber as the English, but they are heavy and much more so towards the muzzle than those of England on account of their cylindrical Ramrods ; but they are efficient arms. . . .

With great respect, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 4.

LONDON, Oct. 10, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

A few days since I received a message *from Mr. Pitt*,* desiring me to meet him for the purpose of conferring *upon a plan to be concocted between the American and British Governments for the purpose of encreasing their respective* revenues *by diminishing the* drawback *on Sugar* exported *to foreign markets. Mr. Pitt proposes that Great Britain should withhold a certain portion of the* drawback *on that article, and that the United States should impose an equivalent Export Duty upon it*, supposing, I presume, either *that we impose no Duty on its importation, or that it is less than the* portion *of the* Drawback *he has in view to detain.*

I have written a note *to Lord Grenville, through whom I received the* message, explaining *to him the present footing of this* branch *of our* commerce, *as well in respect to the* Duties and Drawbacks *as to the* course *of our* trade, the Ships employed in which *are not obliged to return with their cargoes to* the U. States *but are free to go, as they* sometimes do, *directly from the West Indies to a* foreign market, adding also *that Congress are* restrained *from imposing duties on Exports.*

I have at the same time expressed my want of facts sufficient to form an opinion how far *this branch of trade is so exclusively in the hands of Great Britain and the United States, as to* authorize *the measures* suggested *by Mr. Pitt, and* concluded *by* saying, *as I have no reason to doubt, that the American Government* will readily agree *to such commercial relations as may be* likely *to improve our revenues* and at the same time *benefit those of Great Britain; that I would* with pleasure at any time confer *with Mr. Pitt on* this or any other subject *having the same object in view.*

I have thought it adviseable *to communicate this overture*, tho' privately and informally *made, because exclusive of its particular object, it* appears *to me to be of some importance in assisting us to judge of the opinions of this Government respecting our* encreasing Commerce, *and of its views and wishes in regard to our future connection.*

Whatever may be our opinion concerning *this proposition, the*

* Italics in cipher.

high price at which Sugar is so universally consumed in Europe persuades me to believe that we can with ease and advantage, whenever we find it requisite, greatly encrease the Duty now imposed on that and a considerable number of other articles of general consumption. The restraint upon Congress relative to export Duties proceeded from, I then thought and still think, an ill founded opinion & jealousy respecting a Duty on the exportation of Tobacco. The diminution of the culture of this article in Europe, and the superior quality of that of America, give us in fact a monopoly in the Sale of it ; & without detriment to the Planters we might at least divide with the European Govts. the tax paid by the consumer.

The revenue obtained from the Consumption in Europe is a demonstration of this truth provided, as I believe to be the fact, that our Tobacco is without a rival.

With perfect Respect &c., &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THOS. PINCKNEY, ESQ.

LONDON, Oct. 12, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I have had the pleasure to receive your obliging Letter of [18th July, 1798]. We do not disagree in opinion upon what is the true policy of our country on the subject of foreign connection. France according to her convenience has violated the Treaties we made with her, and at length we have consented to their abolition : they are now dead, they cannot be revived, and my dearest hope is that we may never see their like with any nation ! Europe has reached her maturity, America has yet her race to run ; their relative importance and interests are therefore constantly changing, hence the policy that our Treaties should be occasional, particular, and not of long duration. Besides a nation of the first order may make and break treaties as suits the moment, but it is not so with those of a second rank ; these then should make only such treaties as they intend to observe themselves, and which they have reason to believe will be kept by others. It is one thing to release, and a different one to guaranty a title ; the former conduces to peace, the latter is fruitful in contention and

injustice. As our Titles are well settled, and as we are moreover able by ourselves to defend them, we want no guarantees, and wanting none are without the common motive to guaranty the Titles of others. Perhaps I go beyond you and too far upon this subject. If I could be persuaded to admit an exception to this Policy, it would not be in favor of any Power of Europe.

I have been gratifyd. as all real Americans must be by the firm and imposing attitude assumed by our Government : it has encreased our union and security at home, and as far as I am able to judge, has had the happiest influence in establishing and extending a high and well merited opinion of our wisdom and character abroad.

France has receded as we have advanced, but we shall deceive ourselves if we believe that she has relinquished her views. The fate of Switzerland, the history of which should be read by every American, is a dreadful lesson and should preserve us from the fatal error that hastened and disgraced her Fall.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

R. King to Duke of Portland on the third Article of the Treaty, relative to Fishery Privileges on Magdalen Islands, etc.—His Answer—J. Adams to R. King—Our Country unanimous and firm—R. King to Secretary of State—General Affairs in Europe—Brest Expedition—Conference with Mr. Pitt relative to Sugar, etc., and on commercial Regulations—Sir James Marriot resigned—To Secretary of State—On the Irish State Prisoners, Effect of Nelson's Victory—To Col. Pickering—Miranda Expedition—To A. Hamilton on the same—N. Webster to R. King—Effect of Publication of Envoys' Dispatches—Yellow Fever—R. King to Secretary of State—In Case of War with France England will share Muskets—Efforts to buy them in Hamburgh, etc., French Frigates on the Coast of Ireland—Secretary of State to R. King—Talleyrand's Declaration, "United States merited no more Consideration than Genoa or Geneva"—R. King to Hamilton—Continental and English Affairs—Lord Grenville on Affairs of Holland—R. King to Secretary of State—Union with Ireland will be proposed—Extension of Trade in the Mediterranean suggested—Also a Treaty with Russia.

R. King to the Duke of Portland.

Great Cumberland Place, Oct. 13, 1798.

My Lord:

By the Third Article of the Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain it is provided "that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbours and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as the same or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground."

The plain and amicable intention of this Provision appears to

be that this liberty should without interruption be enjoyed by the American fishermen until it should prove actually prejudicial, by interfering with the cultivation or pursuits of the Settlers and Inhabitants of the places to which according to the said Article the American fishermen have a right to resort.

Hitherto we have met with no impediments, but I am apprehensive that without your Grace's interference, we are likely soon to experience Embarrassments on this subject. A Letter that I have lately received from Isaac Coffin Esq., a copy of which I send enclosed to your Grace, gives us notice that he has or is about to, become, the proprietor of the Magdalen Islands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and though I have heard of no change in respect to their settlement, Mr. Coffin expects that our fishermen should apply not at these Islands, but at Halifax for licences to pursue the fishing in this quarter in the manner they have been accustomed to do. I am not acquainted with the soil of these Islands, and therefore cannot form an opinion how far they are valuable for the purposes of cultivation: that they have been known and neglected for nearly two centuries, affords a presumption that they are in this respect of little or no value; and their neighbourhood to Newfoundland precludes their being chosen as a new station for the establishment of the Fisheries.

The only motive then that seems likely to have influenced Mr. Coffin to become their proprietor, instead of being permitted to remain public property of use to the Fishermen of both nations, must have been the expectation of obtaining a revenue from the American fishermen, who shall continue to frequent them

How far these views will be found to correspond with the provisions that I have cited, is a question of considerable importance, and one that I can with great confidence submit to your Grace's consideration. If, as I flatter myself must be the case, your Grace shall agree with me in the construction to be given to the third article of the Treaty of Peace, I could hope that your Grace will deem it expedient to give such instructions upon the subject to his Majesty's Governor within whose jurisdiction these Islands may be situated, as shall prevent the misunderstanding that otherwise may be apprehended.

With perfect consideration &c

Rufus King.

J. Adams to R. King.

Quincy, Oct. 16, 1798.

Dear Sir :

The inclosed Letter from the Sec. of State I pray you to convey in safety and as soon as may be to Berlin.

I ought not to omit the opportunity to thank you for the Pamphlets you have sent me from time to time. They not only entertain and amuse me but I flatter myself are Useful. Our Country seems to be, as we used to say in 1775, unanimous & firm. They are much more so now than they were then. N. York and Pennsylvania, were always a little chancellants. But they will be kept tolerably steady. There are strong Pillars in both.

But, Watchman, what of the Night? Where is all tending? I am weary of conjectures. Will Princes ever be more wise, or People more temperate or United? or Aristocrats more willing to acknowledge a Superior?

With great Regard I have the Honor to be, sir, your most obedient

John Adams.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 5.

London, Oct. 16, 1798.

Dear Sir :

We are impatient to receive the Hamburgh Mail ; two are due, and according to the last I have, we may expect the result of the Congress at Rastadt. If the reports in the French papers are correct, the Empire is likely to make its peace and the Emperor to be again involved in the war. But the Cabinet of Vienna is so wavering and undecided that it is not easy to predict its final determination ; on the one hand, its preparations for war are increasing, and the movements of the French, particularly in Italy, such as indicate the greatest probability that Naples will speedily be attacked ; on the other the recent refusal of Austria to ratify the Convention lately signed by its minister at this Court for the reimbursement of the monies advanced by England before the Treaty of Campo Formio, pretending that its ratification at this moment might have a sinister influence upon its negotiation with France, added to the important circumstance of the Emperor's

having remained a quiet spectator of the overthrow of Switzerland, which opens his dominions to France, would incline me to conclude that Austria at least believes that she shall avoid the war and dispense with the future succours of England.

Russia is in the most zealous manner employing her influence to engage Austria in a new coalition, and has certainly come forward in the most liberal and decided manner to support the Porte. The revolution in the politicks of St. Petersburgh is among the unexampled events of these extraordinary times. England is of course gratified and as usual has engaged an eventual subsidy to Russia, of twelve hundred thousand pounds sterling. But unless Austria confederates, the Russians and Turks can do nothing against the Body of France.

Perhaps among conjectures this is as probable as any, the Emperor will continue to temporise, when France will either march against Naples, or without reserve attack Austria on the side of Switzerland. War abroad can alone prevent war at Home.

Portugal has again failed in an attempt to treat with France, through the mediation of Spain ; the Directory consented to receive another minister ; this was at first refused and at last agreed to, only upon the assurance of D'Azara, the Spanish Ambassador, that on the conclusion of the Treaty the customary and liberal presents should be made by Portugal. Noranha the new Portuguese Envoy had scarcely arrived at Paris before he received Passports and an order to leave the territories of the Republic. The real cause of the change may be conjectured but not known. The published one is that the Directory declined a Treaty on the former basis, and that Noranha had no powers to accede to the enlarged demands for money and territory in Guiana.

We have as yet no certain intelligence of the destination of the Brest expedition ; another small Squadron with troops is reported to have put to sea within a few days from Dunkirk, and the French papers mention the sailing of two or three frigates from Brest for the Windward Islands. They are said to have on board two agents of the Directory, one for Guadaloupe and the other for Cayenne. Several of the counties in Ireland continue to be infested with a daring banditti, who, from the fastnesses of the mountains, lay waste the neighbouring plains. The plan of uniting Ireland with Great Britain which was in agitation in the year 1792,

and laid aside on the breaking out of the war, has been lately resumed, and measures are at this time in train to carry it into effect. A million Sterling was in 1792 the estimate of the sum that would be necessary to accomplish this measure ; perhaps the same sum will still be sufficient as the late disturbances may have depreciated the Property in that Country, and none perhaps more than that of the revenue of the Boroughs.

I had yesterday a conference with *Mr. Pitt* * on the subject of my No. 4. He thinks the measure one that will prove beneficial to both countries, and that the objections that I have suggested may be got over. Facts are wanted and means are employed to collect and arrange them ; the concert must necessarily be temporary should it on consideration be approved by the Governments of the two Countries. *Coffee is an article* of equal importance *with Sugar*, and instructions have been sent to the British Consuls to collect information *of the quantity of these articles exported from* the countries where they severally reside, in order to assist in deciding how far this Trade is in our hands. I have, as you would suppose, said that I could conclude nothing, nor shall I do anything that would in the smallest degree compromit us ; but if the Subject should appear to the President to deserve attention, he will perhaps think it proper by the earliest opportunity that you should express to me his instructions respecting it.

After our conference on this subject had ended, I took occasion to express to *Mr. Pitt* the embarrassment to which several branches of our Trade to this Country are liable from the intricacy, the prohibitory clauses, and in several instances the rigour of their commercial Laws, and adverting to the relaxation that usually takes place during every war in their famous Navigation act, expressed a wish that the policy might become more and more clear of permitting England to become the Entrepôt of the Trade of foreign nations. He immediately interrupted me by saying he was in hopes that the next session would not pass over without the establishment of extensive and very important regulations on that subject ; and I hear it is in contemplation to make eight or ten free Ports in Great Britain where the Productions of all Nations may be brought and deposited, free of all duties except on such of them as shall be taken out for home consumption ; a

* Italics in cipher.

policy that beyond any other will serve to increase the wealth, and extend the Commerce of this Nation.

Our Conversation finished by *Mr. Pitt* declaring to me that their commerce during the last year had been more extensive and their ordinary revenues more productive than in any former year, and that the result as well in regard to the new, as to the old Taxes, disproved the assertions which had been made respecting the incapacity of the Nation to support the burthen it was obliged to bear, and joined to the prevailing unanimity and firmness of the Country, afforded him the fullest conviction that even alone England would be able to carry on the war as long as France may be inclined to pursue it.

I hear it has been decided to maintain a strong and superior naval force in the Mediterranean, a circumstance that I hope will be turned to profit by our Merchants, and particularly by those concerned in the Fisheries. It is believed that we should begin to indemnify ourselves for the numerous expenses of the Barbary Treaties.

Sir James Marriot has resigned and the probability is that Sir William Scott will be his successor. This is an event of great importance to us as well as to all others who have suffered by the caprice, inferiority and incapacity of the late Judge. . . . The long vacation, as it is called, being nearly over, I intend resuming with the Chancellor the Question respecting the Maryland Bank Stock. Russell's family has certainly been compensated and I really see no remaining objection to the claim.

With great respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

DUKE OF PORTLAND TO R. KING.

Copy.

WHITEHALL, Oct. 18, 1798.

SIR :

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 13th inst, with a copy of one which had been written to you by Mr. Coffin, stating that he is sole proprietor of the Magdalen Islands in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and that as the Treaty of Peace fully explains that it shall not be lawful for American fishermen to dry and cure their fish on those Islands without leave of the Proprie-

tor it will be necessary to apply at Halifax for licence from him or his agent for permission to resort to the said Islands.

It appears that a grant of the Islands in question has been made to Mr. Coffin ; but as such grant by no means implies the settlement of the said Islands, I will instruct his Majesty's Governor of Newfoundland, including the Magdalen Islands, to take particular care that no interruption is given to the liberty granted to the American fishermen by the 3d Article of the Treaty of Peace of 1783 between his Majesty and the United States of America to dry and cure fish in any of the Bays, Harbours & Creeks of the said Islands (amongst other places mentioned in the 3d Article) so long as the same shall remain unsettled.

I am, Sir, your most obt. Hble Servt.

PORTLAND.

RUFUS KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 6.

LONDON, Oct. 19, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . The newspapers continue to announce that preparations are making to send the Irish State Prisoners to the United States. I wrote another Letter to the Duke of Portland upon the subject, a copy of which is annexed & likewise a copy of his Grace's Letter to Lord Cornwallis,* that has been sent to me, & which will, I presume, relieve me from any further concern on that head. I also annex the copies of a Letter that I lately wrote to the Duke of Portland & his answer respecting a claim affecting our fisheries that had been notify'd to me by Captain Israel Coffin. Though I am not certain that our fishermen resort to the Magdalen Islands, or are in the practice of curing their fish abroad, I judged it desirable to resist this claim, and by no means to lose a moment in asserting the true construction of the Treaty of Peace concerning this important Branch of our National enterprize and industry. The answer of the Duke is satisfactory and may hereafter be an important document.

Though we are without particular account of the issue of the Battle, there is no doubt that the expedition that lately sailed from Brest was destined against Ireland, and that it has been met and defeated by the English squadron off the northwest angle of Ire-

* See Appendix IV.

land ; the battle, which was seen from the shore, took place on the 12th. The other expedition that was reported to have sailed from Dunkirk is said to have been driven into some of the Dutch Ports.

I understand it to be ascertained that all the Irish patriots who were some time since at Paris embarked with the Expedition from Brest. This defeat will therefore in all probability put an end for some time to further Schemes of Invasion.

According to the last news from the Mediterranean and Italy, the late victory of Nelson has had a very great influence in encouraging and confirming Hostilities against France. A revolt is said to have taken place in Malta, and I think it probable that the English will now endeavour to become Masters of that important Island.

A Paris paper of the 8th instant contains the following paragraph, "Les derniers lettres de Bordeaux assurent qu'il y est arrivé un courier extraordinaire porteur d'ordres pour remettre l'embargo sur les navires Américains. Voila donc la guerre inévitable avec ce peuple, du moins toutes nos correspondances coincident avec ce bruit."

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

Private.

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I am very much obliged to you for your private letter of the 29th of August. I had heard a rumour that General Knox was not pleased ; tho' I have no great reliance upon my own opinion in regard to questions of rank among military men, I should not have believed that General Knox would have made and persisted in an objection to Hamilton's being placed above him. I am however glad that the question is not likely to deprive us of General Knox's services. You are silent concerning *South America** ; I have again and again touched upon it ; I have wished to say much more, but I have not thought it prudent. As *England is*

* Italics in cipher.

ready she will furnish *a fleet and military stores and we should* furnish *the army ; a map of the country* that some time since I procured *is in the hands of the engraver ; the copies will be* delivered in *January.*

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, Oct. 20, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have received your letter of the 22. of August with an inclosure that has been delivered as directed—on that subject, things are here, as we could desire : there will be precisely such a cooperation as we wish the moment *we are* ready—The Secretary of State will shew you my communications on this subject, tho' I have not a word from him respecting it ; your outline corresponds with what has been suggested by me, and approved by this Government—fortunately some months past I obtained a fac simile of the latest Map of the Country—it has been now two Months in the Hands of an Engraver, who has engaged to deliver the Copies in January—This Government has considerable information respecting the interior, as well as concerning the condition and Dispositions of the Inhabitants, tho' I apprehend it is not of a recent date—What we know is favorable ; but if we are to be betrayed by France, the glorious opportunity will be lost—I am gratified in receiving your opinion of the good condition of our public affairs, but do not feel confident that we are as safe as you appear to think we are—It is fraud not force that I fear—A Paris Paper of the 8th instant which is the latest that takes any notice of the U. S. says, " Les derniers lettres de Bordeaux assurent qu'il y est arrivé un courier extraordinaire porteur d'ordres pour remettre l'embargo sur des navires Américains. Voila donc la guerre inévitable avec ce peuple ; du moins toutes nos correspondances coincident avec ce bruit. Yrs.

K.

P. S.

As I presume from your present connection with the Government that you are acquainted with all the information possessed

* *Hamilton Papers*, vol. xvi., p. 187, U. S. State Department.

by it * not say any thing to you upon * subjects that I should otherwise * of. Another reason, we have no * May be advantageous that we should establish one—Genl. Schuyler invented a most excellent cipher, and I wish you would send it to me by the Packet or other safe conveyance, preserving the counter part.

K.

N. Webster, Jr. to R. King.

New Haven, Nov. 1, 1798.

Sir :

. . . You must be well acquainted with the various measures and changes of public opinion in this country. From the time you left America till the publication of the dispatches from our Envoys in France, no change of consequence took place in the strength of parties. That publication had a great effect. There is no doubt that many real converts were made to the measures of our Govt. Other opposers were silent or became moderate or neutral. But a principal effect was the exhibition of the real force of our Govt. Men who had been active advocates of Govt. and others who were staunch, but inactive friends came forward with boldness and confidence, & pledged themselves to maintain Govt. The wisdom & the property are now enlisted & committed on the side of Govt.—a thing much wanted, in a country, whose Govt. rests on popular opinion.

The Elections, I conceive, do not exhibit the strength of the party on which France relied for aid in case of a serious Crisis. There are multitudes of men who vote for certain *leaders* in opposition from former friendships and confidence in *men* who will never enlist under a military commander to aid a foreign invader. France deceives herself if she relies on the elections for an estimate of her force in this country, farther than to aid a change in the administration. Indeed this may be all she intends or wants.

But it is confidently expected that the next Congress will show a more decided majority in favor of Govt. than the last. We are now apprehensive of the " diplomatic skill " of France in holding out apparently friendly offers, which shall ensnare our credulous

* Torn off.

fellow citizens. Agst. this we must guard night and day. Of our Executive, there is no danger; but you well know, Sir, the fascinating powers of French arts over weaker minds.

Our last advices from Europe show a troubled State of Nations. I apprehend after all a general change in the Govts. in Europe, unless perhaps the British Fleet should save the nation from the contagion. It appears to me that *democracy* is planted already in most of that part of the world and that no force whatever can exterminate it. Whatever may be the ultimate result, certain it is that during the struggle between the old and new systems, Europe must be a continual scene of convulsions and misery. Our distance may protect us, but great care must be taken here to prevent the effect of French principles. . . .

The dreadful pestilence which has scourged our cities, the summer past, is abating and business revives. New York will lose about 2000 of her citizens & Philada. twice that number. . . . The disease has this year been more mortal & contagious than before & has more frequently put on the form of Levant plague. It has demonstrated the fact that the plague is only the worst form of bilious fever. The received theories about the origin of the plague will all be overthrown by our experience. The notion that this disease is propagated by *specifc contagion* only, from the Levant into the northern part of Europe, is totally unfounded, and will soon be completely disproved. The Faculty of Europe have yet to learn that the great principle which causes the plague, or which gives the usual autumnal fevers the malignity of pestilence, is commonly diffused over a great part of the habitable globe at the *same time*, and shows its effects in Europe, Asia, Africa, & America in the same year or the same season. This I shall demonstrate in a work I am preparing for the press. In this, I want exceedingly the bills of mortality for Paris, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Osnaburg, Vienna, Berlin and some cities in the South of Europe, for a century or two past, (London bills I have) and I had thoughts of writing to the Royal Society to procure them thro' their influence; but I have omitted it, because the work is here called for & I must publish it, the winter coming. As soon as the work is out I will send you a copy.

With great respect, your obt. Servt.

N. Webster, Jr.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 7.

LONDON, Nov. 5, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

A Swiss lately arrived here from the Continent with an order from Talleyrand to procure and send to him all the English charts and Maps of the Bahama Islands in the Gulph of Mexico, Louisiana & of the United States. Some few maps of other countries were likewise inserted in the List and probably intended as blinds; the order has been executed by Faden. *Pitcairn** informs me by the last *Hamburgh* mail that Matthew Salmon, a Mulatto, formerly a St. Domingo Representative in the Convention, with his wife also a Mulatto and two other of the name of Villard and Collier, are on the point of embarking on board the Danish ship Minerva, Capt. Kramp, from *Hamburgh* to Charleston, S. Carolina. Salmon has large Dispatches from the French Directoire concealed in tubs (cases) with false bottoms; they have Passports from the Magistrates of *Hamburgh* as Swiss.

In the late conference *with Genl Rose who* conducts the business of *the Ordnance Department* in the absence *of Lord Cornwallis*, *he said that he* was *authorized to* inform me that in *the event of war between us and France*, *they* would instantly *divide with us the Muskets and other military stores in their possession*, and that *they* would moreover without a moment's delay *ship and send* the same *to us* in some of *their men of war;* that *they* were desirous of affording *us* immediately *the supply we* want, but that *their own demands* as well as those *of the Turks which they* were now obliged to *supply* to a considerable extent, added to the earnest importunities *from Portugal for arms* to assist *her* in defending *herself against the invasion* with which *she is* again *threatened*, put it out of *their power to supply us* with the quantity *we have requested; that they had* however concluded to deliver *us two or three thousand* immediately and to continue to deliver *us five hundred* at the beginning *of every month; that orders* to this effect would be immediately *given to the officers of the Tower* where *the arms would be* properly packed *in boxes* ready to be *shipped; the price* will be the same as that *paid* by the *ordnance.*

Pitcairn has contracted for *6000 Muskets*, a part of which are

* Italics in cipher.

already *shipped*, and the whole will probably be delivered in the course of *three months*. *The price* is lower than that *of England*, but I am very *fearful* they are not such as *we shall approve* though *we* have used every precaution *in order* to escape *imposition*.

I have a faint hope of obtaining a quantity *of Bavarian Muskets* which are not quite the *model* we should prefer; but *their caliber* is like that of the *English Muskets*, and they are moreover to be relied upon as effective *arms*, being all *proved* in the Prussian arsenals.

We continue to receive vague Rumours from the Continent of the surrender of the French to the Inhabitants of Malta, of the destruction of the Transports at Alexandria & of the Capitulation of Buonaparte. The late mail brings us nothing satisfactory or certain respecting the issue of the negotiations at Rastadt. The Emperor continues his military preparations and France inforces the new requisitions. We have no confirmation of the renewal of the Embargo on our ships in the French ports; but the capture of our ships by the French Privateers is frequent and without any perceptible discrimination in respect to their voyages or the nature of their cargoes. Some of these captures arrive in France, most of them are carried into Spain, and many of them are recaptured and brought into this Country. The last mail from Ireland brought intelligence of the appearance of several more French Frigates with troops in Killala Bay, which are said to have put to sea again on learning the Defeat of the Expedition from Brest. These Frigates are supposed to have come from Rochefort or Rochelle and to have been destined to reinforce the troops from Brest. They will with difficulty regain their own ports.

The Thetis, Capt. Cochran, has lately arrived from Halifax. I had some time before spoken to Lord Spencer respecting the discontents excited among our Merchants by the vexatious captures made by this officer upon our coasts & expressed a wish that he might be recalled. His Lordship on his arrival gave an immediate notice thereof, with an assurance that he should not return.

With perfect Respect and Esteem, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

T. Pickering to R. King. No. 32.

Department of State, November 7, 1798.

Dear Sir:

In your 92 you remind me of the advances you have made to Mr. La Fayette. The President has not yet returned from Massachusetts, but in his absence I express to you my opinion (in which the Secretary of the Treasury decidedly concurs) that you should stop your hand and make him no further advances. There is in fact, as Mr. Wolcott remarked, no appropriation to cover them. . . .

The arrêt for recalling the Commissioners of French Privateers in the West Indies is perfectly illusory, seeing all the Laws and arrêts to capture neutral vessels remain in full force. But you well know that their depredations on our commerce in the European seas, tho' not as numerous, have been as atrocious as those in the West Indies. Yet Mr. Gerry in his communications with Mr. Talleyrand adverted only to those in the West Indies, as tho' the ports of France and Spain were exempt from such monstrous violations of the Laws of Nations and of the most obvious princplies of Justice. This unfounded distinction by Mr. Gerry was the result of unpardonable ignorance or criminal complaisance. . . . Copies (of Mr. Gerry's dispatches) are preparing to be laid before Congress. This step will be necessary for two reasons; one to satisfy the public expectation, the other, to prove that all Talleyrand's overtures were inconsequential; and their main object to procrastinate, and in the mean time, by amicable tho' deceitful professions of an ardent desire of reconciliation, to lull us asleep, until the French should be at leisure to take vengeance for our daring to look "the Great Nation" in the face and to prosecute their original plan of subjugating the United States, as they have done Switzerland, Holland, &c. You will recollect that in some letter from General Pinckney when alone at Paris, he recited an expression of a Frenchman, who had been in America, "*That the United States merited no more consideration than Genoa or Geneva*": it was Mr. Talleyrand who made this declaration. We see what the French have done with these Republics, and our fate was to be similar; for according to Talleyrand our supposed divisions would render us equally weak and unable to resist. . . .

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, Nov. 9, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The same uncertainty exists respecting the recommencement of the war. Both Austria and Prussia are bolder than before the late naval success of this country; but the conduct of the Emperor is rather calculated to show that he may be purchased by further acquisitions in Italy. Naples will not decline a war. Her existence perhaps depends upon her provoking it.

The casus fœderis with Austria is a defensive war, but the Emperor has said that he should not be critical on that head. The news of the capitulation of Buonaparte and the destruction of the transports at Alexandria, is not confirmed, though they are events that must take place. The expeditions against Ireland are annihilated. Of the nine ships that sailed from Brest, seven, including the Hoche, are in the English ports; the two frigates that escaped from the Texel have both been taken; and of the three that sailed from Rochefort and appeared off Ireland soon after the defeat of the Brest squadron, two are said to be taken.

The Dutch frigates were probably bound to Demerara, though the soldiers were told they were to go to Ireland.

Parliament meets on the 20th. Mr. Pitt will have a good account to give of the extension of their commerce, and of the increase of the revenue. The assessed taxes, which have been shamefully evaded, will be given up, and a tax upon the income of the nation substituted. There will be great difficulties in the details, as well as strong prejudices to overcome, but I hear that the body of merchants in London are to support the plan. The late naval success has excited a high degree of animation throughout the nation: and the government will be generally and cordially supported in such measures as it shall adopt to prosecute the war. The funds have gone up to 57 per cent, which is a great rise, and in a short time. You will see that I have prevented the sending to you of about fifty Irish state prisoners, who were at the head of the rebellion in Ireland, and closely connected with the Directory at Paris. Probably our patriots will think my conduct presumptuous. In the present posture of our affairs, I

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 375.

could have no hesitation. We have an account that the Constellation, Capt. Truxton, has taken a French frigate on our coast. This news is brought by Capt. Cochrane, of the Thetis, who will not be permitted to return to the American station.

Yours very truly, &c.

P. S. The Hamburgh Mail, just arrived, informs us that very great resistance is made to the requisition of 200,000 men in Belgium; 12,000 young men are embodied, and the spirit of revolt extends itself every where. The scene is too near the army of the Rhine.

R. King to W. V. Murray.

London, Nov. 17, 1798.

Dear Sir:

To avoid any misunderstanding I put my letter of the 16th of August and yours of the 7th of September and 6th of October into the hands of *Lord Grenville*,* with a request that he would give me in writing what he should think proper to be said to you upon the subject. Annexed you have a copy of his Letter to me.

With sincere attachment &c.

Rufus King.

Lord Grenville to R. King.

Private. Copy.

Dropmore, Nov. 6, 1798.

My dear Sir:

I return you the two letters which you had the goodness to leave with me. I think I collect from them that the persons with whom *Mr. Murray has conversed** will not *treat with us* about the means of delivering *their Country from the yoke of France* unless *we* first agree that *the P. of O.* and the *Stadtholderate* should be *set aside.*

This condition *we consider* as wholly inadmissible as a *preliminary* to such a discussion, nor can *we* give the least expectation

* Italics in cipher.

that it would even be the result of it. *We* hold it to be impossible to *restore*, and still more to *maintain* the tranquillity *of that country* by the exclusion of the most *numerous party in it.*

The object *of England is what you* stated *to Mr. M.*, and what it has been for above a century : to see *in that Country* a rational, free and efficient Government, capable of providing for its domestic happiness and maintaining a real independence with respect *to all its neighbors.* The prosecution *of one party for the* past, or its exclusion, or that of the *other party* for the future are equally incompatible with these objects. Those persons whoever they may be who concur in this wish would find *in England a willing and a powerful assistance :* but there is nothing in the present relative state *of G. Britain and Holland*, which could tempt *us to* embark in any more limited *plan* at the risk of increasing instead of destroying the *internal* dissension *of that Country*, and thereby exposing *it to* become avowedly and permanently what *it is now in* substance, but for a time *only*, *a conquered Country* annexed to the present *Government of France.*

With many thanks *to you and to Mr. M.* for the trouble *you* have taken on this subject, Believe me, my dear Sir &c. &c.

Grenville, 36.

P. S. I need hardly repeat that if, on the *ground stated in this letter* and *in yours of 16th August*, there is any disposition to *open a discussion with us*, *our* disposition remains the same, and it would only be *for them to name the place and person where and thro whom they* would communicate. *We would* immediately give the necessary instructions *to a fit person on our part.*

Grenville.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 8.

LONDON, Nov. 10, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

The same uncertainty continues with respect to the recommencement of the war between Austria and France, and for nearly three weeks we are without any precise information from Paris. Naples will not decline the war, nay she appears inclined to provoke it. The casus fœderis with Austria is a defensive war, but the Emperor has lately given assurances that he shall not be critical on that point.

The Irish Expeditions have all failed and most of the French ships are prizes in the English ports. Parliament meets on the 20th ; the Nation is animated by the late victories at sea and the Government will receive a very general and cordial support.

There is no doubt that the Union with Ireland will be proposed and as there are thirty thousand English troops in that country, the measure will probably be carried into execution, tho' there will be much opposition.

There appears to be very great activity among the Merchants in preparing voyages for the Levant. The interruption of the supplies of rice from Egypt to Constantinople has created a great demand and sudden rise in the price of that and some other commodities in this market. I cannot but think the present a favorable moment not only for the extension of our trade in the * *Mediterranean, but for the conclusion of a commercial Treaty with the Porte. Speaking upon this subject to Lord Grenville, he assured me that we might* with confidence *rely upon their good offices and influence at Constantinople in any arrangements we may be inclined to make there.*

The Russian Envoy of his own accord yesterday observed to me that we have considerable trade in the *Baltic* and it appeared somewhat singular *that no direct intercourse or correspondence had ever* subsisted between *our two Governments. He added that they* stood well at this moment *with the Porte* with whom *we might have* an interest in making *a commercial Treaty, and that he had no reason to doubt that the Emperor* would be inclined *not only to form a commercial Treaty with us,* but moreover *to afford us his Influence in concluding one with the Porte.*

I answered that I could perceive considerable *advantage in a commercial Treaty with Russia* and that it would undoubtedly be an object of importance *to extend and establish our Trade in the Levant. He then* proposed *that we should take an early* opportunity of resuming this conversation, and concluded *by saying that by* writing to *our respective Governments,* if the measure should be found adviseable, *they might authorize the Treaty to be negotiated here.*

I have thought it best to report this conversation, tho' the subject is referred to another interview. *Count Woronzow is a man*

* Italics in cipher.

of good principles and of great honour ; I know not whether *this intimation proceeds from himself or* has been ordered *by his Government.* I shall not fail to send you the result of our next Conference.

With perfect Respect and esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

P. S. The mail that has just arrived from Hamburgh brings accounts of great opposition in various parts of France to the Requisition of 200,000 men. In Brabant 12,000 young men have embody'd themselves to resist the requisition and the spirit of revolt is hourly extending itself. But the army of the Lower Rhine is too near long to suffer this Defiance.—R. K.

CHAPTER XXIX.

R. Troup—Military Appointments—Reception of Gerry at Boston—Dr. Logan—Marshall—St. Croix Commission has settled the Line—Commissioners under sixth Article make Decision in Favor of Persons attainted during the Revolution—Cabot—Elections—Knox declines—Gerry approves the national Measures—Course of the President relative to him—R. King to Secy. of State—French Plans—Extravagant Arrété to treat as Pirates all Natives of Countries, Allies of France, found on Enemy's Vessels—Lord Grenville on this—England threatens Retaliation—R. King presses Claims for Maryland Stock—Treaty between England and Toussaint—To and from J. Jay relative to Supply of Arms—R. King to Secy. of State—Conversation with British Ministers on the Convention with Toussaint; its great Importance to the United States—R. King to T. Pickering—May call ourselves united—France looks to our Divisions—Count Rumford proposes to settle in America—R. King to W. Bingham—France encouraged by our Divisions, etc.—Dangers ahead great—W. Hindman to R. King—Federalism increasing—General Politics—W. Bingham—Irish Prisoners not desirable—General Politics—St. Domingo—Indian Medals—R. King to H. Dundas—Correspondence relative to Convention with St. Domingo—To Genl. Pinckney—United States should take the Lead in what affects the New World.

R. Troup to R. King.

New York, 16th Nov., 1798.

My dear Sir:

. . . Quitting the subject of farms, I proceed to give you a general sketch of our political state. . . . Genl. Pinckney & Mr. Gerry are both arrived, the former at this port and the latter at Boston. . . . No man can stand higher in public opinion than he (Genl. Pinckney) does. Saving General Washington, I believe the President, Pinckney and Marshall are the most popular characters now in our country. There is a certain something in the correspondence of Pinckney and Marshall (for Gerry seems

to be considered a blank) with Talleyrand that has united all heads and hearts in their eulogy. Pinckney is well pleased with his late appointment of Major General and has expressed great pleasure at the idea of serving under Hamilton. Knox, it is said, has resigned his appointment, and I have seen a surmise that his land operations have so embarrassed him as to make his entrance upon public life inconvenient. The President was doubtless favorable to Knox's pretensions against Hamilton. There is no cordiality on the part of the President to Hamilton. During the last election for President, Hamilton publickly gave out his wishes that Pinckney should be elected President. These wishes were communicated both privately and publickly to the President, and have occasioned, I suspect, more than a coolness on the part of the President. I blamed Hamilton at the time for making the declarations he did, and I foresaw that evil would arise from them. . . .

There is now a council of war at Philadelphia. General Washington is there attending it with all the Major Generals. The precise object is not known; but the public expectation is that vigorous measures will speedily be adopted and pursued to bring our army into the field.

Gerry upon his landing in Boston was said to have been received with three cheers: since which I have heard nothing of him except that the Boston papers announce that he detests the French—has a budget, which, when opened, will give additional and very strong proofs of French perfidy and corruption, and that he warmly approves of the measures lately adopted by our government.

The famous Dr. Logan, who is generally called Jefferson's Envoy Extraordinary, has lately arrived from France with despatches, as report announces, from the Directory to the Secretary of State. The same report also announces that he hastened to Trenton to deliver his despatches to the Secretary, who dismissed him with a flea in his ear. . . . It is asserted in the papers with the appearance of authority from the Secretary . . . that as to any overtures or propositions towards a negotiation there are none. . . . I do not think that a more rooted detestation of France exists in England, than prevails with a great mass of our fellow citizens. All the old prejudices instilled into our

minds by our ancestors, seem to be revived and to have acquired infinitely more force than they ever possessed. So let them remain till time shall cease to run his course.

Speaking of the elections to Congress Mr. T. says among other things, Marshall is certainly a candidate for the district in which he lives, and has published an answer to some questions addressed to him. He thinks the Alien and Sedition bills lately passed by Congress were unneccessary and that he should, if he had been in Congress at the time, have opposed them. On the subject of a Treaty with Great Britain he is, if we form one during the controversy with France, for confining it to objects connected wholly with the controversy and to end with it. He means, if elected, to vote for the repeal of the Alien and Sedition Bills. . . .

At a late circuit court of the U. States—Judge Paterson presiding, in Vermont, Lyons was indicted for printing—it seems he has set up a press there—a letter written by Joel Barlow to Baldwin of Georgia. The letter goes by the name of the Barlow letter. It is an infamous libel on our government and eulogy on that of France ; it was written last spring. Lyons after a very fair trial, was found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of 1000 dollars and suffer four months imprisonment. He is now in gaol. During the trial and afterwards he behaved like himself—like a fool and a blackguard. Mrs. Bache, the widow of the editor of the Aurora, considers him a martyr. This woman has renewed her husband's paper with as much virulence as was manifested by her husband. This also is the case with Greenleaf's widow. . .

17th Nov., 1798.

Benson has just returned from the Eastward, where he has been attending the St. Croix Commissioners. This line is at length settled. The Commissioners have unanimously decided against us and in favor of the pretensions of Great Britain.

The Commissioners for British Debts, it is said, have decided that debts due to persons attainted by our laws during the late Revolution, are to be paid on the ground that those debts have been prevented from being recovered by lawful impediments. A precedent of this kind has been set in the case of Dr. Inglis, now Bishop of Nova Scotia, and formerly an Episcopal Clergyman in this City. He is named in our Bill of attainder. I am not with-

out a suspicion that this precedent is not warranted by the Treaty. It will cut deeply—and I think will create not a little uneasiness. . . .

The Philadelphia papers announce that Dr. Logan has been to pay his respects to General Washington, and that he met with a very dry and contemptuous reception. . . .

Very truly yours

ROB. TROUP.

GEORGE CABOT TO R. KING.

Nov. 16, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I lament that while our Elections must be considered as the truest test of public opinion their evidence at the present juncture is so unfavorable. The result of ours is not wholly known but Varnum is rechosen & the declination of Isaac Packer will open the way for Dearborn. In the District where I reside a very great effort was made in favor of Heath & conducted with so much system and industry as gave me much uneasiness. It appeared evidently that a plan was formed to bring every jacobin to the poll without any previous alarm to the Federalists; these however were not wholly surprised & Otis was carried by 400 majority.

Genl. Knox declines serving in the army *unless he can be placed above Hamilton* where neither the Govt, the people, nor his own merits wou'd place him—a hope has been entertained that Genl Pinckney wou'd adopt similar opinions but far from every such idea he readily declared his satisfaction with the arrangement & his great pleasure in seeing Hamilton employed where his Genius & Talents fairly ranked him—this business is now adjusted & Knox's refusal is perhaps no injury, for his private embarrassments wou'd always have hung heavy about him & sunk him in the public estimation: I regret however that his feelings have stimulated him to speak of Hamilton privately as a man of insatiable ambition &c—

Gerry since his return has declared pretty explicitly his approbation of our National Measures & his desire to see them persisted in & supported. The President *appears* to think him a good patriot still & considers his errors as no greater than his

colleagues especially Pinckney's; this disposition in the P. to cover the follies & improprieties of his friend, threatens us with new & mischievous schisms. Gerry's conduct will be reprobated by the wise & the good if there shou'd be a discussion of the respective merits of the Envoys in the Newspapers or *elsewhere*. Already the P. in answering an address from the people of Machias has spoken of the errors of the Envoys as if they were common: a little more of this wou'd bring forward Pinckney & Marshal who can hardly vindicate themselves without criminating Gerry. Col. Pickering in his excellent answer to P. Johnson has used expressions which wound Gerry & the latter has written an explanatory letter to the President in which he treats Pickering with some little disrespect. This letter the Prest. forwarded to Pickering with his own, a request that, as it wou'd be some satisfaction to Gerry & cou'd do harm to no one, it might be inserted in some public print—but Pickering will not publish it & if it shou'd be published he will comment upon it & upon Gerry's conduct in a manner that will show his business in a strong light. Prudence forbids me to write all you wou'd wish to know & I hope you will learn nothing more on the subject for we need all our strength against the common Enemy & therefore must suffer no division: some pains are taken to prevent this matter from proceeding which I trust will be successful. With the purest principles of Morality & patriotism & a profound knowledge of the theory of Govt, the Prest. needs some faithful monitor to guard him against the delusions of his own heart, which tho' a very good one, its impulses shou'd not be followed without critical examination. Yours faithfully & affectly—

G. C.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 9.

LONDON, Nov. 16, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

We have Paris papers to the 11th instant. Notwithstanding the slavery of the Press, their papers contain curious articles which shew not only that the interior of France is in a state of considerable agitation but that the Directory think themselves on the eve of the renewal of the war. I was yesterday informed from a respectable quarter that Naples would certainly begin. The march

of the Austrians into the country of the Grisons is an important measure, and not likely to have happened unless the war had seemed inevitable. The annexed arrété would appear extravagant and incredible if it proceeded from any other authority ; but mankind is so accustomed to the violence and injustice of France, that we almost cease to express our surprize and indignation at the new instances she continues to display.

Some of the foreign ministers have urged this Government to make reprisals on the French Prisoners, and the measure is now under consideration. I have remained silent. Two of our citizens who commanded a French Privateer are prisoners here ; I have heard of no prosecution against them.

With perfect Esteem and Respect &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

DIRECTOIRE EXÉCUTIF
Arrété du 8 Brumaire, An. 7.

Le Directoire Exécutif sur le rapport du Ministre des Relations Extérieures, considérant que les Escadres, armemens en course et *Navires* de l'Angleterre et de la Russie sont en parti equipés par des individus étrangers.

Considérant que cette violation est un abus manifeste du droit des gens, et que les puissances de l'Europe n'ont pris aucune mésure pour le faire cesser,

Arrête.

Art. 1er. Tout individu natif ou origineux des pays amis alliés de la Republique Française ou neutres porteur d'une commission dérivée par les ennemis de France, ou faisant partie des Equipages, des batimens de *guerre et autres* ennemis, sera par ce seul fait déclaré pirate et traité comme tel sans qu'il puisse en aucun cas alleguer qu'il a été forcé par violence, ménaces ou autrement.

2. Les Directoires Exécutifs du Republique Batave, Ligurienne, Cisalpine et Romaine seront instruits de cette mésure.

3. Les dispositions contenues en l'article premier seront notifiées aux puissances neutres ou alliées de la Republique Française.

4. Le Ministre des Relations Extérieures est chargé de l'Exécution du présent arrété, qui sera imprimé au Bulletin des Lois.

Signé, THREILLARD,
Président.

R. KING TO WM. WICKHAM.

Private.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Nov. 23, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

From the character that Mr. Coke gives of Lynch, there can be no danger apprehended from his residence in America. The only objection to our consenting to his going there is that it will be an exception to a good Rule and may lead to other applications.

But under the circumstances of his case, and especially as Lord Cornwallis must see something in it, that discriminates it from others, I beg you to inform the Duke of Portland that I do not object to Lynch's being permitted to proceed to the United States of America.

With the most sincere esteem & Regard &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 10.

LONDON, Nov. 28, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Parliament met on the 20th. The King's speech manifests a decided resolution to persevere in the war, & the unanimity and zeal of the Nation will enable the Ministers to raise the supplies without difficulty. An early Loan will be negotiated, tho' it is understood that the plan of raising a considerable portion of the Supplies within the year will be persisted in.

The Directory enforces the new Levies, tho' they meet with considerable opposition, particularly in Brabant & the annexed territories. The Insurrection in Brabant has been very extensive, but the Insurgents will not be able to maintain the Contest. The accounts sometime since circulated of the burning of the Transports at Alexandria are discredited, and if, as there are some appearances of being the case, Buonaparte succeeds in conciliating any considerable bodies of the Inhabitants, he will be able to maintain himself a long time in that fruitful country.

Annexed I send you a copy of a Note from Lord Grenville respecting the French arrété transmitted to you with my number 9. A late French paper contains a second arrété, which suspends the execution of the first.

With perfect Esteem & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

Lord Grenville to R. King.

Copy.

Downing Street, November 27, 1798.

The undersigned, His Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has the honor of communicating to Mr. King Minister Plenipotentiary for the United States of America for the information of his Govt., that by a Decree published officially at Paris it appears to have been declared in the name of the French Directory, that every person being a native of, or originally belonging to neutral countries, or to such as are in amity & alliance with the French republic, who shall bear any Commission under His Majesty, or who shall form a part of the crews of British ships of war or other vessels, should on the proof of that fact alone, be considered and treated as a Pirate, and that it has been ordered that this Resolution shall be notified to the neutral powers and to those in alliance with France.

Even this Decree, contrary as it is to the usage of every civilized nation, cannot excite our surprize as proceeding from those in whose name it has been published. To the different powers who are thus insulted and whose innocent subjects are exposed to the most cruel treatment on the part of a Govt., professing friendship or alliance with them, His Majesty must leave it to adopt such measures as they will without doubt judge necessary in the case of an outrage hitherto unexampled in the History of the World.

The King however feels that protection is due from him to those who sail under his flag, either in his Majesty's ships of war, or in other British vessels. His Majesty has therefore not hesitated to direct it to be signified to the Commissary of French Prisoners in G. Britain that the first instance of the execution of this Decree shall be followed by the most rigorous retaliation against the French Prisoners, whom the fortune of War has already, or may hereafter place at the King's disposal.

It would certainly never be but with extreme reluctance that the King could yield to the painful necessity of subjecting any unfortunate individuals, to the fatal but inevitable effects of this atrocious Decree ; but His Majesty will have at least the satisfaction of feeling that nothing has been omitted on his part to prevent its execution ; that the authors of it can alone be considered responsible for all its guilt and all its consequences.

Grenville.

R. King to Lord Grenville.

Private.

Great Cumberland Place, Dec. 1, 1798.

My Lord:

I continue to be urged, and more frequently than I could have wished, have applied to your Lordship and others respecting the Maryland Bank Stock. The Lord Chancellor to whom I am much obliged for the politeness and favorable disposition with which he has uniformly attended to my repeated efforts to bring this business to a conclusion, must notwithstanding his habitual patience and good temper be fatigued with hearing, as I really am with devising, new expedients for that Purpose. I have therefore determined to relinquish a course that I have so assiduously tho' ineffectually followed, and will send to your Lordship a note referring to those heretofore presented, and requesting an answer whether the stock in question will without further delay be transferred to the State of Maryland. Previous however to the adoption of this step, availing myself of the freedom with which I am accustomed to treat every subject with your Lordship, I have thought it adviseable to write this private Letter to your Lordship, and not without the hope that, through your interference assisted by the good offices of the Lord Chancellor, the presentation of the note may become unnecessary.

I am the more encouraged to hope that this may be the case when I consider that since this Question has been depending before the Court of Chancery (the suit commenced in 1784) all the persons who opposed the transfer and who lost real estate by the American Revolution, including as well the Ewers, as the family of Russell, have been compensated for their losses by his Majesty's Government, and that all persons who have incurred losses by the non-payment or confiscation of American Debts, have a remedy before the Commission under the late Treaty now open at Philadelphia.

In truth, My Lord, there does not appear to exist any solid reason why this property should be longer withheld from its lawful owners; for according to my view of the Question, it belongs to the People of Maryland by the soundest and most solid of all titles, that of their having bought and paid for it.

With perfect Esteem & Respect &c &c.

Rufus King.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Private.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Dec. 1, 1798.

MY LORD:

The Newspapers speak in such positive terms of a Treaty concluded between General Maitland and Toussaint the negro Chief of St. Domingo, that I take the liberty to enquire of your Lordship, whether any engagement of the nature of that said to have been formed by General Maitland has actually been concluded. Your Lordship knows how materially we are concerned, at the present moment, in this Enquiry; and I flatter myself will on that account excuse what might otherwise seem a mere matter of Curiosity.

With most perfect Esteem and Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JOHN JAY.

LONDON, Dec. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I have had the honor to receive your Letter of the 30th of Sept., and am sorry that we shall not be able at present, nor for a considerable time to come, to obtain in this Country the supply of arms wanted by the State of New York. I have for some time had orders from the Government of the U. S. for a much larger quantity of Muskets than I shall be able to procure. The Manufacturers of this Country, tho' exclusively employ'd by the Government, not being able to supply its wants. So great indeed has been the Deficiency, that England has during the last year purchased and imported more than sixty thousand German Arms. I have purchased several thousand German Muskets at Hamburgh; they are made under the English model, are rather cheaper than those of England, but not as good. We can obtain Arms from no other part of Europe, and under these circumstances I will immediately write to Mr. Pitcairn, our Consul at Hamburgh, to engage the manufacturers whom we have employed to make and have ready to deliver at Hamburgh in the Spring Three thousand Muskets with Steel Ramrods & Bayonets. The Remittances may be made to me or to him as the State of the Exchange shall recommend. Perhaps it will be best to remit

directly to him as the Exchange between England and Hamburgh will be against the former if, as is not improbable, any of the Continental Powers are subsidized by this Country.

With the most perfect Respect and Esteem, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

JOHN JAY TO R. KING.

ALBANY, 30th Sept., 1798.

DEAR SIR:

A late Act of the Legislature of this State authorises me to purchase a further supply of arms, and the Money appropriated for that and other Purposes of Defence not being in the Treasury, I am empowered to borrow it. A Loan to the amount of two hundred thousand Dollars has been agreed to by the Bank of New York. The proportions in which this sum should be apply'd to the different objects of the Act have not yet been ascertained; I cannot therefore at present determine on the exact number of arms which should be purchased: but being certain that it will not be less than three thousand Muskets and Bayonets, I must request the favor of you to take early measures for causing that number to be made or purchased, so that they may be shipped in the Spring; a sufficient sum for the purpose shall be seasonably remitted to you. Knowing the confidence reposed by the Legislature on your Readiness to promote their views for the common good, I take the liberty of troubling you with this Business; it will I am persuaded be cheerfully undertaken and properly conducted.

With great Esteem & Regard &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN JAY.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 11.

LONDON, Dec. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

. . . No material occurrence relative to the recommencement of the war has happened since the date of my last Letter. The Austrians continue to strengthen their Posts on the frontiers of Switzerland, and the French to reinforce their Army in Italy. It is a long time since we have heard from Buonaparte; according to the Paris accounts he has conciliated large bodies of the

Inhabitants of the Country, is quietly establishing himself in Egypt, and will soon be in a condition to extend his conquests Where or how the united Squadrons of Turks and Russians are employed we know not. Nelson continues the blockade of Malta and the Expedition of six thousand men under General Stuart, that lately sailed from Gibraltar, is supposed to have gone against Minorca, a Position of importance to enable the English to maintain a naval superiority in the Mediterranean.

Lord Elgin, late Envoy at Berlin, is going as Ambassador to Constantinople, and Mr. Grenville, an elder brother of Lord Grenville, goes on a special Mission to Berlin and Vienna. The particular motives to be presented by Mr. Grenville to those Courts are not known, but the object is to influence them to unite in a new confederacy against the Enemy.

A Rumour having prevailed that previous to the *Evacuation of St. Domingo, General Maitland** concluded *a Treaty* with *Toussaint*, according to the provisions of which *a trade* is to be opened between *the English* and the Inhabitants *of that Island*, I wrote a note to *Lord Grenville*, in which after stating how much in the present Situation *of our* affairs, *we* are interested in the Inquiry, I desired to be informed whether any *such Treaty* had been made. *His L'dship* referred me to *Mr. Dundas*, by whose orders I was *shewn Genl. Maitland's Dispatches* and the *Convention* concluded *between him and Toussaint, a copy of which is annexed.* I asked if *Hadonville and Ragaud* were included in the *Convention*, and was answered in the negative. Did *General Maitland* consider *Toussaint as a French General*, or as the *Chief* of an *Independent State*, the measure might issue in the *Independence of St. Domingo ;* if *St. Domingo* is an *Independent State*, *we* as well as *you* may *trade* there ; *if a French Colony* with whom *you* have concluded *a truce*, *we* cannot consent *to supplies* being carried *there from the U. S.* which would nourish and increase *their Depredations on our Trade.* The Reply was, that the Subject was not *free of difficulty ;* that *General Maitland without* instruction *or authority* had concluded *the Convention ;* that *Toussaint had* the most influence and greatest authority *in the Island, and that* if *Hadonville & Ragaud* opposed *him he* would endeavour *to expel them ;* that *England* found the *Conquest* impracticable, and to prevent the *danger* to which *Fa-*

* Italics in cipher.

maica would be exposed *they* on the whole had thought it expedient *to ratify the Convention ;* that *St. Domingo* wd. be a *market for our provisions*, & that *Coll. Grant* was *going there* to superintend the *Execution of the Convention.*

I returned *from Mr. Dundas'* office *to Ld. Grenville*, with whom I conversed on this extraordinary measure, taking care to remind *his Ld.ship* * of what he had formerly remarked to me concerning a supposed inclination *on our part to encourage the Establishment of a Black Republic in St. Domingo.* I think I am not mistaken in supposing *that Lord Grenville does not approve of* what has been done, and that he sees *the pernicious effects*, which it will have *upon our Trade, as well as upon the future security of their own Colonies.* I have this evening only recd. *a copy of the Convention. If Toussaint's* authority enables *him* to carry it into execution, it will be a measure of vast importance & one pregnant with extensive consequences. I shall write a Letter to-morrow *to Mr. Dundas*, stating *the mischievous effects* that it is likely to have *upon our Trade ;* but as the mail will be dispatched to-morrow, I will not be able *to send you his reply.*

I have lately resumed the Maryland Business : I think I shall bring it to a conclusion—I hope a satisfactory one, but I dare not give any assurances that this will be the case. Under present circumstances I do not think it would be adviseable that the State should take any new or further step respecting it. . . .

With great Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

Private.

LONDON, Dec. 7, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I am extremely obliged to you for your private Letters of 29th Aug. 15 & 17 Sept. and 7th Nov., and was made quite happy in learning by the last that the point which gave you, as it did me, so much real anxiety had been definitely and satisfactorily settled. I certainly have my regrets in regard to a particular character ; but the public service would have been deeply affected had any other Decision taken place. If my respect and regard for Genl.

* See remarks of Lord Grenville, page 368 of this volume.

P. could have been encreased, they would have been by his noble and manly conduct on this critical occasion. He is a man of the highest honor and greatest virtue, and merits all that the esteem and gratitude of his Country can bestow upon him.

I am concerned to see the result of the Elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland, and am not without apprehensions that the late publications on the part of France have had a pernicious influence on public opinion; unless the next H. of R. are intrinsically better than the present, I shall feel a most serious alarm for the tranquillity of the country.

We may repeat it in a thousand addresses to the President that we are a united people; but France will look to the divisions of the H. of R., and from them take courage to persevere in her fixed determination to break down our Government and divide our Country.

*Mr Liston's** last Dispatch gave rather a gloomy picture of our affairs; he does the fullest justice to the Government and its views, but laments the activity and success of the Jacobins.

With great Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COL. PICKERING.

Private.

LONDON, Dec. 8, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

Count Rumford, late Sir Benjamin Thomson, whose name and history are probably known to you, and whose talents and services have produced the most beneficial Establishments and Reforms in Bavaria, was lately named by the Elector to be his Minister at this Court; on his arrival, he has been informed that, being a British Subject, it was contrary to usage to receive him and that therefore he could not be acknowledged. The intrigues and opposition against which he had for some years made head in Bavaria, probably made him desire the mission to England; the refusal that he has here met with, has decided him to return and settle in America. He proposes to establish himself at or near Cambridge; to live there in the character of a German Count, to renounce all political expectations and devote himself to literary

* Italics in cipher.

pursuits. His connections in this country are strictly literary, and his knowledge particularly in the military department may be of great use to us. The Count is well acquainted with, and has had much experience in the Establishment of Cannon founderies : that which he established in Bavaria is spoken of in very high terms, as well as certain improvements he has introduced in the mounting of flying artillery.

He possesses an extensive military Library, and assures me that he wishes nothing more than to be useful to our country. I make this communication by his desire and my wish is that he may be well received, as I am persuaded that his principles are good and his talents and information uncommonly extensive. It is possible that attempts may be made to misrepresent his political opinions ; from the Enquiry that I have made on this head, I am convinced that his political sentiments are correct.

Be good enough to communicate this to the President.

With great Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO W. BINGHAM.

LONDON, Dec. 8, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I have received your obliging Letter of the 30. of Sep., and am happy to have heard by accounts of a later date that the fever has nearly disappeared. Your Session began on Monday last, and we wait with great impatience to learn what are your sentiments on the subject of French affairs. The issue of the late Elections in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Maryland is not such as I had been led to expect, and would not I think have happened unless the late publications in favor of France had had an undue and unfavorable influence on the Public opinions.

It is in vain that we talk of national union, while so large and firm an opposition is seen in the H. of R. We deceive ourselves if we believe that the Directory believe us : they and their agents perfectly understand their Business, and by our Divisions are encouraged to persevere in their fixed Purpose to overthrow our Government and break up our Union : I respect your good sense and character too highly to express to you this opinion, did

I not most religiously entertain it; and unless the Senators and Representatives, with a majority of the People likewise believe and act with vigor upon this opinion, the Government and the Country are lost. No man is more deeply concerned than you are in the Security and Prosperity of the Country; no one is more able to form a correct Estimate of the dangers to which it is liable; I therefore hope that the Crisis has drawn your attention to the Subject, and because we have escaped many Perils by unforeseen means, that we shall not wholly depend on fortune to save us.

I wish I could send you good tidings from this quarter of the world; but I am more and more convinced that we must resolve to look to and depend upon ourselves, and not upon others for Security.

With sincere Regards &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

WM. HINDMAN TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 8th, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . Your Sentiments of the Directory & their persevering Designs against this Country are in perfect Unison with mine—the late great & glorious Victory obtained over their Fleet by Admiral Nelson, will I hope give Them a severe Check, & that the Turks & Arabs have e'er this given a good Account of Buonaparte & his Army. The Peace & Happiness of Mankind render this almost essential, as They can be viewed in no other Light than the Plunderers & Destroyers of the human Race.

I am extremely happy to inform you that there is already an Augmentation of Federalism in the next House of Representatives; the Elections of Virginia, Kentucky & Tennessee are not yet made. We have some hopes that the Federalists will increase there. We calculate the present H. of R. 56 Fœds. 50 Antis. The Gain in the next H. on the different Sides stands thus—Fœderalists 2 in Massachusetts, 6 in N. Carolina, 2 in S. Carolina 2 in Georgia—total 12, Antis. 2 in New York, say 3 in New Jersey, as there are 2 Fœds, and 1 Anti & 2 dubious there, & I always set down the uncertain Man against Me, 1 in Maryland. Total say 6—Majority in Favor of Fœds 6 which added to the

Majority of the present House makes 12—Should every Member from Virginia be in the Opposition, as there are now but 3 Fœds, there must at every Event be a Majority of 9 in the next H. of R. Giles has retired from Congress & gone into the State Legislature, no Doubt to do all the Mischief He can against the general Government. It is supposed the next Legislature of Virginia will change their Mode of Election, from District to the State at large, for the Purpose no Doubt of defeating Genl. Marshall, who has declared Himself a Candidate at the next Election.

I send You the President's Speech, which I hear the Antis affect to approve of ; if Sincere, our Session must be harmonious.

Genls Washington, Hamilton & Pinckney have been some Time, in Fixing upon proper Characters as Officers to our Army, which I understand has been a most difficult Business ; it is now nearly accomplished.

I presume You have heard that our Friend Sedgwick has given the strongest Evidence of true Patriotism, in having declined being chosen a Senator, & agreed to oppose Jacobin Skinner who now represents his District, in which He has been successful.—S. has not yet come on.

I am sorry to inform You that I was defeated at the last Election by Mr. Joshua Seney, who died shortly afterwards, occasioned by the Fatigue He must have undergone. A new Writ was immediately issued by our Executive to fill that vacancy, which I conceived they did without Authority. I did not again come forward—Mr. J. Nicholson an Anti was elected by a Majority of only 74 agt. a Mr. Goldsborough a good Fœderalist.

Yours sincerely

WM. HINDMAN.

WM. BINGHAM TO R. KING.

PHILADA., Decem. 8th, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I entirely agree with you in the Danger that may arise from the Emigration of so many Irish Insurgents to this Country, amongst whom it appears there are many professional Characters, who will be able to make an Impression on Society much greater than the common Class of disaffected Irish. They will join the party in opposition to the Government, & will vent their Resentments

against Great Britain, by attacking those who are disposed to be on friendly Terms with her. They will be discontented, & therefore disorganizing Characters, whose Residence amongst us cannot be otherwise than injurious, in the present Moment of political agitation.

Your Idea of the Views of the Directory, to divide the People & by such Means endanger our Government, are perfectly correct, & it has therefore been the unceasing Effort of its friends, by strong energetic Language to rouse the Pride & awaken the Spirit of the People, as well as to impress upon them a Sense of their Danger.

Their Measures have been attended with Success as you will observe by the Returns of the late Elections—three-fourths of the aggregate Representation of the three Southern States will be federal—a great change will probably take place in Virginia: Pennsylvania & New York have been very unfortunate, by deluding the People with the most glaring Falsehoods & Misrepresentations, but, on the whole, there will be a large Majority in favor of dignified Measures.

There will not be much essential Business done this Session. The Government will carry into more compleat Effect the Powers that have been entrusted to it, by an extension of the Naval & military Establishment, so as to be better prepared for War, or insure a more energetic, negotiation for Peace.

Much Clamor has been made about the Alien & Sedition Bill, & a vigorous Attack, in the Course of the Session, supported by all the Virginia Faction, will be made on it, in order to alarm the public Mind, & prepare the way for their Success, in the ensuing Election, in April next.

You will long since have known that General Maitland has withdrawn the British Forces from St. Domingo & left it in Possession of the Island Troops. Recent Accounts from that Quarter confidently assert that the black General Toussaint is about declaring the Island independent.

Whatever may be the Tendency of this bold measure, with respect to the Negro Property in the British Colonies, it cannot but result favorably for this Country, by the immense Supplies it will be required to furnish. The Eastern States will more particularly benefit therefrom. It is possible, that instead of the

Habits of Industry, to enable them to pay for the Articles they consume, they may have recourse to a System of Buccaneering; but there is little Probability of such an Arrangement.

Volney's Conduct is infamous. You will see by the Kentucky Resolves, that he might have spoken the Language of that Country; but probably of no other Part of the United States.

Yours &c.

WM. BINGHAM.

R. KING TO J. MCHENRY.

LONDON, Dec. 8, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

By the Ship Connecticut that will sail soon for Philadelphia, I shall send you a Box of Indian Medals, which will compleat the series; by another conveyance, the first good one that offers, I will send you the Dies, which I have ordered to be retouched. The Map of So. America, of which I have spoken to you, will be published in three or four weeks; when it is out I will send you a Copy, as it will be at least amusing to see something correct and authentic respecting this Terra incognita. I have been at great pains to collect the best maps of every Country, and have reason to think that my Collection is nearly as perfect as it can be made. It has occurred to me that your office should possess a like collection. I cannot at present tell you what it will cost, but if you desire one to be made, I will employ the same Person who has done so well for me.

Very sincerely yr. ob. St.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO HENRY DUNDAS.

Copy.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Dec. 8, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I am much obliged to you for the copy of the Convention concluded by Genl. Maitland with Toussaint. I have examined it with care and think I perceive that it will be productive of great mischief to the American Trade. France captures the ships of America with as little ceremony as tho' open war existed between

the two Nations, and St. Domingo is a Portion of her Dominions from whence our Commerce has been much harassed by her Cruizers. For the purpose of crippling her Privateers and in order to diminish her means of annoying us, we have prohibited all commercial Intercourse between our Territories and those of France, and refused to her the Supplies of various kinds which she has been accustomed to receive from us.

If the Fifth Article of this Convention is carry'd into execution, that Portion of St. Domingo which is under the dominion of Toussaint (including the Cape of St. Nicholas and Port-au-Prince) will be supplied under the protection of England with Provisions and other Articles, and thus nourished will be encouraged and enabled to increase and pursue the Depredations on our Trade.

This I am persuaded is entirely contrary to the views and intentions of the British Government, but such, in my apprehension, will be the effect of a ratification and execution of the Convention as it stands.

As the Convention was concluded without authority, it is free to the British Government to accept or reject it in toto, or to propose such additional articles as will make it as little injurious as possible to their friends.

If it shall not be deemed expedient to reject it altogether, is it not due to the amity and good understanding between the United States and Great Britain, that it should be amended by the addition of an article by which it shall be declared that no Privateer shall be fitted out or permitted to sail from any of the Ports under the dominion of Toussaint to cruise against the Vessels or Trade of the United States, and that no American Prize shall be received or sold in any such Port.

If such an article should, as I flatter myself it will, appear to you to be both just and expedient, Col. Grant may be instructed to make its addition and observance an indispensable condition of the Ratification and Execution of the Convention.

In the present interruption of our Trade in consequence of the Prohibition of our Ships to resort to the Ports of France, I am aware that Jealousies may be felt among our Merchants from the exclusive Commerce secured to Great Britain under this Convention ; and perhaps it might have been wished that under a

Truce with this Portion of the French Territories, a trade to it should likewise have been opened to every Nation not at war with Great Britain.

This however is a subject of inferior consideration to the Principal object of this Letter.

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

H. DUNDAS TO R. KING.

Copy.

DOWNING STREET, 9th Dec., 1798.

DEAR SIR:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of yesterday respecting the agreement entered into between Genl. Maitland & Genl. Toussaint L'Ouverture at St. Domingo.

This agreement as you are already informed was not entered into in consequence of any Instructions or under any authority Genl. Maitland received from this Country. The powers and directions given him from hence being exclusively confined to objects connected with our military situation in that Island; but the General upon a full consideration of that situation, having found it necessary to withdraw His Majesty's troops, and a suspension of hostilities having been proposed and entered into with the Enemy during the evacuation, the agreement in question appears principally to have arisen out of this armistice, and at the same time to have been in some degree connected with an expectation that the French General would be thereby induced to suffer the Inhabitants and natives who had taken an active part in favor of this country to remain in the Island without any molestation to their persons or Property, in consequence of their former conduct. The favorable report I have received of Genl. Toussaint's behaviour in this respect, and the hope I entertain that our giving effect to the agreement would become an additional encouragement to him to persevere in the same humane system, are the grounds on which I have recommended to His Majesty to send Col. Grant to St Domingo for this purpose.

Having stated to you the motives which appear to have actuated Genl. Maitland in forming this engagement and those which

have suggested to me the propriety of giving it effect, I have no hesitation to admit that as Genl. Maitland acceded to the same without any powers whatever from this Country so to do, Genl. Toussaint can have no right to complain of its ratification being made conditional to his binding himself not to suffer any Privateer to be fitted out, or to sail from any Ports under his Dominion to cruise against the vessels or trade of the United States, nor any American Prize to be received or sold in any such Ports ; and I shall not fail to direct Col. Grant to propose an additional Article to this Effect, and to inform Genl. Toussaint that unless it shall be accepted and strictly observed, he must not expect that the Convention can be ratified or executed by this Country.

As I cannot doubt the favorable light in which you view every measure that tends to maintain and improve the political and commercial relations existing between this Country and the United States, I derive a great satisfaction from this opportunity of convincing you how anxiously I feel, in common with every Department of His Majesty's Government, to pay all possible attention to every suggestion which coincides with your wishes and the friendly footing in which England and America now stand with respect to each other.

I have the honor to be &c, &c,

HENRY DUNDAS.

R. KING TO GENL. PINCKNEY.

LONDON, Dec. 10, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I have very great pleasure in congratulating you on your safe arrival ; it will be a further satisfaction to hear that the voyage did not prove injurious to your daughter's health. We are, as you will naturally suppose, extremely anxious to receive news from Philadelphia, subsequent to the meeting of Congress, and the more so since we have been made acquainted with the issue of the late Elections in some of the middle States.

I have hoped that we should acquire greater union among ourselves and more confidence in our Government by the experience of the few last years : but if the same firm and persevering oppoposition in the H. of R. is to continue, the Govt. must be degraded

and embarrassed ; and we amuse ourselves in believing that ultimately France will not succeed in her detestable projects.

No one has felt more keenly than you the disgust and indignation excited by the frequency as well as the manner in which our divisions and attachments are spoken of abroad. I have often wished that some of the *real* Americans, who profess an ardent devotion to their Country and still oppose its Government, could come abroad and there experience the same Humiliation ; if they are men of integrity, it would cure them of their dangerous folly.

The U. S. from situation, strength and knowledge, as well as on account of the freedom of their Government, and the vigour and enterprize of their People, have the Right as well as the Power to take the lead in whatever may affect or concern the new world : without boasting, we may truly say that we can resolve on no measure relative to our Continent, that we are not able to execute : and I therefore hope we shall never form a connexion with *any* nation, in which America is not the main object and the U. S. the principal and leading agent. If we resolve to respect ourselves, we shall soon receive better treatment and more respect from others. No one can predict the return of Peace to Europe ; there are no symptoms even, which encourage the Hope that this desirable Event is likely soon to arrive.

This then is the favorable moment, when we should assume the attitude that belongs to us, and hasten those Plans, the execution of which ought not in Prudence to be longer deferred.

With sincere attachment & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

P. S. I can't express the satisfaction with which I have heard of the definite settlement of a question in wh. you and some other of my friends were concerned.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 12.

LONDON, Dec. 11, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

The detention of the Packet gives me an opportunity of sending you copies of my Letter to Mr. Dundas and of his answer. I have no doubt that the Convention with Toussaint grew out of

the Difficulties of Genl. Maitland's military situation. He found it impossible to defend himself and was embarrassed with three or four thousand Colonial troops, principally blacks, whom he dared not carry to Jamaica, and was without shipping to send to Europe. He asked Toussaint to receive and protect them, which was agreed to on condition that Provisons should be sent to subsist them. Hence the stipulations on this Head.

Col. Grant will soon embark for St. Domingo. I understand that the Government intend to put the Business into the hands and under the control of some one person ; it has been offered to a considerable Jamaica merchant who has refused it ; indeed the Jamaica proprietors are much alarmed by the transaction. If Toussaint supports his Power and is not ensnared by Hadonville, it is not improbable that St. Domingo will entirely throw off the Dominion of France.

We are perplexed with the same uncertainty with respect to the recommencement of the war. According to the last mail from Ireland, there will be great opposition to the projected union.

With perfect Respect and Esteem,

RUFUS KING.

CHAPTER XXX.

Jay to King—European Affairs—Cabot, Conversation with Liston—Praise of King—England's Power and Policy—Hindman—Result of the Elections—Pickering to King—Alien and Sedition Laws—Virginia and Kentucky call for their Repeal—King to Secy. of State—Buonaparte in Egypt—Report of Assassination—To Hamilton—State of Europe—To Secy. of State—France declares War against Naples—Neapolitan Troops defeated—Austria had made Peace—To the Duke of Portland—Restoration of an Estate confiscated in Newfoundland demanded—To Secy. of State—St. Domingo—England and United States should act in Concert should it become independent—Conferences with Lord Grenville as to its Influence on British West Indies—His Suggestion of a joint Corporation for Trade objected to as inadmissible under the Constitution and unadvisable for our Merchants—Might each make Treaties with Toussaint, etc.—G. B. desires to act with U. S.—Secy. of State to King—Outrage of Capt. Loring—J. Hale to King—Affairs in United States.

John Jay to R. King.

Albany, 12 Dec., 1798.

Dear Sir :

. . . The Treaty between Austria and Naples countenanced the probability of a war between them and France ; and subsequent Events do not encrease the prospect of a general peace. It appears that the Invasion of Egypt followed by Nelson's victory, has produced a Declaration of War by the Turks agst France. If it be true that Oglow has not only been pardoned but promoted, the affairs of the Turkish Empire must be in sad state ;—Russian anxieties are dangerous Remedies for imbecilities at Home. I suspect the Turk has much to fear.

The Directory and Buonaparte have gotten rid of each other, and they both must know and think of it. I presume therefore that Buonaparte when deciding on his present Expedition did not calculate with certainty on aid from them, and consequently

that his Expectation of Success must rest on other Circumstances. What may be his object or his Fate cannot be known or foreseen as yet—possibly and I think not improbably, important consequences will be the Result—one has already taken place—I mean the bringing the Turks into the War.

Britain makes a distinguished figure, and the United States have by their late measures compensated in some Degree for their preceeding Errors—French Influence continues very active and will not be entirely expelled—their Agents and partizans are less loud and insolent, but not less industrious and unprincipled—much will depend on the present Session of Congress, and on this head I am not free from apprehensions.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN JAY.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Dec. 12, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR :

. . . I had some considerable conversation with Mr. Liston when he was here & he was so polite as to express his desire for more. I labored much to impress him with the ideas which you know I entertain on the subject of those great common interests which ought steadily to guide the two nations in their conduct toward each other, & I insisted much, as I have always done with sensible Englishmen, that from the nature of our Govt. it was the *peculiar duty of theirs* to avoid every act, as much as possible, which might keep alive the animosity against them which France or Faction had enkindled among our people &c. &c. &c. I found he had well considered the subject & needed no suggestions of mine, but I cou'd not help thinking you had done something toward producing sentiments which appear to me extremely important as they are certainly just. I was the more ready to attribute to you some merit because in the course of conversation he repeatedly gave you great praise & expressed a warm wish that you might continue where you are for a long time to come. I cou'd not refrain from reflecting upon the inferences which our

Democrats wou'd draw from hearing your Eulogy pronounced by a British Minister, but for myself I am ready to declare it gave me infinite pleasure & that it strengthened the hope I have long cherished that two nations so perfectly well adapted to support & promote each others interests wou'd not be again the Dupes of the Enemy of either.

I suppose the great city you inhabit has been intoxicated with joy at the unparalleled victory of Nelson : by this time the world must see that England is not degenerated as France wou'd pretend, but is able of herself to resist all the *physical* force of Europe on the Sea. I hope too it is admitted that England can sustain the war for an indefinite period without impoverishment —indeed it has appeared to me evident that G. B., the U. S. & Russia cou'd triumph over all the powers & that the two former might even be enriched by the war. What shall hinder G. B. from deriving directly or indirectly immense commercial benefit from the Colonies & *even the Countries* of her Enemies? her manufactures will find their consumers among the deluded Followers of French Equality who can no longer manufacture for themselves because their Stock has disappeared as soon as it was insecure. The Gold plundered from the Treasury of Berne will finally pay English Clothiers for the coats which the Plunderers wore. From various causes the trade of the East Indies will be continually supplanting that of the West & it is not to be doubted that a Nation which covers the Sea with its victorious Fleets will enjoy the largest portion of that distant Commerce. I think the English have only to be true to themselves (Govt. & People) & they may defy France with all the Devils they can conjure up.

The English have great dread & their Enemies great hopes of Buonaparte's success in an Enterprise against India : it is a danger not wholly to be despised, & yet it is 10 to 1 he never arrives there with any great force & he wou'd finally fail of establishing himself there if he shou'd arrive—the command of the Sea is indispensable to the permanent security of whatever might be acquired in Countries so distant.

Your's fideliter,

G. C.

WM. HINDMAN TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 13th, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

I here give You a more intelligible Statement of the Elections for the new Congress, as far as they have been made. . . .

	Fœd.	Anti	
New Hampshire . . .	4		
Rhode Island	2		
Massachusetts (say) . .	13	1	No Choice in 2 Distcts. all Fœd.
Connecticut	7		
Vermont	1		No Choice in Lyons District
New York	4	6	
New Jersey (say) . . .	2	3	Two of these said to be doubtful
Pennsylvania	5	8	
Delaware	1		
Maryland	5	3	. . 2 Dent
N. Carolina	7	3	
S. Carolina	5	1	
Georgia	2		The bitter Baldwin defunct, i. e. ousted.
	58	25	

Suppose Virginia, Kentucky & Tennessee should return all Jacobins, there will notwithstanding be a Majority of ten, in Favor of Government & the Administration, a most comforting Circumstance, by which We shall be enabled to bid Defiance to all the Machinations & Deviltry of the Directory; who I hope will be a Non-Entity before this reaches You,—as their Reign has been long enough—& God knows whether Mankind will be bettered by the Change.

Mr. Jefferson, the Fountain of Mischief in this Country, has not yet arrived here, to discharge his constitutional Duty; but remains, it is said, for the purpose of attending the Legislature of Virginia, to aid Taylor, Giles & Junto in plotting some dia-

bolical Plan against the Fœderal Government ; one great Object is to Change the Fœderal Elections from Districts to the State at large, dreading the Abilities & Power of Genl. Marshall, who I flatter Myself will at every Event be elected a Member of the H. of R.

I send You the President's Speech, the Senate's Answer & his Reply.

Your's sincerely & affy.

WM. HINDMAN.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, December 14, 1798.

DEAR SIR :

. . . Incredible pains have been taken to misrepresent the laws passed at the last Sessions, called the *Alien* and *Sedition* Laws ; but no extensive effect has been produced, except in Virginia and Kentucky. In the former addresses to the Legislature have been prepared and signed, calling for its interposition to obtain the repeal of those laws. In Kentucky the Governor has made to the General Assembly a very impudent and inflammatory speech on the subject of those Laws. Possessing a high respect for the federal Constitution, and determination to maintain it, the idea is held out of the right of an individual State to judge and determine whether the Acts of the federal Legislature conform to it ; and a pretty clear implication of a right to disobey them, if any motives induce a declaration of their being unconstitutional. This Governor (Gerrard) I suppose to be a *new*, not a native Citizen. I have been told that he was a Baptist Preacher, and his secretary a new comer of Dr. Priestley's sect. The leaders in Kentucky have been endeavouring to draw the State of Tennessee into their schemes, but in vain ; and the people North of the Ohio remain uncontaminated. I have just received a letter from Kentucky, by which it is plain their opposition is not by any means as universal as their public resolves import ; and this opposition is there, as in other districts of the United States, the result of misrepresentations and falsehoods. . . .

T. P.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 13.

LONDON, Decr. 15, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The Imperial Internuncio at Constantinople on the 17th of November dispatched a Messenger to Vienna with the information that courier after courier had arrived that day by different routes with intelligence that on the news of the preparation of Murad Bey and Ibraham Bey to march against the French armies in Egypt, Buonaparte had convened his chief officers with the principal Inhabitants of Egypt in the great Hall of Cairo, when after stating the approach of the Beys, he enlarged upon the necessity of immediate measures to repel them, and concluded by proposing a general contribution to enable him to oppose the Enemy; that this Discourse was ill-received by the Egyptians, and that a Tripoline chief drew from under his garment a Pistol and shot Buonaparte, whose death was the signal for the massacre of the other French officers as well as all the unarmed French found in the city.

Baron Thugut communicated this intelligence to Sir Morton Eden, the British Ambassador at Vienna, who on the 3d inst. dispatched an extraordinary messenger that arrived here yesterday.

It is difficult to form a satisfactory opinion concerning the accuracy of this news. The Turks have strong imaginations as well as great credulity. I find that it receives credit in Downing Street. The same messenger brings a Report that the Pacha of Rhodes, who is said to have embarked with a Body of Troops in the Squadron of Russian and Turkish ships gone against Alexandria, has made good his Landing and retaken that Port from the French.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.*

LONDON, Dec. 19th, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

The same uncertainty continues to perplex us concerning the recommencement of the war. One day we are told that Naples has really begun, and that Austria is on the way to support her; the next, that Naples is kept back, by Austria, to whom the Directory have made the most advantageous offers. It is certain that

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 376.

France feels the change that has, within the last six months, taken place in Europe, and is extremely anxious to defeat the projected coalition. Prussia observes, and seems inclined to adhere to the same cautious policy that for some time has governed her administration. Poor Spain is completely under the influence of the Directory, and, however strange it may seem, the King, who most cordially hates England, shed tears and was inconsolable on the news of Nelson's victory. Portugal is threatened with a war with Spain, unless she concludes a peace on the terms of the Directory. There is great discontent in many of the French departments, but still the levy of the new requisition proceeds. The insurrection of Brabant extends itself; but though it will give the Directory some trouble, cannot prove successful unless the war soon recommences. Mr. Grenville, an elder brother of the Minister, has gone on a special mission to Berlin. He is said to be very clever, and has therefore refused to go into the diplomatic course. Unless favorable circumstances of success exist, one would scarcely believe that the Minister would just now have employed his brother. The French will lose all their islands, trade and influence in the Mediterranean. Minorca has been taken by the English. Malta must fall. Corsica will probably expel the French, though England will not again accept of their capricious allegiance. Zante, Cerego, and Cephalonia, and probably Corfu, have fallen into the hands of the Turks and Russians.

A report from Constantinople states that Buonaparte has been assassinated; though probable, it wants confirmation. Mr. Pitt will be supported in the tax of 10 per cent. on the income of the nation; indeed, the people appear firm and resolved to support the government, and the prosperity of their manufactures and trade enable them to do so. Adieu.

Yours truly, &c.

P. S.—I make you my hearty congratulations on the settlement of the question of rank.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. NO. 14.

LONDON, Dec. 21, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

On the 7th instant France declared war against the King of Naples and Sardinia. The Neapolitan troops, headed by their King, had before entered the Roman Territory, alleging that it

had been revolutionized subsequent to Campo Formio, and not acknowledged as a Republic either by the Court of Naples or its ally, the Emperor.

The King of Sardinia has for many months been a Prisoner in his own capital, enjoying a mock liberty of service only to his Gaolers. He cannot be degraded lower, and the causeless attack upon him is one more proof that safety cannot be found in submission, and that no degree of Humiliation can satisfy this immoral and tyrannical Power.

It is not natural to suppose that Naples would have taken this decisive step without being confident of support from the Emperor, and this presumption is strengthened by the known character of the Austrian General Mack, who under the king commands the Neapolitan army. Our next dispatches from Vienna are therefore expected with anxiety & impatience. There is little doubt that Corfu has surrendered, and information was yesterday received of the surrender of Malta with the Ships in that Harbour, which escaped from the battle of the Nile. Minorca is undoubtedly in the hands of the English, and was taken, as we hear, without resistance. By the capture of Corfu and Malta, the two ships of the line and the two frigates which escaped from Aboukir, have fallen into the hands of the allies, so that the whole of the Toulon Fleet attacked by Admiral Nelson is taken or destroy'd.

We have no further accounts relative to the Death of Buonaparte or concerning his Army.

With Perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 15.

LONDON, Dec. 22, 1798.

DEAR SIR:

A single Paris paper of the 19th instant brought by a Packet Boat from Gravelines was received in town this morning, and states that a large body of Neapolitan troops were beaten on the 4th by a column of French troops commanded by Genl. Macdonald. From the scenes where this action took place, it may be inferred that Rome was in the hands of the Neapolitans. Piedmont

had been entirely overrun by the French. Admiral Nelson had taken possession of Leghorn & with his fleet blockaded the Ligurian ports. Not a word is said concerning the Austrian army in Italy and we are left quite at a loss whether it has or will advance to support the Neapolitans. If Naples gave the attack without being confident of this support, her conduct has been less prudent than perilous ; as without it Naples as well as the whole of Italy must quickly fall under the power of the French.

The same Paper asserts that information was just received by the Telegraph that the Deputation of the Empire had just acceded to the French ultimatum, and that peace with the Empire was concluded. If this is true there is much reason to apprehend that the Emperor has resolved not to engage in the war. Loose and inaccurate as this information is, I think it my duty to send it to you.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Dec. 26, 1798.

MY LORD :

The Treaty of Peace between the United States and Great Britain forbids any further confiscation of Estates.

The late Treaty of Amity and Commerce provides that citizens of the United States holding real Estates within the Territories of Great Britain and the Subjects of Great Britain holding real Estates within the Territories of the United States shall continue to hold them, and that the same shall descend to their Heirs, provided they are not sold during the lifetime of the Proprietors, which may freely be done.

According to the inclosed Report of the Judges in His Majesty's Colony of Newfoundland, the Estate therein described belonging to Abigail Lillie, a Citizen of the United States, was not confiscated during the American War, but was held and enjoy'd by her during that period and for several years afterwards ; but in the year 1788 was taken from her by order of the Governor because she had become an alien. This plain statement of the

Case, will, I am confident, satisfy your Grace that this Proceeding has been altogether erroneous and contrary to the existing stipulations relative to this subject between the United States and Great Britain.

Extensive real Estates within the United States which belonged to British subjects before the American War continue to be held by their original holders or their Heirs, and these Estates are secured from Escheat by the Provisions of the Ninth Article of our late Treaty above cited.

I will not give your Grace the trouble of any further observations on this subject, and will only request that Instructions may be given for the Restoration of the Estate in question and for the loss sustained by the dispossession of the lawful owner.

With the most perfect Consideration and Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 16.

LONDON, Jany. 3, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The Elbe being closed by the late severe frost, no Packets have arrived from Hamburgh within the last three weeks, so that at this critical and interesting moment in respect to the affairs of the Continent, we are without information except such as is collected from the Paris papers, which are irregularly received from Gravelines. Mr. Grenville who embarked in a Frigate about a fortnight since for Hamburgh on his mission to Berlin has returned, not being able to land.

The Newspapers which I send by this conveyance detail the intelligence contained in the late French papers. Hadonville has returned to France from St. Domingo, and in his last Proclamation intimates that Toussaint and his advisers meditate the Independence of that Island. Subsequent to Hadonville's return an Advice Boat arrived at L'Orient with an Aide de Camp & Dispatches from Toussaint.

The Bill calling for a Tenth of every man's Income in addition to the old Taxes last night passed the House of Commons. This measure has received a very general and zealous support, and is

a high proof of the Firmness and Capacity of the Nation in support of the war.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 17.

LONDON, Jany. 10, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The situation *of St. Domingo** having on repeated consideration appeared to me to be likely materially to affect certain great interests *of the U. S.* and consequently to require of them a comprehensive as well as cautious Policy to protect those interests and to turn to profit if possible the changes *of which the Independence of Saint Domingo* is the forerunner, *I went* some days since *to Lord Grenville, and after* stating *to him my reflections* upon this subject, observed *that the principle motive that led me* to submit them *to him was in order to ascertain his opinion whether* it would not be of great *and mutual benefit that we should act in concert* as well in respect *to the present as the expected* condition of this *Important Island. He could best* decide the advantages and disadvantages *which they* were likely *to expect from the emancipation of that Colony. With regard to us we had to* apprehend some inconveniences *from the Influence of the example upon our slaves in the Southern States*, and it would be incumbent *upon us to pursue such measures as* should promise security *against*, and, if practicable, *effectually prevent the depredations and Piracy to be apprehended should St. Domingo become the Resort and Asylum of Buccaneers & rovers. We had* never attempted *to foment insurrections among our neighbours*, nor to persuade *the Colonies near us to throw off their allegiance; but we* should neglect what *we owe to ourselves, if in the present case* and in others which may be like it, *we did not adopt* such measures as should seem best calculated not only to render *them harmless*, but as far as possible to make *them beneficial to us.* What *those measures* would be, it was not possible *for me* to form an opinion; but that *they and we* should take care not to embarrass *each other*, and so disappoint *the views of both*, appeared *to me* very plain.

* Italics in cipher.

Ld. Grenville said that it seemed highly probable *that St. Domingo would become independent*, and *that he* entirely agreed in the *opinion I had* expressed in reference to the Policy and advantage *of a concert of* measures betwem *them and us.* At present *they had not* formed any distinct views on that head ; the late engagements *of himself and colleagues in Parliament had* delayed the Business, *but they were then* engaged in the consideration *of the subject which* in a variety of lights *they considered* an important one ; *that Col. Grant had not yet gone out*, and would *be detained until they had come to* some further determinations upon the subject *of his Mission.*

That they desired to secure *their colonies* from the influence *of the example of St. Domingo* and to prev[illegible]nt the existence of a new *Barbary power* in that *quarter of the world. They* moreover had it in view to propose *to Toussaint to put the Trade* upon such a footing as might afford *to him the supplies* that he should require, and at the same time guard against the mischiefs *that they and we desire to prevent : that he had* thought of an *exclusive company* composed jointly *of British and American subjects ;* that the Idea had not been examined, and that as soon *as he had more* fully considered the subject, *he would* invite *me to meet him and his Colleagues* for the purpose of considering it.

The foregoing is the outline and substance *of our first consultation*, in the course of which other things *were said*, not however of sufficient importance to be repeated. *The following queries and their answers are exceptions to this remark. I asked Ld. Grenville if the Independence of St. Domingo must* not inevitably have a great influence *upon Jamaica and the other Islands? he* answered that certainly *it must ; must it not be soon* followed, *notwithstanding all your vigilance, by the abolition of the whole Colony System in that quarter of the world? the Colony System* must fall to the ground, *we have* foreseen it, and nothing remains but to *postpone it* as long as possible and to employ such measures as seem best adapted to diminish *the Evils of the event* when it arrives, and *I have no reserve*, added *his Ld.Ship*, in saying *that in* whatever *we do, we must act in Harmony with you.*

Last evening I received a letter from *Lord Grenville*, a copy of which and of the enclosed *Minute* are annexed, and according to *his Ld.Ship's* invitation I met *him and his Colleagues* this morning. *The Conference* began *by my* saying that before *I* made any obser-

vation *upon our present equivocal situation in regard to France*, or upon the division *of the Trade between us and them*, as proposed, I ought to express my belief *that the Plan* would be objected to as well on account of the general *unpopularity of monopolies in America*, as on the score of a defect *of power in Congress to* create an *Exclusive Corporation* for the Purposes *of Trade.* Such *a Power is* not expressly given, and if it exists must be taken by inference *from Powers* which are distinctly given. Questions of this sort are liable to much debate, and in this case would perhaps be opposed by some who might think *the Power* exists, but who dislike *monopolies.* Besides *our merchants are* numerous and full of enterprize, and no way has suggested itself by which a limited *number of them* could without undue preference be selected to compose a company. In respect to the proposed *Division of the trade between us and them, I said*, that the distinction *in the supplies* seemed plain and natural enough, but there *were articles supply'd to St Domingo not of their manufacture nor of our production*, such as Wines, Brandies, nankeens & probably other commodities that did not occur, in respect to which *it might be agreed that such articles might be supplied by either.* In regard to *our situation with France* it is easier to say what it is not, than what it really is, & I could only express my hope that it might soon become less doubtful & better defined.

Mr. Pitt observed that it would be presumptuous *in a stranger* to give an opinion *on the Powers* given *to Congress by our Constitution*, wh. possibly were not as *large as we might* find to *our* advantage *that they should be*, but the *present case* was of great strength, and the mischiefs with which *we were menaced* were such that it wd. be singular indeed, if an adequate *Power* did not exist to guard against them. *Our Southern States* were open *to Emissaries of St. Domingo*, and perhaps all things considered it was not stating it too widely *to say that we had* as much or more *to apprehend* than *they had from St. Domingo becoming the Resort and Refuge of Buccaneers & Pirates. If the proposed project* affords a fair probability of preventing those Evils, it would be unfortunate that it should *fail from a defect of Power in Congress:* and perhaps *we* should think it expedient in that case to refer *the Plan to the* respective *States for their confirmation.* In respect to the *articles not of growth or manufacture of either*, it will, *said Mr.*

Pitt, be best to divide *the supply between us in* some equitable and convenient manner, betraying *to my* apprehension, *a fear of an open competition.*

Ld. Grenville after making several observations explanatory *of the minute he had sent me, asked* what other *plan could* be devised that would be likely to avoid the objections *which I had suggested* and which would secure the principal *objects in view.*

I reply'd that if it should *turn out Congress had not the Power*, or were unwilling to erect an *exclusive Commercial Company, the Power, to form Treaties* and to regulate *Trade with foreign nations, were* expressly given, *and under them in the shape of Treaties and Laws, we could* establish such regulations *as our Interest and Safety, & those of our friends should require ;* going upon the idea of the *entire Independence of St. Domingo, we and they might form Treaties with Toussaint, by* which it should be agreed *that the citizens of the United States and the subjects of G. Britain alone should trade to that Island. These Treaties might* contain such special stipulations relative to the particular *Ports of Trade—the coasting Vessels* to be employ'd *between these Ports—the supplies* which should or should not *be carried there—emigrations*—the suppression *of Privateers*, and all such other *points* as may suggest *themselves* upon a full consideration of the Question.

A Convention might likewise be made *between the United States and G. Britain* that should prescribe *the regulations* to be observed *by Each* in carrying *on the trade* which should be open *to all the subjects of the two* Countries. *This Convention to be valid when* Laws conforming *and providing for the execution of its stipulations sho'd be enacted by the Legislatures of both nations*—these regulations *might be as minute* and extensive *as the various objects to be attained* shou'd require.

Lord Grenville made several objections *to this Plan*, grounded upon the insecurity *there would be in enforcing the* observance of the requisite regulations *when the Trade should be* open to all *the People of the two* Countries. *Mr. Pitt appeared* less decided on this Point and agreed *as they all did in my* observation *that concert in this business between us and them*, was on many accounts *of the first importance ;* that if the best Plan was inconsistent *with concert, one* must be devised that will secure *this primary object* and as many others as possible ; and that the more *liberal the terms* were

in respect *to Toussaint*, the more advantageous the *connexion* would be to the *Inhabitants of St. Domingo*, and the less likely to be defeated by the instigation *of Emissaries*. *I asked* what probability there was *that Toussaint would agree to a Plan* that should leave *him but a* limited *Independence; Mr. Dundas reply'd* that taking *all their* information together, *he thought it* quite probable *that Toussaint would consent*, and with respect *to his* intentions *he had told one of their officers* lately *returned, that he would throw off the yoke of France, if he* could be supported.

It was remarked that something must be done *immediately*. *I replied that I could* see no objection *to Col. Grant's going* forward according *to their first* intention. *He might open the Plan to Toussaint and* state the difficulties likely to exist *against its* adoption *by the United States*—that whatever should be agreed upon *between Toussaint and G. Britain* should be open *for the accession of the United States*, and also *open to* such modifications *as should* enable *the U. S. to* become *a party in case they* decline or are *unable to agree to the* proposed *Plan*—that full information *should be given to the President thro' me*, as well as *by Ld. Grenville thro' Mr. Liston*, with the assurance *that G. Britain* desires *the cooperation of the U. S., and will agree* on such equitable *commercial stipulations*, as shall be compatible with the attainment *of the principal objects they have in view* in respect *to their Colonies. To this Ld. Grenville and his Colleagues assented and the Conference* ended with the suggestion *that the President would think it* adviseable *to send some person to join Col. Grant* in settling the arrangements *with Toussaint.*

This is *a subject that merits* deliberate and extensive consideration. Whatever *we do, should be* done with a view as well to the present *Colony system*, as to future events still more important than the present. It is certain *that Great Britain* desires *to act with us, and we* may be sure *of her cooperation if we* will concur in *her Plans. She will* even risk something *to obtain our concurrence, but she* will act *without us* in case *we* disagree as to the terms of *a joint cooperation. We also* can act *without her* and should, *as she* undoubtedly does, balance the advantages & disadvantages *of a separate and a joint negotiation.*

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.*

Copy (annexed to previous letter).

4 CLEVELAND ROW, Jany. 9, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

In consequence of *our* last *conversation* relative *to St. Domingo*, I have, after discussing the subject with some *of my Colleagues*, prepared the enclosed *minute*, which I send for your consideration, as the *basis of an* arrangement which would I think provide equitably *for the Commercial Interests of our two Countries* as concerned in that *business*, and what is infinitely more important, wd. afford us as good security as the nature of things allows of, against the infinite dangers to which *our Islands and your Southern Provinces* would be *exposed* from an *unrestrained intercourse with St. Domingo in its* present state.

If you should be at leisure & could *meet Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas* here to-morrow morning at Eleven, half an hour's discussion might very probably so far terminate the business as to enable *us to write to America and to* dispatch *Col. Grant.* If you had any wish to see me earlier, I shall be at home.

Believe me &c. &c.

GRENVILLE.

Minute.

The whole *Trade of Import and Export with Toussaint's* part of *St. Domingo* to be confined *to one port*—viz. *Port-au-Prince. The supply to be* restricted by *agreement with Toussaint and by* compact *between G. B. and the U. S. to a Joint Company to be formed by the two Governments and to* consist of—British and American subjects.

This *Company to be* confined *to* furnish no *manufactures but from the British Territories, and no articles of Produce or live stock but from America. To* send *the returns for the* former *in St. Domingo produce to Jamaica or G. Britain only; and* for the latter *to the United States only. An agent* on the part *of this Company to* reside *at the* specify'd *Port*, and to have on *the part of the Company* the exclusive conduct *of the whole coasting trade, which he shall* carry *on by Boats of the Country to a* sufficient extent for *the supply of the* different *parts of the Island under Toussaint's* authority, *and*

* Italics in this copy in cipher.

for bring*ing back their Produce to Port-au-Prince:* all *British or American Vessels* not belonging *to the Company, and all vessels belonging to France or any other Power or to any person* IN ANY PART *of the Island of St. Domingo and trading to or from any of its Ports, coastwise* or otherwise, except those employed *by the agent of this Company as above, and* furnished *with proper Passports, to be liable to seizure, and Toussaint to* engage *on his part to the utmost of his power to* discourage *and prevent all such trade.*

The exportation of Blacks from St. Domingo to any other place, (or of any other persons without previous *permission* to that effect) *or the* car*rying on any intercourse whatever between that Island and any other place, except* as above, *to be prohibited under the severest Penalties.*

Both Powers to guarantee this arrangement *to each other, and to agree that in* case *of its being* violated *on the part of Toussaint, with* respect *either to G. Britain or America, the whole shall be* suspended, and neither *the subjects of G. B. nor America to be at liberty to* carry *on any trade there from thenceforth; and the present* prohibition *continue as to* all *the rest of the Island.*

T. Pickering to R. King. No. 37.

Department of State, Jany. 8, 1799.

Dear Sir:

I am directed by the President of the United States to transmit to you the inclosed narrative of Lewis Tresevant and Wm. Timmons of an outrage committed on the flag of the United States, together with extracts of a letter from George C. Morton, Consular Agent of the United States at the Havanna.* As soon as Captain Phillips arrives and makes his official report to the Navy Department, it shall be transmitted to you. In consequence of this insult, the President has directed the inclosed order* to be issued to all our naval commanders to resist every future attempt of the kind to the last extremity. A copy of this order I have sent to Mr. Liston with the letter of which also a copy is inclosed.

* As the facts are presented in the accompanying letter to Mr. Liston, and the order to the naval commanders is summed up in Mr. Pickering's letter, they are omitted here.

This act of Captain Loring excited, as you may imagine, no little sensation. It drew the attention of the House of Representatives, who passed the inclosed resolution, in pursuance of which, the narrative above mentioned and extracts of Mr. Morton's letter have been communicated to them.

To the extracts from Mr. Morton's Letter laid before the House, I have now added other parts relating to the capture of three American vessels bound to the Havanna by Capt. Loring's Squadron—the pretence that 4*d.* & 6*d.* nails and oznaburgs are contraband of war, the latter as sail cloth and the former because other than "unwrought iron." It is impossible that these articles should have been contemplated as falling within the 18 article of our Treaty with Great Britain: the interpretation that would comprehend them appears to us a perverse one: yet they have been made the occasion of much injury and vexation to our Merchants and Mariners, as I formerly wrote you, when complaining of the iniquitous proceedings of Judge Cambauld at Cape Nichola Mole. It is true that Capt. Loring released two of the vessels captured, as above mentioned, near the Havanna; but an erroneous construction of the Treaty should not furnish a pretence for so serious an injury as the detention and carrying into port of the third to gratify his resentment against a sturdy Master. If this abuse in the construction of the 18 article of the Treaty has not yet attracted the notice of the British Government, or if orders for correcting it have not been issued, the President desires that it may be a subject of representation together with the insult which is the immediate object of this letter.

With regard to the insult on our flag, it will readily occur that the right of searching and stripping public Vessels of War of their hands, if it exists at all, must be reciprocal, and it need not be asked whether a British Naval Commander would submit to it: neither will ours. But if such search for and taking away of seamen were at all admissible in practice, it should be in our favor, because American Seamen are generally aboard British Ships only by *impressments*, whereas the British Seamen to be found in the armed Vessels of the United States are *all Volunteers;* and you will recollect that the British Government have made a distinction between Volunteer and Impressed Americans, releasing the latter

when their citizenship was proved ; but detaining the former altho' they had entered and taken the bounty only in consequence of a *previous impressment.*

After these observations, candour demands an acknowledgment of the general friendly and polite behaviour of the British Naval Officers towards ours, and of their readiness to protect our merchant vessels against the Plunderers of the World, and to afford them relief when in distress. An instance has very lately occurred in the Chesapeake. A British Vessel of War seeing an American vessel aground on a dangerous shoal, sent down cables, anchors and thirty Seamen, who got her off and thus saved a valuable ship and cargo, which in the next four and twenty hours would have been dashed to pieces and lost.

You cannot too strongly express the desire of the President to maintain a perfect harmony between the two countries and his regret at any incident tending to disturb it, and which, while it sensibly wounds the real friends to their country, furnishes a topic of popular clamour to others whose enmity to their own Government is equalled only by their hatred to Great Britain.

I have the honor to be, &c.

T. PICKERING.

T. PICKERING TO ROBT. LISTON.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, PHILADELPHIA Dec. 31, 1798.

"SIR :

". . . The principal facts stated are these. Capt. Phillips having under his convoy several American vessels bound to the Havanna saw, not far from that port, a fleet of three ships of the line and two frigates, which, as soon as he discovered them to be British, he approached and spoke the Commodore, the above named Capt. Loring. This officer told Captain Phillips that he should take from him all the seamen who had not protection as citizens of the United States. Capt. Phillips remonstrated against it, observing among other things, that the public flag of the United States was their protection, and that if he carried his declaration into effect, the Baltimore would not have men enough for her defence. His remonstrances were fruitless. Capt. Loring took from the Baltimore fifty five of her crew. Afterwards finding Capt. Phillips indisposed to comply with some other propositions

and demands, Capt. Loring thought proper to return fifty of the men, retaining five, among whom was the Baltimore's Boatswain.

It is impossible, Sir, for the American Government to imagine that this outrage can be the consequence of any orders from his Britannic Majesty, and equally impossible for the United States quietly to bear the repetition of insults and injuries of this kind. The President of the United States has therefore directed that all attempts to commit them be resisted."

JOSEPH HALE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, Jany. 14, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Tho' not insensible of the tax you will be exposed to by this & its accompaniments travelling from Liverpool to London, I cannot forbear giving you a specimen of the Congressional Temper.

The Kentucky & Virginia resolutions, which will doubtless reach you thro' another channel, will prove that there is still sufficient scope with us for industry, talents, & patriotism.

In the New England States the alien & sedition acts make less noise than the land tax. Its novelty & immediate application to the purse-strings excite soft but general murmurs. Yankee good sense will soon silence these & the support of the tax be universal in the northern states.

We are daily increasing our naval preparations. It is said five ships of the line are to be built & the proposal in a few days to be brought forward in Congress. The ready concurrence of both houses said to be unquestionable. With the army now organizing we shall shortly assume the aspect of a well regulated government. The sedition act operates as a check upon the disorganizers, tho' they still indulge themselves too freely in their favourite bias.

Permit me, Sir, to congratulate you on the resignation of the Judge of Admiralty. His successor is a man of business. Having been an advocate for the Crown, he will have great merit in divesting himself of that character in his judicial decisions. Doctor N.'s successor will doubtless do justice to his appointment.

JOSEPH HALE.

CHAPTER XXXI.

King to Secretary of State—New French Decree against American Commerce —St. Domingo—Affairs on the Continent and Egypt—To R. Troup—Situation of Americans in Paris perilous—Sedgwick to King—Congress should have acted firmly, declared War, treated Spain as an Ally of France, and seized the Mouth of the Mississippi—Composition of the Senate not improved; of House, better—Virginia's Opposition growing worse—Surplus of Revenue—Conduct of Commissioners under sixth Article outrageous—Not a single enlisting Order for the Army issued—King to Hamilton—St. Domingo and Miranda—Pickering's Son suggested as Secretary to King—King to W. Wickham—Miranda to Secretary of State —Mission of Colonel Maitland—President's Speech able—Admiralty Decrees—Tobacco Ships Captured by the French—Secretary of State to King —Outrage of Captain Loring—Captain Phillips's Conduct pusillanimous—Troup—Summary of American Affairs—King to the President—Weakness of continental Governments—Firmness of England—Pride in the increasing attention in Europe to the able and dignified Administration of the American Government.

R. King to Secretary of State. No. 18.

London, Jany. 14, 1799.

Dear Sir:

The Moniteur contains a Report made by Boullay Paty in the Council of 500, on the 21st of Decemr. in the name of a Committee to whom a reference from the Tribunal of Cassation had been sent on the subject of the Law of the 29. Nivose, which authorises the capture of all vessels loaded wholly or in part with articles of the growth or fabric of the British Territories. The questions referred from the Tribunal of Cassation were whether the Law is applicable to all captures made after its publication, or only to such as were made in consequence of a knowledge of its publication, and whether the terms, articles of the growth or fabric of the

British Territories, include Commodities of the growth or fabric of Portugal? The Report is in the usual strain of violence against England and of Injustice and Contempt towards the neutral Powers, all of whom are treated with great indecorum, tho' I think none with so large a portion as the U. S., "whose Commerce," says the Reporter, "is serviceable alone to England who directs their wavering Politics." The Reporter concluded by proposing the two following Resolutions.

Art. 1ier. La loi du 29. Nivose, an 6, qui a étendu sur mer l'exécution de celle du 10. Brumaire, continuera d'être exécutée, à compter du jour qu'elle a été rendue.

Art. 2nd. La loi du 29. Nivose sur les marchandises Anglaises est, à compter de ce jour, applicable aux navires chargés de marchandises et productions provenant des Possessions ou des manufactures *de toutes les puissances qui seront en guerre avec la République Française.*

The discussion of these resolutions was adjourned, but judging from the support they received when reported they have probably been adopted. As a violation of our national right, and a Decree in contempt of Public Law, this will be nothing new, being only an extension of the application of a former Decree; yet it is an extension that having regard merely to our interest, will be found materially to affect our Trade to Petersburgh, Portugal and the Wine Islands.

The decree in another view will merit attention, inasmuch as it will disprove the repeated declarations that have been made, that the Laws of France against the Trade of neutrals were a retaliation upon Great Britain, a punishment upon the neutrals for submitting to the injuries received from that Nation. Neither Russia nor Portugal have interrupted or vexed the Neutral Commerce.

Several of our Tobacco and other valuable ships, including one bound to China, have been lately captured by French Privateers, which suffer nothing to escape them which they can master.

Genl. Allen who had been sent to the Temple, after several weeks' confinement procured his discharge, but was again imprisoned at the same time that two other Americans, Mr. Tailor, formerly of Boston, and Mr. Joseph Sands of New York, were sent to the Temple. From Mr. Fosdick, who lately arrived here from Paris, I hear that the situation of our citizens there is unquiet and

in every respect, disagreeable. Mr. Fosdick went to Paris with his uncle, Col. Hitchborn, who, as he states, on being lately sent for by Talleyrand, and asked whether the President wd. send another Envoy to Paris, told him that he certainly would not.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 19.

LONDON, Jany. 16, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I went this morning to *Ld. Grenville to** state to him what I had written as the substance of our late Conferences *respecting St. Domingo*, especially on the point *of their agreement with Toussaint* being left open to such modifications as should enable *us to accede to it.* I found that I had faithfully reported to you what had passed, and that upon further consideration *of the subject*, of the difficulties that might attend the execution *of their project* & the danger to be apprehended *from delay, they have* concluded immediately *to send Col. Maitland to New York with full power to Mr. Liston*, assisted by *Col. Maitland, who made the* Convention *with Toussaint*, to settle the business *between us and them & then to proceed immediately to St. Domingo in order to conclude it there.* I did not omit to express my satisfaction with this determination, and added what I afterwards repeated to *Mr. Dundas that as Col. Maitland was* well acquainted with the whole subject, a circumstance that would be of great importance to *Mr. Liston*, it was very much to be desired *that every point should be left open to* such practicable and safe arrangements *as should be* devised *at Philadelphia*, instead *of particular plans being sent there*, which with the best disposition on our part might be found impracticable, and might moreover have an unfavorable influence upon the adoption of a substitute. *Both Ld. Grenville and Mr. Dundas* assented to this observation, and I hope the subject will be found, as I think it, susceptible of an adjustment mutually safe and advantageous *to all Parties.* It would be well to provide that our Ships should be at liberty to proceed with their cargoes *from St. Domingo to*

* Italics in cipher.

G. Britain as well as to the U.S. If the Plan of taking off the Drawback or a part of it, referred to in former letters, should be approved, perhaps we could obtain a stipulation for the Repayment to us of the duty paid on the importation and detained on the Exportation of the Commodity here : unless this is done, and the Drawbacks are taken off, it will be our interest to oblige our Ships to return Home with their Cargoes instead of proceeding with them to Gt. Britain.

With perfect Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 20.

LONDON, Jany. 17, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I can send you no news ; we are almost as ignorant of what has been doing upon the Continent within the last two months, as if we were at Philadelphia ; the only foreign intelligence received since the beginning of December, has been received from Paris. The ice which extends several leagues from the shore all along the northern coast of Europe continues to interrupt all intercourse with the mainland. Our papers from Philadelphia, New York and Boston are later than those from Hamburgh, tho' we have not yet received the President's Speech. The winter has been uncommonly severe, the weather is now becoming more moderate and the usual channels of communication with the Continent must soon be free of impediments. We are left to mere conjecture respecting the accounts which we shall receive from Vienna & Berlin : my apprehensions are stronger than my Hopes. When Naples is overrun, as Piedmont has been, Austria may move ; and after her armies are driven out of Italy, Prussia may think it time to begin. Deliberation is wisdom, but Doubts after decision are proofs of weakness. When the weights that hang about great occasions are removed, wings should be added in their place ; the ruinous consequences of all timid hesitation and delay in the conduct of public affairs, have been so often exemplified, that we shall be without Excuse if we repeat the Fault.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 21.

LONDON, Jany. 19, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

Several mails arrived last evening from Hamburgh, but they were those longest due, and bring little news of importance. The Passage being at length open, we may every moment expect authentic, late and interesting intelligence. Buonaparte escaped, and was not assassinated as first reported, in the insurrection at Cairo. His situation is said to have become very critical and difficult. The effect of the latest information from the Continent, is an opinion that a recommencement of the war is almost unavoidable.

With very great Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO O. WOLCOTT.

LONDON, Jany. 19, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

By the last mails from Hamburgh, I am informed by Mr. Adams that we cannot obtain a single Musket from the Prussian manufactories ; and the increased probability of the recommencement of the war with Austria and the Empire diminishes the hope of a considerable supply from any Part of Germany. I shall continue to give the subject the most careful attention and will endeavour to obtain a few thousand more from the German manufacturers.

If the war is renewed, the exchange will run against us, but this in my opinion will be a less Evil than to remit in the present state of Exchange which is favorable, and risque the Funds at Hamburgh.

With great Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO ROB. TROUP.

LONDON, Jany. 19th, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

The frost has at length yielded, and last night we received some of the many mails due from the continent. Tomorrow they will probably all arrive, and we shall be able from the news they

bring to form a pretty good opinion respecting the Recommencement of the War. The last french order seems to put it beyond doubt; the Empire will not be able to stop the advance of the Russian Troops, & without it, the french declare the negotiations for peace to be at an End. . . . We have not yet recd. the Pr's. Speech, tho' we have New York Papers of the 10th Dec. & Boston Gazettes of the 15th. This is provoking as we are very anxious to see what Mr. Adams says of the return of the Envoys and state of our affairs with France.

One or two Americans who have escaped in a Neutral Vessel from France, say that the situation of the Americans at Paris is unquiet and perilous. Gen. Allen after several weeks imprisonment in the Temple was set at liberty, but has since been arrested and is now confined in a prison of less distinction.

Young Mr. Sands, son of Comfort Sands, and a Mr. Tailor, formerly of Boston, have been lately arrested at Paris and are confined in the Temple. No crime was alleged—perhaps things are, in this as most other cases, reversed, and Creditors instead of Debtors sent to Gaol. What will the Lyons and other partizans say upon this violation of Liberty in the Person of Genl. Allen?

Yrs.

R. K.

THEODORE SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

PHILADELPHIA, 20 Jany., 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . You know how anxious I had been for some time to retire from public life. My own happiness, connected with the interests of my family, afforded motives which, to my own mind, justified my determination. I was well assured my successor would be worthy & respectable—accordingly I declined, Dexter was chosen, and I was happy. But my evil destiny has conquered, my friends would not permit me to indulge my own wishes, their arguments & importunities have again seduced me, and after the third of March I shall again be a representative.

The letter which I wrote you, at the conclusion of the last session, will have given you the reasons why this government has exhibited our country in the awkward attitude which you justly

deplore. Our measures in themselves were not only feeble, but taken with that gradation and hesitation, which shewed a want of system, & of spirit & vigor. The extent & shape of our measures were divided, not by comprehensive policy and wisdom, but by the feeble minds of the Tillinghasts, the Bullocks & the Coits of the house of Representatives. We ought at once to have put an end to the cooperation of external & internal enemies—to have at once, as far as in our power, prevented the possibility of their carrying on that most dangerous species of warfare, for the seduction of our people, "diplomatic skill." This could not in my opinion have been done effectually but by a declaration of war. This would have conduced equally to the honor & interest of the U. S. To have taken advantage of that measure, it would have been necessary to consider Spain, as in fact she is, a Colony of france. Besides, acting under the orders of her principal, Spain had given us sufficient cause, by innumerable aggressions, to justify our conduct. Having assumed the character of Enemy, as such, I would have rendered myself respectable by a prompt and decided blow. The mouth of the Mississippi & the countries connected with and dependent on it should have been immediately seized. The immense benefits to have been derived from that position, whether for treaty, or a continuance of the war, are obvious. In the mean time we should have superseded the necessity of alien & sedition laws—without them we might have hanged traitors and exported frenchmen. This was the policy I would have pursued instantly after the publication of the dispatches. But it was ordered otherwise.

The State of the Senate is not improved for the next Congress. In N. Hampshire Livermore is re-elected. This has put him in some what better humour. In Massachusetts you know the alteration. It certainly is not worse. In New York Watson is more firm & stable, so far as I have yet been able to observe, than I had thought him. In New Jersey Dayton, *now* furiously federal & antijacobin, replaces Stockton one of the most *trustworthy* men in our Country. He could not be prevailed upon to continue—I believe could not well afford it. Rutherfurd firm, decided, honorable & intelligent is afflicted with an inveterate rheumatism, & has resigned. A successor is to be chosen this week & it is said that either General Dickinson or Doctr. Elmer will be the man.

You know them both. Ross in this State is a candidate for the government and I hope will prevail ; but I need not say to you that he will be a serious loss to the Senate. In Delaware an Election will be made this week to supply the vacancy. The Candidates are all good. Tazewell in Virginia is reelected. In N. Carolina Governor Martin, always theoretically right, tho' generally practically wrong, is replaced by Franklin a furious but feeble Jacobin. Hunter from S. Carolina, who in the modern language of our country, had from the pride of being in good company "turned about," is succeeded by Charles Pinckney. Gunn gives us hopes of a reformation in Georgia, but Baldwin, who has lost his election as a member of the house, will I fear be chosen. So much for the Senate.

In the house of Representatives there is on the whole an amelioration. In the New England States there will not be more than two antifederalists. One of these may be Lyon, but of that election we as yet have had no authentic information, and the account in the papers of his election is only the result of conjecture. In New York the election is against us in the proportion of six to four. By districting New Jersey the opposition has obtained two members—In this State they are eight to five.—In Delaware they have again chosen Mr. Bayard, a young Gentleman of great respectability. In Maryland our old tried friend Hindman has lost his election and they give us now five on the side of the government to three against it. In North Carolina they want seven for, to three against us ; and in S. Carolina & Georgia all but one right. But in these three last states several are counted, who have been lately converted, and as they are not well established in the faith and in good works, they may fall from grace. In Virginia there is every reason to believe the spirit of opposition is every day growing more & more rancorous. In that state it has always been the policy to keep the members in subjection, and therefore they have not elected the members of the house, untill the month of March, and after their term of service had expired. The legislature is now in session, and it is in contemplation to provide for the election of their members, for the next Congress, by a general ticket ; from an apprehension that otherwise some, not friends to their kind of Liberty, may be elected. I am not acquainted with the characters of the majority of their Legisla-

ture, but they must be men bold and adventurous indeed, or rendered desperate by faction, if they dare adopt a measure, so little consonant to their circumstances, and so opposed to the general tendency of their democratic doctrines. Should they, however, do it, I entertain no doubt, that it will produce the intended effect—a solid homogeneous column in opposition to Government; but I believe, ultimately, it would ruin its authors. In any event we may, I believe, promise ourselves that the next house will, at least, possess as much firmness, as much principle, and as much talents, as the present.

Notwithstanding the plunder of our commerce, and notwithstanding a real pressure which has been occasioned by it, and the still greater which has resulted from the failure of those wild speculations which have pervaded every part of our country, & more particularly the eastern states, our finances still remain solid & productive—We have an annual surplus of revenue, exceeding two millions and a half, beyond permanent appropriations. This is, and by monied men & institutions will be deemed, ample security for loans; and the one to be opened in February will, I have no doubt, immediately fill. The terms offered 8 per cent & a limited irredeemability are certainly high, but the necessity of obtaining the subscriptions promptly, and the present high market rate of Interest, from causes which you perfectly comprehend, in my opinion justify the measure.

Since writing the above poor Tazewell has died suddenly. The government will derive no benefit from this, because there is no chance of getting a good man from that State. We are told that either Monroe, Madison or Nicholas, a brother of the Representative of that name, and whom the Virginians represent as a man of talents, will be chosen. I hope the first, from reasons which you will understand.

The legislature of Virginia has abandoned the project of electing their representatives by a general ticket. Our friend from that state tells us this was occasioned by a conviction that, in the event contemplated, the whole representation would have been federal—I cannot believe so well of the disposition of the state, but imagine their conduct was the result of the dread of the loss of popularity. John Taylor, the former Senator, has brought forward in the house of Representatives of that state, an address to

the people on the subject of the measures of the national government, particularly the alien & sedition Laws, which will doubtless pass both houses and is little short of a declaration of war.

Since writing the former part of this letter, Mr. Wells of whose talents and decided federalism, those acquainted with him speak handsomely, is elected a Senator from Delaware in the stead of Mr. Clayton—The election in New Jersey has not yet taken place.

You have seen an account of the motion of Mr. Griswold, occasioned by the mission of Citizen Logan, and of the debates & bill to which it gave rise. It has passed the Senate—Bloodworth & Langdon only dissenting. As well the policy as the utility of this measure might, in my judgment, have been originally doubtful, yet after it became a question of party there was no hesitation that it ought to have been supported.

The majority of the commissioners on the 6th arte. of the British treaty are outrageous in their decisions. It is impossible in this letter to enter into the detail, but it is to be feared that it will become indispensable on the part of the minority, (Fitzsimons & Sitgreaves) to secede. This will afford to you a subject of unpleasant discussion, but I confide in it that the British government has too much wisdom not to perceive her interests, and too much justice to give support to the extravagance of her agents.

The object of the present session of Congress will be to "invigorate" the systems adopted at the last: perhaps it is not going too far to say that our consideration ought to have been exclusively confined to those. We ought, however, to have considered an increase of revenue as a principal cause of this invigoration, but in this opinion few of our friends in the house concur. The army & navy must be attended to—In regard to the former, the conduct of the executive has been astonishingly dilatory—As yet not a single inlisting order has been issued. It will not be expedient, at present, to increase the numbers, but authority ought to be given to the President to raise a provisional army, the act, which passed the last session, for that purpose having expired at the commencement of this. As to the Navy it ought to be increased exactly in proportion to our utmost ability.

Your friend,

THEODORE SEDGWICK.

R. King to A. Hamilton. *

London, January 21st, 1799.

Dear Sir :

We have the New York papers to the 15th ulto. These contain the speeches as well as the answers of the two Houses. All seems intended for the best, but it gives me an ill idea abroad of our zeal, to find that our army, decreed so many months since, remained to be raised. The difficulty and time necessary to find suitable officers, reminds one of the like impediments which preceded the appointment of Monroe to Paris. I hope the results will differ.

I am entirely disposed, indeed resolved, to treat the subject as the good principles of all concerned merit, but I can't conceal from you my very great apprehension that too much is left to the chance and influence of intrigue and diplomatic skill. In the light in which I alone can see the views of France, there seems to be no secure alternative, and the sooner we say so and act, the less will be our danger.

For God's sake, attend to the very interesting subject treated of in my ciphered dispatches to the Secretary of State of the 10th, 18th, and 19th instant.† Connect it, as it should be, with the main object, the time to accomplish which has arrived. Without superstition, Providence seems to have prepared the way, and to have pointed out the instruments of its will. Our children will reproach us if we neglect our duty, and humanity will escape many scourges if we act with wisdom and decision. I am more confirmed than before, that an efficient force will be confederated to act against France. The combination is *not yet completed*, but, as I have reason to believe, will soon be.

That will be the moment for us to settle upon immutable foundations the extensive system of the American nation. Who can hinder us ? One nation alone has the power ; and she will cooperate in the accomplishment in South America of what has so well been done in North.

P. S. Mr. Church knows very well Col. Maitland.

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 389.

† 10th January (No. 17). No. 18, 14th January ; No. 19, 16th January. In connection with the St. Domingo question, the Miranda project is probably here referred to.—*Editor.*

LORD GRENVILLE TO R. KING.

Most Secret.

CLEVELAND ROW, Jany. 20, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

No apology was necessary ; you know the pleasure with which I communicate to you whatever may be useful to your Govt. to know, particularly when it is good news ; but keep our secret here—We are on the point, as I trust, of concluding a Convention with Russia for the march of a second & much larger army, & our expectations in other quarters are certainly better, tho' not yet (*even yet*) decisive.

Ever most truly yrs.

G.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 22.

LONDON, Jany. 21, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

All the mails are received. With the last, Couriers arrived from Petersburgh and Berlin. *In consequence of Dispatches just received* * from the Continent, *England is on the point of concluding a Convention with Russia for the march of a second & much larger army, and the Expectations of this Govt. in other quarters are certainly better, tho' not yet decisive. Consider this as authentic, though secret. Russia would not march a second army, unless assured that the Emperor, or Prussia, or both would join them.*

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

Mr. Dandridge, of Virginia, had been acting as Secretary for Mr. King, but having expressed a desire to take a commission in the Troops to be raised in 1798–9, was nominated and appointed to a commission. Mr. Pickering in a private letter, dated Jany. 20, 1799, under these circumstances wrote to Mr. King, to ask him to receive his son, John Pickering, in his place, he being at that time with Mr. Smith, U. S. Minister at Lisbon, by whom he was highly appreciated, and

* Italics in cipher.

who had "manifested an esteem and attachment honorable to my [his] son." Mr. Pickering after speaking of his character and qualifications, says:

"He had begun to study the law, when it was proposed to me to let him accompany Mr. Smith. I felt a reluctance to interrupt studies which were to form the basis of his pursuit for life; having long since determined to bring up my sons to some employment suited to their capacities and dispositions by which they might support themselves and families independently without any *public* expectations—But for public employments, a previous study of the law is highly useful."

As his son had been nearly two years with Mr. Smith, Mr. Pickering had thought of ordering him home to resume his studies, when, observing that Mr. King was

"likely ere long to be without a secretary, it occurred to me that could he be placed in that office, it would gratify *him*, be imcomparably more useful than a longer residence at Lisbon, and at the same time procure to *you* as diligent, as able and as faithful a secretary as you would anywhere find. . . . Without meaning to be importunate, I cannot withhold an assurance to you, that I know not any circumstance which could give me so much satisfaction as to have my son spend a year with you in London—because he is indeed an excellent young man. This is not the effusion of a father's fond affection but the testimony of all who know him." *

R. KING TO WM. WICKHAM.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Jany. 21, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Martin, to whom the enclosed letter is addressed, is Miranda, and Quatremére whose nom de guerre is subscribed to it was a member of the Council of Five hundred, and of the number ordered to be banished at the Revolution of the 4. September

* See Mr. King's answer to this and other letters on the same subject, March 16, 1799.

1797. Since that period he has remained in concealment at Paris. The late Decree, applying the Laws respecting Emigrants to the victims of the 4th of September, who shall not within a limited time surrender themselvès & submit to banishment, has obliged Quatremére to quit France and to seek an asylum here. I have reason to believe him to be an honest man, and that his principles are good considering where they were formed.

He will bring us pretty exact and recent information respecting the situation of France ; and if you see no special reasons to the contrary, I shall be obliged to you to give instructions to your officer at Yarmouth, to permit him to come to London, where he desires to reside. He seems to prefer to keep his assumed name ; if however you have any rule on that point, his gratification in this respect can be of no importance. Be so obliging as to give me your answer in season to write by the mail of tomorrow. I have an interest in seeing this character that leads me to this application.

With great truth, &c, &c,

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Jany. 22, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

. . . In my letter of 8th I promised to send you the official report of Capt. Phillips, as soon as it should be received, in reference to the outrage of Capt. Loring on the U. States Ship Baltimore. But I find it is not necessary ; it is a detail of his own pusilanimous conduct, so disgraceful to himself and unworthy an officer in the American Navy, that in consequence of his own statement of the facts the President has dismissed him from the service. He suffered some British Lieutenants to take the command of his own ship ; on their requisition he gave them a list of his crew, and called them up to answer to their names, and to the enquiries of these British officers ! He suffered 55 of his men, to be taken away by Capt. Loring's boats, without any resistance. When 50 of these had been returned, and a Lieutenant of the Thunderer, by Captain Loring's orders, demanded the delivery of four others, whom he called British subjects, and Capt. Phillips told the officer

that he should not *consent* to their being taken from him, the officer desisted and went away because he would not use any *force*. This demonstrates that if Captain Phillips had at first declared that if any were taken, it should only be by a superior force actually exerted, none would have been impressed.

This easiness and pusilanimity of Capt. Phillips, however, will not justify Captain Loring. *Before* he proposed an *exchange*, he *demanded* of Capt. Phillips and told him he would *take* all who had not protections, and he sent his boats and took them accordingly and surrounded by three ships of the line and some frigates, Captain Phillips submitted to the outrage.

To the information in my letter of the 8th, I have now to add the further direction of the President, that you make application to the British Government for the five men taken and detained by Captain Loring. . . .

Mr. Liston informs me that he has written to Sir Hyde Parker, who is chief in command of the British naval force in the West Indies, representing the impropriety of taking even known British subjects from public armed vessels of the United States; remarking that the right of doing it, if it exists at all, must be reciprocal; but to the exercise of which right no British Naval Commander would submit.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 23 January, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Since the meeting of Congress nothing important has occurred. The President's speech and the answers of the two houses you have before this seen. Nothing will be done towards accommodation with France until she makes our government an assurance that she will respect the rights of embassy and receive a minister from us with due honor. On this part of our President's speech our friends in Philadelphia were divided. Some thought that we should wait for a Minister from France; but the President thought differently.

Our government is opening a new loan at 8 per cent, which does not seem to be relished. It is universally thought the money wanted will be subscribed in less than half an hour. The in-

terest is complained of ; I fear in Europe it will look like the giving of two per cent a month by an individual.

Our army is progressing but slowly. . . . I think the great naval victories of Great Britain have tended powerfully to diminish our ardor, and to bring on a languor fatal to all our energies. . . . Our Navy is increasing and growing respectable. There is every appearance that it will be a favorite and popular object of the government. . . .

The proposition for amending the Constitution by excluding aliens from a seat in Congress, has been rejected by our Legislature now in session. Burr has made a speech, which is published in the Aurora on this question. He contends that the only instances of corruption we have had are a corruption in our own countrymen. Foreigners amongst us have always been virtuous, honorable and faithful servants of the public. . . .

More business in the mercantile line has never been done in this city than has been done since November. Insurance has fallen 50 per cent ; this agreeable change is ascribed to our Navy which has rendered our commerce more secure. . . .

When General Washington was in Philadelphia, he was in perfect health and his mind was thought to be as alert as ever. Since he left Philadelphia we have had a report of his death—but thank God it has proved to be groundless—He is not even sick—The shock this report gave, I cannot describe. . . .

Adieu,

ROBT. TROUP.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 23.

LONDON, Jany. 25, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

Col. Maitland is a character that I * think well chosen for the *business that* carries *him to Philada.* All *his family, which is Scotch, are* remarkable for their talents and independence. *The Colo. was a* member of the last *Parliament and with his brother, Lord Lauderdale, in opposition.*

In a conversation that I had *with him he* appeared to be convinced of the force of the objections *that we* should offer *to the*

* Italics in cipher.

Project first proposed *by Ld. Grenville* and also of the necessity *of concerted measures between us and this country. He* went very far *upon this point*, and as his *Powers, or rather those* given *to Mr. Liston*, (*for Col. Maitland* will have no *public character*) are very *full*, I am greatly in hopes that *an adjustment* will be made that will be satisfactory in the present case and open the way to future and beneficial Regulations *respecting the West Indies.* What is *now done*, should have in view, and if possible *should be so settled as to* assist what *hereafter must be done. Colonel Maitland is* well acquainted *with Mr. Liston*, and from peculiar circumstances will be likely to have much influence *with him.*

We have just received the President's speech. *The king who had* before more than once asked me whether it had yet arrived, told me yesterday that he had read it and that he found it an able and excellent speech. This opinion is expressed by every one, and our national reputation is daily increased by the steady and dignified conduct of our Government.

I have not heard that any of our Ships have made use of Certificates purporting that no part of their cargoes was of the growth or fabric of the British territories. Some Danish or Swedish ships, lately detained by the English cruizers are provided with Certificates of this sort ; indeed the merchants and navigators of their Nation, appear to conform to the Regulations from time to time made by France respecting the Commerce & Navigation of Neutral Nations.

In a late trial of these detained Ships, the Judge of the High Court of Admiralty took notice of the French Decree respecting British Productions and manufactures belonging to Neutrals and laden upon Neutral ships, spoke of it as a violation of the essential maxims of the Law of Nations, intimated that an acquiescence in it by Neutral Nations appeared unfriendly to England as well as humiliating to themselves, and that Certificates granted by French Consuls resident in Neutral Countries declaring that no part of the Cargoes of Ships laden in such Countries was of British production or fabric, afforded a presumption that such Cargo belonged to France or to her citizens. After this intimation it is not improbable that vessels provided with such certificates will be detained and sent in for adjudication. On the other hand France adheres to her Decrees, and our vessels are captured because

their Passports or Roles d'Equipages do not conform to the law of March 1797, and upon the pretence that their Cargoes are wholly or partly of English fabric or production.

Several of our Tobacco and other valuable ships have lately been taken and upon one pretence or another all vessels met by French Privateers & which are unable to defend themselves are captured ; and it is nearly or quite two years since I have heard of the discharge of any American Ship sent into a French Port as Prize. Upon our own Coasts & in the West Indies, the Privateers have decreased, but they have during the winter increased in the North Sea, the Bay of Biscay and about the Western Islands.

The Privateers are nourished by the capture of Neutral Property. The Trade of England sails in fleets and under Convoy and in this way is essentially protected. Why should we not collect our Rice and Tobacco Ships and send them to market under our own convoy ? We see that the English East and West India Trade is carry'd on in fleets which are convoyed in safety to their Ports of discharge. More time is requisite to perform the voyage, but a much less premium insures the ship and cargo, and the measure would be no inconsiderable national saving.

Should any of our Frigates come to Europe, and touch at any of the English Ports, I think by no means improbable that we could obtain the discharge of the American seamen who have been taken in French Privateers and are confined here as prisoners of war. They are upwards of an hundred and perhaps double that number.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

LONDON, Jany. 26, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I had some weeks past the pleasure of receiving your Letter of the 16th October. The Enclosure was immediately forwarded, tho' from the obstructions which interrupted the Passage to Hamburg, I fear it was a long time on its way to Berlin. We are still uncertain what is to be the Situation of Europe during the approaching summer ; on this topic I must refer to my Dispatches

to Col. Pickering. It would be hardly decent to express what I think of the weakness, corruption & indecision of most of the Continental Govts. The aristocracies are as unwise and as base as their Princes; and if Europe shall be rescued from the Barbarism, with which Philosophy is about to overrun it, it will be effected by the moderation & virtues of the People, who in Spain, Italy & throughout Germany are less guilty, & more meritorious than their Magistrates and Rulers. This is a melancholy prospect, and one that may appal, tho' it ought not to discourage, the boldest minds. The firmness, the courage and the resources of England, joined to the docility of the people and the wonderful ease with which the Laws are adapted to the new and dangerous condition of surrounding circumstances, are the highest Eulogium of its Constitution, afford a rational Hope of ultimate security and confirm what is so well proved in the best work that has been written upon the intricate subject of Government.

Amidst this mighty storm, it is my greatest pleasure, and the source of the most gratifying Pride, to mark the increasing attention with which Europe continues to observe and applaud the able and dignified Administration of the American Government, —which in its open & manly proceedings towards France has not only done much for its own Security, but more for that of Europe than many portions of it have had the courage or wisdom to do for themselves. This language is involuntary, for everywhere throughout Europe, strong tho' ill founded prejudices existed against us and our Institutions.*

With unfeigned Respect & attachment, I am, &c.

R. KING.

* J. ADAMS TO T. PICKERING, SECRETARY OF STATE.

QUINCY, 13th Ap., 99.

I regret I cannot have an opportunity of receiving Genl. Maitland and Colonel Grant, and conversing with them on several subjects of importance. . . . I hope Mr. King's public dispatches to you were written in better spirits than his private letter to me (probably Jany. 26 p. 29). You will please return it to me. Mr. King was, you know, at times a little subject to croaking. I fear, however, in this case he has too much reason. The people of Europe see little difference between the new and old state of things. The highest and lowest of mankind are desperately corrupt and wicked, and the middling people are almost destroyed.

CHAPTER XXXII.

King to Secretary of State—Neapolitans beaten in every Quarter—Union of Great Britain and Ireland considered—To General Maitland—His Mission should be no Misunderstanding between England and United States—King to Lord Grenville—Will England receive the Construction of France as conclusive on the Points in which France and United States disagree?—Shows the Wrong of such a Decision—Secretary of State to King—President approves his Interposition to prevent the Emigration of the Irish Traitors to the United States—Difficulties with Commissioners under the 6th Article—Act of Congress against French Privateers—King nominated as Commissioner to make a commercial Treaty with Russia—Cabot—Troubles with the Commissioners under 6th Article—Confidence in R. King to act wisely—Secretary of State to King—Virginia Resolutions disapproved of—King to Dundas on the East India Trade and his Answer—To R. Varick—Counterfeit Notes—Cabot to King—Effect of Conduct of France—Speculations on commercial Relations—Affairs in the United States—Truxton captures L'Insurgente—Scarcity of Copper prevents the Sale of it to the United States.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 24.

LONDON, Jany. 27, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Letters were yesterday received from Adml. Nelson, dated Naples Bay Decr. the 22d, which state that the Neapolitan Army is beaten in every quarter, that the cowardice of the soldiery is only equalled by the *Treachery* of the officers, that the King & Queen with the British Ambassador Sir Wm. Hamilton have escaped and were on board the Admiral's Ship on their way to Palermo in Sicily. Genl. Mack was at Capua & Naples in the hands of the French. Thus all Italy, excepting Tuscany, which will not escape, especially as Leghorn has lately been occupied by the Neapolitans protected by the Br. fleet, is completely in

the Power, and its wealth & resources entirely at the disposal of the Directory. It does not appear that the least effort was made by Austria to assist Naples; the Casus Fœderis it is alleged did not exist. The Conquest of Italy in itself is a most important Event, but the influence of these rapid Successes will exceed all calculation, on the one hand in dissipating the effects of the late naval victories of England, and by animating & hastening the new Levies of France; and on the other by increasing the hesitation of Austria & Russia, and adding to the embarrassments which retard the projected Confederacy.

The subject of an Union has been brought before the Parliaments of G. Britain and Ireland; in the former an answer to the King's Message has been voted without division engaging to take the subject into consideration; in the latter the address to the same effect in answer to the Speech of the Lord Lieutenant was carried in the House of Commons only by 106 against 105 Votes. This, I presume, is an unexpected Division. What will be the next step I can only conjecture. The Minister here stands publickly pledged to pursue the measure until it shall be crowned with compleat success. At present perhaps nothing further will be attempted in Ireland; but the Plan will I think be laid before the Br. Parliament, where its advantages as well to Ireland as to the Empire being fully discussed and laid open, may become the Foundation of a renewed attempt with the present or a future Irish Parliament.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO GENERAL MAITLAND.

LONDON, Jany. 27, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I cannot omit the opportunity before your departure to express to you the satisfaction that I feel in your going to Philadelphia. The Business that carries you there in itself is of considerable importance, but taken in connection with the harmony and friendly intercourse that so happily subsist between our two Countries, and which it is so much the wish of both to preserve and to perpetuate, the subject becomes ten fold more interesting; and it is

principally in this latter view that I think it truly fortunate that the questions which shall arise in the course of your discussions are certain to receive an equitable, as well as an unprejudiced and liberal decision. The late news from Italy, the whole of which except Tuscany is in the possession of the French, will on the one hand serve to diminish the Influence of the late naval Victories of this Country and to hasten and animate the new Levies of France; while on the other, it will increase the Doubts and indecision of Austria and Prussia, and raise up fresh embarrassments against the projected Confederacy. Without stopping to inquire where all this will end, does not the present situation of Europe eminently strengthen and confirm the Policy of removing as soon, and as effectually as possible, every cause of future misunderstanding and jealousy between Gr. Britain & the U. States? I am truly happy in believing that this must be your opinion; and in this way I derive some consolation from those disasters which cannot fail to excite our commiseration and Regret.

With the most perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, February 4, 1799.

MY LORD:

I persuade myself that your Lordship will feel the Equity of our Expectations in respect to the Subject of the enclosed Note. Precedents are conclusively applicable only to cases strictly analogous. We present a case without Example, and therefore not within the reach of Precedents. France asserted a construction of a public Treaty that we denied; she persisted and we dissolved the Instrument, the provision of which she construed in abuse.

A Question involving the settlement of much Property occurs before your tribunals, which on its merits can only be decided by deciding the Point and Construction on which we & France disagree. Will you receive the Construction of France as conclusive against us? What would have been proper had we acquiesced in & submitted to the Interpretation given to the Treaty by France is another point; but circumstanced as this question is, and with the knowledge of the violence and little regard to Justice that un-

fortunately prevail in France, and which no man can exclude from his mind, I cannot believe that we are to be thrown out of your Courts, on the Plea that respect is due to the Decisions of the Tribunals of France against the most explicit Denial of their Justice and Validity by us. All we ask is that the facts should be decided without a reference on the one hand to France, or on the other to us. If the demand is novel, so unhappily are the times in which we live ; and so much so indeed, that the application of maxims established upon the former usages and ancient faith of nations, to occurrences and cases originating from the Subversion of these maxims, would often defeat instead of securing the Justice they were formed to support.

In regard to the Laws respecting Neutral Ships laden with articles of the growth or fabric of the British Territories, and belonging to neutrals, can I suppose that your Courts will receive a French sentence condemning such property on account of growth or fabric, as conclusive evidence against a suitor, who comes before them to prove the Property to be neutral? Would not such a decision be an acquiescence in and an admission of the Justice of the Law—and how can one sentence be rejected and another received?

I will only add my Desire that this Subject may with as little Delay as convenient receive your Lordship's attention as I am informed that one or two of the Cases in question are in a state very soon to be argued and decided by the Court of King's Bench.

With most perfect Consideration & Respect

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD GRENVILLE.

Copy.

LONDON, February 4, 1799.

The undersigned Minister plenipotentiary has received the express order of the President of the United States to represent to the Government of his Britannic Majesty that immediately upon the breaking out of the present war in Europe, the United States in the most public and solemn manner announced their determination to take no part in the same, but on the contrary to observe

during the continuance thereof the most exact and impartial neutrality ; a Resolution alike influenced by a just regard to the welfare and happiness of their own People and an earnest desire to preserve the Relations of Peace and amity which happily subsisted between them and the different Nations of Europe.

These views continued invariably to regulate the conduct of the Amn. Govt. until the period when that of France, unmindful of the obligation of Treaties, and disregarding the Rights of Independent and friendly Nations, passed certain laws injurious to those Rights & which authorized extensive Depredations upon the Amern. Commerce.

The Undersigned refers in particular to an Order of the French Directory of the 2d of August 1797, and to a Law of the two Councils of the 18 January 1798. The first declares liable to capture and condemnation as lawful Prizes, all American Vessels not provided with a Role d'Equipage in the form thereby prescribed ; a Document which the American Vessels never possessed, which was not required by any stipulation in the treaties between the two Nations, & which according to express Provisions of such Treaties was wholly unnecessary. The Second, in violation of the acknowledged and hitherto universally recd. Law of Nations, declares liable to capture and condemnation all Neutral Vessels laden wholly or in part with articles of the growth or fabric of any of the Territories of Great Britain, notwithstanding the same shall bona fide belong to Neutrals.

The United States, whose Commerce became the Victim of these Regulations did not fail to present to the French Government repeated and friendly Remonstrances against them ; in which they demonstrated their inconsistency with the stipulations of existing treaties, refuted the pretended reasons upon which they were alleged to be founded & called upon the Justice of France for their revision and repeal.

This pacific and friendly course failed to produce its natural and proper Effect ; and the U. States, finding that neither the faith of treaties could restrain the Govt. of France, nor reasonable remonstrances induce a recall of its unjust and vexatious Regulations, by a solemn Act of their Legislature declared the treaties between them and France dissolved, void and no longer binding upon them or their People—gave orders to their Ships of

war & authority to their merchant vessels, the Masters whereof should apply for and receive Commissions for that purpose, not only to resist, but to attack, capture and make Prize of any armed French vessel found upon the high seas, and prohibited all trade & Commercial Intercourse between the Territories of the United States & the Dominion of France.

The undersigned flatters himself, from the facts thus concisely stated, the truth whereof is equally notorious and incontestable, that it might be evident to the British Government, that the United States have never acquiesced in, but on the contrary that they have constantly denied the Justice and validity of the above recited Regulations; and that unable by friendly Remonstrances to recall France to an observance of her treaties and a deference for those long established maxims of public Law, which no Nation is free to change or to disobey, they have dissolved and cut off all commercial Intercourse between the two Nations, & armed in defence of their just & violated Rights.

It has been in consequence of the above mentioned Regulations that American vessels laden with valuable cargoes of innocent merchandize & insured in Gr. Britain have been captured by French cruizers, and tho' acknowledged to be American Property have been condemned as lawful Prizes in the Tribunals of France.

These condemnations, made in violation of public faith, and which have led to the dissolution of the treaties by which they were pretended to be justified, are resorted to, and attempted to be used as just and conclusive sentences before the Judiciary of Great Britain, for the Purpose of defeating the Citizens of the United States in their claims against such of his Majesty's Subjects, as upon adequate consideration took upon themselves the Risque and became the assurors of the Property so unjustly condemned. It is with a view to Property in this peculiar situation that the Undersigned is ordered to present this note; and without discussing the nature and true extent of precedents, founded undoubtedly in the Justice as well as convenience of Nations, and which enjoin a Respect for the Decisions of foreign Tribunals, or asking with what Propriety such precedents can be made to bear upon cases circumstanced like the present, the Undersigned contents himself in referring these Enquiries to the Justice and im-

partiality of the Br. Govt. in full confidence that they must lead to the adoption of such measures as will effectually secure to the citizens of the United States the Remedies to which the Justice of their Claims in the above described Cases gives them a solid title. Whether this object is to be attained by Legislative or other Provisions for that Purpose, the Undersigned does not presume to enquire; but he is bound to express the reasonable Expectation of his own Government, that adequate means will be devised to remove any Impediments that may be supposed to stand in the way of real and substantial Justice in the cases before alluded to.

RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Feby. 5, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . The resignation of Sir James Marriott is a fortunate occurrence; the expences of long and indefinite delays in the proceedings of the high Court of Admiralty in England, added to the ordinary heavy charges of suits in that Court, rendered them insupportable.

Your timely interference to prevent the emigration of the Irish Traitors to this country is extremely acceptable to the President; but if removed to any other country many of them will probably find their way hither, and therefore not only a List of their names, but descriptions of their persons and their ages would be very useful, if attainable. . . .

The difference of opinion among the Commissioners here under the 6th Article of the British Treaty will doubtless suspend their proceedings; the claims not only surpass immensely in amount whatever was contemplated by us; but are advocated on principles which appear quite inadmissible. They go the length to make the United States, at once, the debtor for all the *outstanding* debts of British subjects contracted before the peace of 1783, and in effect reduce the Board to a company of clerks, whose chief business would be to examine and see that the accounts were rightly cast. The amount of the claims presented exceeds

Nineteen Millions of Dollars. I expect a statement will be made of the claims and arguments on one side, and of the reasons with which they are combated on the other, which with the requisite Documents will be transmitted to you. They will in that case be the subject of instructions from the President.

. . . The Decree of the Directory of France of the 29th of October, received in your No. 9., has by the President been laid before Congress, with the remark you made upon it. The chairman of a Committee of the Senate told me yesterday that a Bill was prepared to be introduced on the subject this day. The *suspension* of the execution of that Decree, as mentioned in your No. 10, cannot change the disposition of any measure on our part; and especially as the Decree of March 2d 1797 prescribed the same sanguinary treatment of *our Seamen*, and that Decree is neither repealed nor suspended.

The Law prohibiting Commercial intercourse with the French Dominions was to continue only until the end of the present session of Congress. A new Bill, with material alterations has passed the House of Representatives, by a very great majority, and will probably be adopted to day in the Senate. It is proposed to vest the President with power to open the intercourse with such places in the French Territories, into which our vessels may enter with safety; and consequently where the licenced piracies of French Privateers shall no longer be practised. It is not a secret that this may be expected in St. Domingo; and it would be unwise in us not to benefit by such an event. If this discrimination in the bill should produce such an effect we cannot be blamed. If by a *Commercial* arrangement we disarm an enemy, the measures cannot be censured. The profits of that Commerce, should it be opened, will tend to compensate our Merchants for the interest of the immense capital of which French Captures, seizures and the non-fulfillment of Contracts have deprived them. . . . The injuries we have sustained by such captures and partial condemnation (by the British cruizers in the West Indies) are very considerable. It is time that on both sides the meaning of the 18th article was understood. It has lately been stated that one Insurance Company in this city (Philadelphia) has in the last six months paid for losses by *British* captures to a much greater amount than for those arising from French captures.

P.S. The President has this day nominated you Commissioner Plenipotentiary to negociate a Commercial Treaty with Russia. 6th Feby.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Feby. 7th, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I anticipate the chagrin you will feel at the falling off so visibly in our Country since the meeting of Congress & I partake of the inquietude & perplexity which you are to suffer from the secession of our Comms. at Phila. Altho I am wholly uninformed of the grounds of misunderstanding yet I can think of no other than is suggested by the Newspaper relative to confiscated debts or property, & I shou'd not have imagined that serious pretensions cou'd have been raised on either Treaty to revise those acts. Whatever it may be, you are to negotiate the accommodation & your success good or bad will be decisive, in the judgment of this country, of the policy G. B. will habitually pursue towards the U. S. Every thing has conspired to satisfy me that you personally wou'd give to our country a fair & full chance for the operation of every favorable motive & incident, & if under these circumstances we cannot procure a liberal system of intercourse the fault must be in the intractable temper of G. B. But nothing short of experience will convince me that she can be so blind to her own interest. I know your moderation and equanimity & with these your knowledge & Industry can hardly fail to accomplish all our wishes. I have heard nothing of the commercial projects you have transmitted—my own head has been often filled with extensive schemes which G. B. & the U. S. might execute with infinite advantage if they cou'd be brought to act together with that perfect good faith & good humour which alone can result from a common interest well understood by both parties. Men who live out of the world always wonder its affairs are not better regulated; but when they are made to see the innumerable & apparently insuperable obstacles which Vice & Folly every where produce they wonder that any thing like order subsists. I send you Mr. Pickering's Report which you cannot but approve as a good antidote to *Gerryism* which has a little infected some of the very Great & some of the very Little. I dare not commit to

writing my ideas on the subject but you wou'd be charmed with Pickering if you knew the great part he sustains.

Vive vale.

G. C.

Mr. Pickering in the following letter enlarges upon the suggestions in a previous despatch relative to a designation of a more particular description by name of articles which have been considered and treated as contraband, under the 18. article.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

Private.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Feby 6th, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . I wish you to turn the subject in your mind; and the more as you may yourself have occasion, I believe, very shortly to concur in making an arrangement which will embrace it, and in which, as in all acts of the kind, *precision* is of the highest importance. . . .

I inclose a very candid and sensible address (printed) from the Minority of the House of Assembly of Virginia to the people of that State, to counteract the Address and Resolves of the majority which were of the most inflammatory nature and hostile to the General Government. . . . They have been rejected by every other Legislature, which has yet taken them up. In short, Virginia and its offspring Kentucky will stand alone in those outrageous attempts to break the union of the States; their proceedings excite only contempt mingled with some resentment, proportioned to the degree of force with which they could assail the union.

T. P.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 25.

LONDON, Feby. 13, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The last French papers contain a long Message of the Directory to the Councils delivered on the 13th ulto., recommending a revision of the Prize Laws and a transfer of the Power to decide Prize questions in the last resort from the ordinary Tribunals to

the Executive Directory. Probably the last is the real object of the Message. The Profits now divided among the Tribunals would upon this modification of the Laws, center in the Hands of the Directory & its particular Agents. I shall send you a copy of this Message, and a Report of the proceedings of the Councils upon it, as soon as I am able to obtain them.

No mails have been received from Hamburgh since the middle of January, and we know nothing of what is doing upon the Continent, except from the French Papers. Italy has completely fallen without the Emperor's moving. Ehrenbreitstein is likewise reported to have surrendered without any attempt by Prussia to retain it. Portugal is menaced with an army, to which Spain is said to have given permission to march thro' her Territories; and another Expedition is undoubtedly preparing at Brest; naval Stores are carried overland from Dunkirk to Brest for its equipment, and the French papers say they are to make another effort to throw a body of troops into Ireland; ten or twelve Ships of the Line with Frigates and Transports are to be employed in the attempt.

I annex copies of a Note that I lately sent to Lord Grenville in consequence of your Letter of the 13. of December (No. 35), and of a letter to Mr. Dundas respecting the interruption of our Ships returning from the Danish Provinces in India to Europe. The former has been sent to the Law Officers of the Crown for their opinion and Report; and to the latter I have yet received no answer.

The Swedish Envoy will leave a few days hence on his return home; his secretary remains as Chargé d'Affaires: this recall is to be understood as a mark of displeasure of Sweden on account of the seizure of its ships in the course of the last Summer; these vessels are still detained and are to be tried by the Prize Courts.

Mr. Smith our Minister at Lisbon lately inquired of me whether we were likely to recover anything here on account of the capture of the Ship Fortune, the vessel employed by Barlow to carry the captives from Algiers to Marseilles. I have answered him after a full examination of the Case, and taking the opinion of Counsel here, the claim has been abandoned as desperate. I think that I have already given you an exact report of the circumstances of

this Case ; if not, you may obtain it from Donaldson, who has returned to Philadelphia ; the vessel was never American property ; the whole transaction was a fraud, of which (in the most charitable light that it can be said) Barlow was the Dupe.

With the most perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO HENRY DUNDAS.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 13, 1799.

SIR :

Your official connexion with the whole subject of British India, leads me to address this Letter to you directly instead of passing it into the Department of Foreign Affairs. The Representations of the Masters of the American Ships Iphigenia and Kensington, and which I take the liberty to send you inclosed, are so full and satisfactory that it seems unnecessary that I should restate the cases for your information.

I presume that no question exists concerning the reality of the Danish Settlement at Serampore and therefore that none can exist concerning the Right of Denmark to regulate the trade between it and the Danish Dominions in Europe. These ships then were engaged in lawful voyages when the Governor of St. Helena acting, as he alleges, under instructions from the East India Company, detained and sent them to England charged with having violated the Provisions of the Treaty between Gr. Britain and the United States.

That we shall experience occasional interruptions from the agents of the Company in our trade to India, I am disposed to believe ; as it is of the essence of their employment to render as exclusive as possible the trade of the Company, and the advantages it enjoys.

But I have the satisfaction to know that other and more just and liberal views are entertained by you on this subject, and I flatter myself that you will be disposed to temper and moderate a spirit, that left to its natural impulse will expose our commerce to unceasing and most inconvenient interruptions.

These ships are not detained on suspicion that they or their cargoes are enemy's property, but on a principle against which I

cannot too early offer my Protest, and which I persuade myself a due regard to the stipulations of our treaty and to the mutual harmony and friendship of our Countries will cause to be relinquished. So far as I am able to understand the conduct of the Governor of St. Helena, it was not influenced by an opinion that these cargoes were not exported from the Danish, but from the British Territories in India, and according to the Provisions of our Treaty ought to have been carried directly from there to America, instead whereof being bound to Denmark, they became liable to seizure by the officers of the British Government. It is this influence that I resist ; and admitting the case to be the reverse of what it is, and precisely what it is supposed to be, we cannot allow that these ships were liable to seizure by any person deriving his authority from Great Britain. The stipulation in question, in terms as well as meaning, is an agreement on the part of the United States that their people shall carry the articles exported from the British Territories in India directly to America, and moreover that the United States shall adopt such regulations, as from time to time may be found necessary to enforce the faithful performance of this agreement. It is the United States and their officers, and not Great Britain or her officers, who have the right and are bound to enforce the observance of this rule ; and in this as in other Stipulations of Treaties between Nations, the performance rests upon the good faith of those who have made the promise. If the citizens of the United States evade or disobey the rule contained in the stipulation, the United States, and they only, have the Right, and by express clauses in the Treaty are obliged to punish the offenders. The remedy on the part of Great Britain, if this stipulation is violated, is by calling on the American Government to enforce the observance of it ; and in case of neglect or refusal, a fact however not to be presumed, the Treaty itself may justly be considered as at an End.

Thus then whether these ships were engaged in a voyage without the reach of the Treaty, or in a voyage contrary to its provisions, in either case their detention is illegal and they ought to be restored.

With the most perfect Esteem & Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. King to Richard Varick, New York.

London, Feby. 14, 1799.

Dear Sir :

Having obtained information that a person was employed in printing a quantity of American Notes or Bills of Credit, I took immediate measures to have him and his work seized by the Police. It turns out to be a forgery of the Small Notes issued by Mr. Phœnix by order of the Corporation of New York. feb 20. 1790. The printer had worked off 20.000 sheets, each sheet containing 4 notes for threepence, and 2 for twopence ; the work was to have been delivered the evening of the day it was seized. The printer says that he intended to disclose the business to me before the delivery, and as evidence of his honesty pointed out the difference between the letters in the words "*two pence*" on the back of the false Bills from those of the true, as well as some other variations. We are now endeavouring to detect the Employer, whose name and residence the printer says he does not know, but whom he understood to be an American. I have promised to release the Printer (by the way I don't find that he could be punished) and to give him a few Guineas if he will effectually assist the Police officers in discovering the Employer.

I wish that this new proof of the risque as well as injustice of these small paper money Schemes may operate to discourage us from resorting to them. The Corporation would have detected and refused to pay these counterfeits ; but the citizens and that class of them least able to bear the loss would have been sufferers to the amount that should have been thrown out of circulation. *

With sincere Respect & Esteem &c.

Rufus King.

* Richard Varick to R. King.

New York, February 1st, 1800.

Dear Sir :

Some time in April last I had the honor of receiving your very friendly favor of the 14th February last, advising me of the measures you had adopted for securing the counterfeiters of our City small change commonly called Penny Bills alias *Phœnixes*, and covering a specimen of the false bills which are in my opinion sufficiently well executed to deceive 9 tenths of the Citizens, and as you observe the *poorer class* in particular.

At the first Common Council thereafter and which was held within a few days after the receipt of your letter, I laid it with its contents before the Board.

G. CABOT TO R. KING.

Feby. 16, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

If the Seditious were hardy enough to denounce you for the great service you have render'd the country in shutting its doors against Irish Desperadoes you wou'd still have reason to be content, for the praises of the good wou'd be increased in proportion to the clamours of the vicious ; but I believe the measure is so generally approved that Faction will hardly dare to condemn it. I mention'd in a late letter the secession of OUR Comms. ; my only authority was the Newspapers but it stood uncontradicted until it was universally credited—the truth of it is now denied by Porcupine, so that we may at least suppose the acct was exaggerated, & altho' I know there are some *unexpected* proceedings, I hope they are not of so great moment as I had feared.

You are not more chagrined than many other Federalists at the inconsistency of Congress in their last session. I believe however there is no great secrecy in the cause of it ; a maxim a 1000 times repeated & a million times verified since the day of De Retz may serve for a general explanation—how often do we lament the

They in the first place requested me to present to you their thanks for the attention you have manifested to the interest of your fellow citizens of New York, and to declare to you their readiness to reimburse any expence which you might have incurred on the subject to serve us ; They also took immediate measures for calling out of circulation those notes so as to put a stop to farther evil and the *little* Fraud by means thereof.

[Mr. Varick then states that though he had sent an answer to Mr. King's letter shortly after his was received, he had learned from him that it had not reached him and therefore in this repeated what had been written in it. He finishes the letter by saying :]

I agree with you in the opinion that we ought not to hold our real property cheap on account of a few visits of the Yellow Fever. Indeed I mention with pleasure that it has not depreciated as much as our friends at a distance from us would be led to suppose, or as some of our desponding ones here imagine. It is true that Real Estates do not command as high prices now as 4 or 5 years since, when every monied man, alias paper dealer, considered himself a Nabob ; but our citizens in general are not yet disposed to abandon their residences or to part with their *Real* Estates *under* fair prices.

I transmit you nothing new, as I suppose Mr. Low and many other friends give you all our country affairs. I pay my respects to Mrs. King and wish you both every happiness.

With great respect and esteem, &c.

RICHD. VARICK.

impossibility of combining the efforts of those who truly aim at the same end! but in the present case Genl Marshall unfortunately held the decided opinion *that France woud* DECLARE *war* when the Dispatches shou'd appear: & T. Sewell with other good men were so strongly impressed with the advantage of such a declaration by them that they cou'd not be persuaded to relinquish the belief in it—I was astonished that they shou'd have attributed to the French such miserable policy.

You will be more mortified at the strange language *lately* held on the practicability of a safe & pacific system of intercourse being at the *option* of France to restore &c &c—when a public man allows himself to become the advocate of Inconsistency in another, he necessarily becomes inconsistent himself. The spirit of our country which was rising to a just indignation has undoubtedly been damped by some who had great merit in exciting it. You will see however that it is not wholly repressed & the violent & seditious temper of Virginia operates powerfully to revive it. The addresses of our Legislature to Govr Sumner & their spirited proceedings in opposition to Virginianism will show plainly that the people are better than Congress.

The ideas you suggest respecting Commerce with the Levant & Constantinople are very important & if a treaty can be formed that shall secure for us an easy access to those Regions, our people will rate its value full as high as they ought, for they outstrip Dutchmen & Jews in the love of trade & its profits; they will also see in such a measure the difference between english & french sincerity. I don't yet understand the policy of G. B. in relation to Hispaniola, but to me it appears evident that they ought to seize that Colony from France effectually & forever—the Commerce of England with the two Indies & the U. S., upon principles of liberality toward us, might be maintained superior to competition or hostility, & if the advantages were to be used with moderation, might be permanent. In a word Hispaniola shou'd be independent & this Independence guaranteed by G. B. & acknowledged by France at the peace: if Royalty is restored or established, this wou'd be a reasonable indemnity, but if the Monster *called Republic* continues it is indispensable to strip him of this possession or there wou'd be no security in his neighborhood——

Yours

G. C.

H. DUNDAS TO R. KING.

SOMERSET PLACE, 18th Feby., 1799.

SIR :

I postponed answering the letter I had the honor to receive from you a few days ago, in order that I might make enquiry how far the detention of the Ships Kensington and Iphigenia had taken place in consequence of any special order on the part of the Directors. I do not find this to have been the case, and therefore take the liberty of suggesting to you the propriety of addressing yourself to Lord Grenville on the Subject, as some of the most material points contained in your Letter can only, with regularity, be treated of through the channel of his office.

I have the honor to be &c &c.

HENRY DUNDAS.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Feby. 19, 1799.

MY LORD :

I take the liberty to send your Lordship enclosed copies of a Letter that I lately wrote to Mr. Dundas and of his answer. Your Lordship will perceive by the Letter to Mr. Dundas my motives for addressing myself to him upon a subject that it seems according to strict form, can only be treated of with the Department in which your Lordship presides.

Under these circumstances it has appeared to me adviseable to present the subject to your Lordship exactly in the form in which it was before Mr. Dundas, rather than to give to the application the shape of another Letter of the same purport, addressed to your Lordship. I flatter myself that your Lordship will agree with me in the Interpretation of the Stipulations of our Treaties, and I will only add my request of your Lordship's interference, in order that these Ships with their Cargoes, with as little delay as possible, may be discharged.

With the most perfect consideration & Respect &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

G. Cabot to R. King.

Feby. 22d, 1799.

My dear Sir:

In your letter of the 19th Oct, which is *this moment* received, you express some discontent with a sentiment in one of mine to Gore on the affairs of South America—I cannot trace in my memory any of my ideas on that subject except the general one of an open trade which may be enjoyed by us & the English; if any thing better is attainable you know my readiness to approve it.

Congress will soon close its session & considering the *singular* temper with which it was addressed at the commencement I feel thankful that our affairs are no worse—the strange expression that France might *at her option* renew the intercourse of commerce & friendship with us has caused much inquietude among our best men but I believe you may rely that the system of the last session will be pursued & that the spirit of the country is sustained notwithstanding this inauspicious circumstance.

We are to be sure very much exposed to the arts of France if they wou'd practise them in a masterly manner but Fortune has often counter-balanced our blunders & I trust will not wholly desert us now;—we ought to have declared war or *at least* authorized universal Reprisals & prohibited personal Intercourse—I have urged the adoption of these measures, but among my masters a majority cou'd not be interested in its favor—so like a good *subject* I acquiesce & hope that after the lying & intriguing of one more anxious summer, our Govt will be able to do what its own dignity & the public good imperiously & *plainly* demand, & if the cursed French Republic shall then subsist I hope we shall be prepared to resist its arts & its arms until it sinks—this will happen from the weight of its own vices if from nothing else.

Altho' *I* have been unwilling to commit to paper the details of our affairs which wou'd be the most interesting to you yet I presume you are always sufficiently informed—indeed your own reflections must often be as satisfactory as positive testimony; you must have discerned the cause of an apparent inconsistency in the sentiments of some of our *greatest* men—a man can hardly venture to palliate still less to vindicate the inconsistency of another without being guilty of inconsistency himself—it is unfor-

tunate that a man shou'd mistake obstinate adherence to error for consistency of opinions.—G. cou'd offer no apology for his stay but his declaration "that he believed there was sincerity" & whoever repeats the apology & sanctions it is obliged to persist in declaring that it may be true.

I hear nothing further of the *secession* of our Commrs. at Phila., therefore conclude the story is misunderstood & that the embarrassment tho' unpleasant is not so important as was reported.

Your sincere & *faithful* friend

G. C.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 27.

LONDON, March 1, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

It was customary for the Privy Council to grant special permissions for the Exportation of Copper in Sheets and Bolts to the United States upon my certificate that the Ships were American and the Masters Citizens.

During the last Summer from an apprehended scarcity of Copper, I was informed that no such permission would in future be granted except upon my certificate that the Copper was ordered by and intended for the public service of the United States, and several orders of this sort have been executed. But permission having lately been refused on the application for Copper for the Frigate building at Charleston, South Carolina, I wrote a letter to Mr. Fawkner, Clerk of the Privy Council, stating the disappointment to which we should be exposed by such refusal, especially with the expectations we had been authorized to entertain on this subject, and desiring him to renew the request for permission to export the requisite Copper for the Frigate building at Charleston. I annex his answer by which it appears that for the present we are not likely to obtain any farther supply of Copper from this Country.

We are still without mails or news from the Continent. Your No. 35 of 15th December is the last that I have received from you.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

W. Fawkner to R. King.

Council Office, Whitehall, 26th February, 1799.

Sir :

(Mr. F. acknowledges receipt of application, &c., &c., and says :) "I am directed to acquaint you that their Lordships, desirous as they may be to afford assistance to the Government of the United States, in forwarding their armament against a power equally hostile to both Countries, are sorry that, from the very high price of Copper, and the great demand for that article, for the Navy and Manufactures of this Kingdom, they are under the necessity for the present of refusing to permit the Export of any Copper Sheathing or Nails in any case whatsoever, even to the Powers that are in alliance with his Majesty, and actually engaged in the War against France ; and I am to add that this subject is of so pressing a nature, that their Lordships have reason to believe that it will soon be brought under the consideration of Parliament.

I have the honor, &c.

W. Fawkner.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Department of State, March 6, 1799.

Dear Sir :

. . . The Constellation, Captain Truxton, has taken the French Frigate L'Insurgente, and carried her into St. Kitts. She was one of the two Frigates which came with General Desfourneaux to Guadaloupe, in December last, and is one of the fastest sailing frigates in the French Navy. L'Insurgente had 50 men killed and 30 wounded. The Constellation, 6 killed and 3 wounded. We have not yet an official account ; but there is no doubt of the fact.

T. P.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Pickering to King—Proposed Negotiation with France regretted—King to Pickering—On current Events—Cabot: Nomination of Minister to France condemned—Secy. of State—St. Domingo will be independent—Insurrection in Pennsylvania against direct Tax—President gone to Quincy—King to Lord Grenville—Protest against Outrage on the Baltimore by Capt. Loring—To Count Woronzow—Commercial Treaty with Russia—To Lord Grenville demanding a sealed Package addressed to him and detained by the Court of Admiralty—To Secy. of State—Conference with Lord Grenville relative to Capt. Loring—Also one relative to Contraband of War—Impressment of Seamen and other Points in Dispute—Count Rumford to King—Military Suggestions—King to Secy. of State—Premature in naming a Commissioner to Russia—Plans of Russia and England to cut off the Trade of Neutrals with France—LaFayette—Irish Affairs—Joseph Hale to King—Reflections on Mr. Murray's Appointment to Holland—King to Troup—On the Prize Courts of England—To Pickering—His Son as Secretary—Recommends C. Gore as Minister to Constantinople—To J. McHenry relative to Count Rumford—To O. Wolcott respecting Arms sent to the United States—To Count Rumford.

T. Pickering to R. King.

Private.

Philadelphia, March 6, 1799.

Dear Sir:

The nomination to negociate with the French Government was exceedingly regretted by every friend to the President and to the United States. I do know an exception. A committee of the Senate (Sedgwick, Stockton, Read, Bingham and Ross) were prepared to report against the nomination of Mr. Murray on the morning of the 25th ulto. when the President sent in his second Message, putting the negociation in Commission, and postponing its commencement until the receipt of the assurances required by his Message of the 21st of June last. This palliated the evil in the only possible way in which it could be lessened. This latter

nomination was readily approved. Mr. Ellsworth (painful as the acceptance will be) will not decline the Mission : there has not been time to ascertain Mr. Henry's mind. The only negociation compatible with our honor or safety is that begun by Truxton in the capture of L'Insurgente.

We shall recover from the shock of Murray's nomination ; no preparation for war is lessened. . . . Congress have substantially provided for all the measures suggested in the reports of the Secretary of War and of the Navy ; and amid every untoward event, my motto is "Nil Desperandum."

Yours most truly

T. P.

P. S. The President has just signed a Proclamation for a general fast, in which are these expressions : "As moreover the most precious interests of the United States are still held in jeopardy by the hostile designs and insidious arts of a foreign Nation as well as by the dissemination among them of those Principles subversive of the foundations of all religious, moral and social obligations, that have produced incalculable mischief and misery in other Countries," &c., and in the subjects of prayer to the Deity "that he would (make) succeed our preparations for defence and bless our armaments by land and by sea."

*All this you will say is not very consistent ; true, but the evil of the nomination may thus be counteracted ; both measures are exclusively the President's own acts.** . . .

R. King to Col. Pickering.

Private.

London, March 9, 1799.

Dear Sir :

I avail myself of the offer of a Passenger in the Packet to send you the Dispatches of Mr. Adams and Mr. Murray received by the last Hamburgh Mails. As fourteen or more mails arrived at the same time, and Mr. Murray's Letters to me do not mention whether his Dispatches are originals or duplicates I have no means of distinguishing the one from the other. Tho' we have the Newspapers containing Mr. Gerry's subsequent correspond-

* Italics in cipher.

ence, and your excellent and useful Report to the President, I am still without any Letters from you since the middle of December. This I the more regret, as we have heard of the scism of the Commission under the 6th Article of the English Treaty, and are totally ignorant of the Points of disagreement. I have carefully abstained from saying a word respecting the outrage of Captain Loring upon our Flag, preferring to wait till I should be in full possession of the Case. According to everything I hear, this Government will probably be disposed to give us satisfaction.

Notwithstanding our great impatience on account of the interruption of the Communication with the Continent, we seem to be in equal uncertainty respecting the Recommencement of the war, since the arrival of the mails as we were before. The same hesitation, the same jealousies and the same temporising System, from which so much ruin has already proceeded, continue to prevail at Vienna & Berlin. Mr. Grenville arrived at the latter place on the 17th ulto., but it is much to be feared that he came too late. I hope to be able to write you more particularly upon this topic tomorrow or the day after. I shall [put] you this year to a little additional Expence in order to obtain information from France ; and as foreign Postage is paid here, and the Dispatches of some of our Ministers, which pass thro' my Hands are large and heavy my Postage account will be proportionally increased.

I see no evidence of an effectual change towards us or others on the part of France ; great and increasing numbers of our valuable Ships are captured and condemned by them ; I have heard of the release of one from Dieppe, and of one or two others suffered to proceed when met by their Privateers. It is confidently said that certain vessels under Danish, Swedish and American Flags have safe conducts from the French Directory : if so, we can account for their being permitted to pursue their voyages when met by Privateers.

While writing I have received your Dispatches to the 6th of February. At present I can only mention their receit. I am apprehensive that B. S. & B. will be disappointed in not receiving Remittances as they are considerably in advance to the Spoliation Fund.

Very truly and faithfully yours,

R. K.

G. Cabot to R. King.

March 10, 1799.

My dear Sir:

You will partake of all the unpleasant sensations which have been excited by the nomination of *a* minister to the french Republic*—this measure was unexpected and *unknown* to every member of the Govt. until announced to the Senate—Surprise, indignation, grief & disgust followed each other in quick succession in the breasts of the true friends of our country, & a flat negative wou'd probably have been given by the Senate if the modification had not taken place which you will see in the enclosed paper & which mitigates the evil it cou'd not wholly prevent. The origin of this extraordinary proceeding is not exposed & perhaps ought not to be, but may be sought in the weaknesses to which the best of men are liable—Egotism—vanity—wounded pride—Gerryism—distrust of men who lay too much stress on the *public* welfare as opposed to personal—implacability toward those who maintain that it was *more* important to keep the sceptre from the hands of a known Enemy than to place in the hand of *any one* in preference to another well tried faithful friend—these topics are sufficiently familiar to you & your mind will be driven to them for the causes of this afflicting incident:

* In *Life and Works of John Adams*, vol. ix., p. 249. In the 5th Letter to the Boston *Patriot*, Mr. Adams says: "They" (the gentlemen of the Senate sent to confer with him on the nomination of Mr. Murray to France)[1] "then inquired, why I had not nominated Mr. King. I answered that if Mr. King had been in Holland, I certainly should not have thought of any other character. But he was our Ambassador to England, then at war with France, and it would be considered by France as an insult to send them our Ambassador, who, as soon as he had accomplished his business was to return to England and carry with him all the information he might have collected in Paris. That the French government would suspect me of a design to send them a spy from the Court of St. James. That I presumed Mr. King at that time would not be pleased to be removed from England to France for perpetuity or permanence," &c., &c.

[1] A committee of the Senate of which Mr. Sedgwick was chairman was sent to endeavor to persuade Mr. Adams to withdraw the nomination of William Vans Murray on the 18th of February, 1799, as Minister to the French Republic. Mr. Adams refused to withdraw him, but on the 25th of February, 1799, he nominated in addition to him, two more, Messrs. Ellsworth and Patrick Henry, to be Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary to the Republic of France.

at present there is a disposition to let the subject subside, but it is so easy to render it mischievous that I am full of fears lest it shou'd be used with success to divide us anew & by combining many of the Federalists and half federalists with real jacobins form a strong majority whose power will be directed to crush those who have been foremost in supporting the national dignity, but who like Aristides are too much praised by some to be ever forgiven by others. The new nomination of Ellsworth & Henry I conceive to be a real relinquishment of the original measure; but still it is pernicious to turn the mind again toward negotiation after it was reconciled to the true doctrine that in Resistance alone there is safety.

We blunder along & Providence keeps us from falling—you will see some consolation in the enclosed paper which if it is the first you receive will be worth the postage,—in this hope I send it.

Yours faithfully,

G. C.

R. KING TO THE COUNT DE WORONZOW.

Private.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Mar. 11, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have received answers from Philadelphia to my Letters in which I communicated the conversation that passed between you and me on the subject of a better understood and more intimate connection between our Countries.

The President as well as his Ministers seem pleased with the suggestion, and I am persuaded will most cheerfully do what depends on us to fulfil so desireable an object.

Nothing was accurately determined when the Packet sailed: should the President be desirous that the Negotiation should take place in London, he will most probably confide it to me,*

* Pickering to Hamilton (*Works of Hamilton*, vol. vi., p. 398), Feby. 25, 1799.

". . . We have all been shocked and grieved at the nomination of a minister to negotiate with France. There is but one sentiment on the subject among the friends of their country and the real supporters of the President's administration. Pains have been taken to ameliorate the measure by throwing it into a commission. But the President is fixed. The Senate must *approve* or negative the nomination. In the latter event perhaps he will nominate commissioners. I beg you to be assured, that it is wholly *his own act*, without any participation or communication with any of us. It is utterly inconsistent with

and I will not say how truly gratified I should be to cooperate with you, in a work that I flatter myself would not only be durable, but mutually advantageous to our respective Countries.

I know that the idea of negotiating the Treaty in a third place, proceeds from considerations entirely compatible with the most perfect respect for his Imperial Majesty ; and should the plan of conducting the negotiation here be finally adopted by the President, I shall feel myself anxious until I learn that it will likewise be agreeable to the Emperor.

Though I have no information of any decision of the President upon this Subject, I have thought it due to the frankness and friendship, that I have always received from you, to send you this private Note, and I beg you to be assured of the very great esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be

Your obt. and faithful Servt.,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

LONDON, March 11, 1799.

The Undersigned, Minister Plenipotentiary has received the order of the President of the United States * to transmit to Lord Grenville in order that the same may be laid before His Britannic

his late nominations of Mr. King to negotiate a commercial treaty with Russia, and of Mr. Smith to negotiate a like treaty with the Porte. Both these objects will now be defeated. . . ."

* J. ADAMS TO T. PICKERING, SECRETARY OF STATE.

QUINCY, June 7th, 1799.

SIR :

I return you all the letters of Mr. King and Mr. Humphreys, which were inclosed with your letter of May 30th. Encourage Mr. King, I pray you, in your letters and instructions to him, to persevere, with all the decision which may be consistent with decency and politeness, in denying the right of British men of war to take from our ships of war any men whatever, and from our merchant vessels any Americans or foreigners, or even Englishmen. There is no principle under heaven by which they can justify taking by force, even from an American Merchant Vessel, even a deserter from their army and navy, much less private seamen. If they have a right, we have the same. I know not whether the exercise of it would not be most useful to us. Their merchant ships are more numerous than ours, and they have more foreigners, Swedes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, Danes, Dutch, &c., than we have. If our men of war had a right to take them, we might easily man our navy ; but the thing has no principle.

Majesty, the annexed Pieces, which contain the Reply made by the American Consul at the Havannah, of the outrage or insult upon the American Flag and Nation, committed by the Commander of his Majesty's ship of war, the Carnatic.

According to this Report which has been fully confirmed by that of the Commander of the American ship of war, the Carnatic, commanded by John Loring Esquire, in company with two other British ships of the Line and two Frigates, on the morning of the seventeenth of November, on the high seas, fell in with a number of American Merchant Ships under the orders and protection of the Baltimore, a twenty Gun Ship of war belonging to and bearing the Flag of the United States and bound to the Port of Havannah.

After it was ascertained that the Baltimore was an American National Ship of War, Captain Loring required of her Commander to surrender to him such of her Crew as did not possess Certificates of American Citizenship ; and on this being refused by the means of his superior force took out of the said Ship Baltimore fifty five of her crew and carried them on board the Carnatic. Fifty of these seamen were afterwards returned to the Baltimore, but the other five were detained and carried away by the said Captain Loring, who not content with this act of violence, added to it the indignity of a demand of the wages alleged to be due to these seamen.

The undersigned is persuaded that it cannot be necessary to employ much time in showing the injustice and insolence of this unparalleled proceeding. No Nation holds higher the honor of its Flag than England ; none cherishes more assiduously the Rights of its Navy ; none therefore is more capable to appreciate the insult that has been received or the satisfaction that ought to be given.

The Undersigned notwithstanding thinks himself obliged to remark that had the whole crew of the Baltimore been composed of British Subjects, the reverse whereof was the fact, they were in the public service of the United States, by voluntary engagement, a reason constantly assigned and received for the refusal to discharge American Citizens serving in his Majesty's Navy, tho' such discharge is demanded by respectable and authorized agents of the American Government.

Besides no principle of maritime law is more clear, no national Right more perfect, than those which mutually secure to the ships of war of friendly Nations, sailing upon the main ocean, an exemption from search and detention, and for still stronger Reasons from such acts of violence as were committed on the present occasion ; if the conduct of the Commander of the Carnatic can be justified, the like conduct of an American Ship of war must be lawful ; it is needless to suggest the consequences.

The undersigned entertains too high a respect for the equity and justice of his Majesty to believe for a moment that a proceeding so overbearing and offensive toward a nation with which his Majesty lives on terms of harmony and friendship, can be seen with any other than sentiments of displeasure, & of marked disapprobation. He therefore entertains no doubt of an early compliance with the demand of the President of the United States, that orders be given for the exemplary punishment of the said John Loring, Commander of the Carnatic, and for the immediate return of the men taken from the Baltimore and detained on the Carnatic.

The undersigned feels great satisfaction in adding that this is the only instance of irregularity on the part of his Majesty's naval officers towards those of the United States, and he flatters himself that his Majesty's prompt and public animadversion upon that first delinquency will not only prevent a repetition thereof, but moreover operate to strengthen and to preserve the mutual good will and Harmony that so happily subsist between the two countries.*

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, March 12, 1799.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and takes the liberty to inform his Lordship that a sealed packet addressed to Mr. King in his public character, of the contents or importance of which he is entirely ignorant, has lately been brought into the Registry of the Court of Admiralty, by the King's Proctor, where it is still detained.

* The documents which accompany this note contain the details respecting the outrage.

That this packet, if found on board a ship, detained for adjudication, should have been sent with other Papers to the Admiralty is not very extraordinary, but that an officer of that Court should think it his duty to detain it, is not altogether reconcileable with what seems due to the Minister of a friendly Nation accredited to and residing near his Majesty.

Mr. King feels himself obliged to complain of this indecorum (which is by no means mitigated by the circumstance of its proceeding from a quarter where the Laws of Nations are presumed to be professionally understood and discussed) and the more so as according to his information it is but a few weeks since by the direction of an officer of the same Court, a public Dispatch from the Minister of the U. S. at Paris to the American Secretary of State, after having been intercepted and long detained, was printed and appeared among the Papers exhibited as Proofs in a prize cause before the Lords of Appeal.

Mr. King will not permit himself to doubt that on the reception of this Complaint Lord Grenville will take immediate measures for the delivery of the Packet now detained and for the correction of a Practice so derogatory from the Rights of Embassy.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

"DEPARTMENT OF STATE, March 12, 1799.

"DEAR SIR:"

Mr. P. acknowledges the receipt of R. K.'s "letters 11 and 12, dated Dec. 7 and 11. Their arrival was fortunate, as Dr. Edward Stevens, appointed our Consul-General for St. Domingo, is on the point of departing for that Island."

He incloses several papers to Mr. K., among others his Instructions to Dr. Stevens, and says:

"We expect that Toussaint will put an end to the depredations on our Commerce and thereby enable the President to open the trade with that Island. I hope Col. Grant, who is going thither from Great Britain is a discreet person, and that both his disposition and Instructions will induce him to cultivate a good understanding with Dr. Stevens. . . ."

T. Pickering to R. King.

Private and Confidential. In Cipher.

Philadelphia, March 12, 1799.

My public letter of this date will inform you of the Proceedings of our Government respecting St. Domingo. We meddle not with the politics of the Island. T——t will pursue what he deems the interest of himself and his countrymen ; he will probably declare the Island independent. It is probable that he wished to assure himself of our commerce as the necessary means of obtaining it. Neither moral nor political reasons could induce us to discourage him ; on the contrary both would warrant us in urging him to the Declaration. Yet we shall not do it. We go no further than the Act of Congress directs. We shall never receive from the French Republic indemnification for the injuries she has done us. The commerce of St. Domingo presents the only means of compensation, and this I have no doubt we shall obtain. We fear no rivals. Toussaint respects the British ; he is attached to us ; he knows our position, but a few days' sail from St. Domingo, and the promptitude with which we can supply his wants. He cannot form a black (Colony) ; the blacks are too ignorant. The Government must be military during the present war, and perhaps for a much longer period. The commerce of the United States and of other nations (for you will observe we aim at no exclusive privileges) will amply supply all their wants, and take off all their produce. So that there will not, and ought not to be, any inducements to withdraw the Blacks from the cultivation of the Island to navigation ; and confined to their own Island they will not be dangerous neighbours. Nothing is more clear than, if left to themselves, that the Blacks of St. Domingo will be incomparably less dangerous than if they remain the subjects of France ; she could then form with them military corps of such strength in a future war, as no European or other white force could resist. France with an army of those black troops might conquer all the British Isles and put in jeopardy our Southern States. Of this the Southern Members were convinced, and therefore cordially concurred in the policy of the Independence of St. D., if T——t and his followers will it. Mr.

Read was the only exception to this opinion, and his opinions are sometimes unaccountable. Mr. Liston appears to be also equally convinced of the policy of that independence, as it would respect the British Isles. For as, he observes, the radical evil is already done, and becomes irremediable, in France making the Blacks free. T——t will command 50 or 60,000 Black troops, if necessary ; they are jealous of France, that she intends, if possible, to bring them back to their former slavery. This jealousy is incurable. We, therefore, confidently reckon on the Independence of St. Domingo. *Rigaud* is a subordinate chief, and a Mulatto. This race in the Island are but a handful, not above one eighth of the population of the Blacks, and must be crushed if they resist the will of T——t.

It has been impossible yet to make out your instructions to negotiate with Russia, or those of Mr. Smith for the Porte. They will be further retarded by the Insurrection in Northampton County in Pennsylvania. Some people, generally very ignorant, have resisted the Commissioners and Assessors of the Direct tax. The inclosed Proclamation gives the facts. A military force will in a few days march to apprehend the Principals. It is fortunate, seeing some opposition has been threatened, that it happened so near the seat of Government, and where the deluded creatures will be so easily subdued. They are Germans and the most ignorant in the State.

In the midst of the great Executive business arising out of the late Session, and with an Insurrection begun, the President has left the Seat of Government. Yesterday he started for Quincy where I expect he will remain these eight months ! Of one thing, however, I am happy to inform you—before his departure after a serious consultation with all of us, it was concluded unanimously that certain terms should be demanded of France, without which no Treaty should be made. These terms are what we have a clear right to, and our interest and honor oblige us to insist on. Yet I very much doubt whether France will yield them. I am morally sure she will not ; and this has put us all much at our ease.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 28.

LONDON, March 14, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Immediately on the receit of your numbers 37 & 40, I prepared and sent a Memorial to Lord Grenville on the subject of the Outrage committed upon our Flag by Capt. Loring; annexed you have copies of this Memorial* and of the answer that I have received.

In a Conference that I have since had with his Lordship on the subject of the embarrassment of our Trade from the want of precision in the Clause of our Treaty that enumerates the articles of Contraband, I adverted to the affair of Capt. Loring, and expressed my hope that his Conduct would be animadverted upon in a manner that should correspond with the aggravation of the offence, and the friendly disposition of our two Countries.

His Lordship after mentioning the old affair of the Nautilus and another of a later date of which I had seen no particular account, added that justice required that they should receive Captain Loring's Report, to obtain which measures would be immediately taken; but that he would not conceal from me that the Publication of the Instruction of our Secretary of the Marine to the Commanders of our Ships of war, placed our demand respecting Captain Loring in a situation somewhat different from what it would have stood, had not that Instruction been published; that they owed and would do justice to all Nations, but the manner of doing it would naturally vary according to the circumstances attending the demand of it, and that what might be proper in this respect, when satisfaction was required in the ordinary manner by a friendly Nation, must appear humiliating if granted under circumstances of menace.

This remark led to a conversation of which I shall send you a Report when I give an account of what passed on the Subject of the Article respecting Contraband.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

P.S. Lord Grenville's answer is not yet, as I supposed, recd. A copy shall be sent as soon as it comes to hand.†

* March 11, 1799.

† See copy March 21, 1799.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 29.

LONDON, March 15, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

Contraband of War.

In the Conference with Lord Grenville mentioned in my last, I stated to his Lordship the great embarrassments and losses of our Navigation arising from the seizure and detention of our vessels, having on board Nails and oznaburgs, for the Spanish Colonies, and intimated that I was authorized to arrange with him an additional Article to our Treaty, by which the Articles of Contraband should be more precisely defined, or to concur in such other effectual measure as would secure our trade from the injury to which it is exposed from the want of a more precise enumeration of the articles agreed to be Contraband. His Lordship replied that it would be necessary for him to institute an Enquiry on this head and desired that for such purpose I would send him a Note of the articles supposed by us to be erroneously included in the Catalogue of Contraband ——— ; at the same time, that they should find it important to insist upon the comprehension of whatever was essential to Ship Building, they should have no wish to include articles not fairly of that character. We conversed upon the manner of forming a new article, should it be found necessary : I promised to send the Note his Lordship had requested, and the subject was postponed.

Impressing of Seamen.

I then mentioned our dissatisfaction with the continuation of the practice of taking out of our Ships, met on the main Ocean, such of their crews as did not possess Certificates of American citizenship ; denying, as I had often done in former Conferences upon the Subject, any right on the part of Great Britain upon which this practice could be founded ; and suggesting that our Ships of war by permission of our Government might with equal right pursue the same practice towards their Merchantmen.

That not only Seamen who spoke the English Language and who were evidently English or American Subjects, but also all Danish, Swedish, and other foreign Seamen, who could not receive American Protections, were indiscriminately taken from their vol-

untary service in our Neutral Employ and forced into the war in the Naval Service of Great Britain.

That on this subject we had again and again offered to concur in a Convention which we thought practicable to be formed, and which should settle these Questions in a manner that would be safe for England and satisfactory to us.

That to decline such Convention, and to persist in a practice which we were persuaded could not be vindicated, especially to the extent to which it was carried, seemed less equitable and moderate than we thought we had a right to expect.

Lord Grenville stated no precise principle upon which he supposed the practice could be justified, and the conversation upon this point, like many others on the same Subject, ended without a prospect of satisfaction. The French and Spaniards and every other Nation might pursue the same conduct as rightfully as Great Britain does. With respect to foreign Seamen in our Employ, this Government has, if I recollect, yielded the point; but their officers continue the practice. We are assured that all Americans shall be discharged on application for that purpose, and that Orders to this effect have been given to their Naval Commanders: but this is far short of satisfaction—indeed to acquiesce in this is to give up the right.

Capt. Loring.

Recurring to the affair of Capt. Loring, and to the observation of his Lordship respecting it at the beginning of our Conference, I remarked that the instruction to which he had alluded was in itself proper, that it enjoins no more than what we had each the right to do, and what I presumed every British Naval Officer would think it his duty to do; that the affair of Capt. Loring had called for it, and as the Service was new, it was of consequence to our Officers to be informed of their Duty in this, as in other important and delicate points.

Its publication had not taken place by order of the Government, but being sent with other Papers to the House of Representatives in compliance with the request, it had in this manner come before the public.

That with respect to what his Lordship had said concerning

the Case of the Nautilus and another of a later date, with which I was not particularly acquainted, but which I understood to have happened within our Territory, I could not admit that the Cases were parallel. Besides in respect to the affair of the Nautilus, his Lordship would recollect the answer that was given to our complaint of the contemporaneous conduct of Capt. Home; if one, so the other should be put out of view; and that I could not believe, were the cases the same, that it would be thought a wise Policy to propose to balance one complaint against another. His Lordship interrupted me by saying, that nothing could be more remote from his intention; but that he did not see the connection of the Cases, and Mr. Liston had very properly, on this occasion, reminded you of their Proposal to form an Article for the surrender of Deserters.

I continued by observing that my own opinion had been to defer the Article respecting Deserters, until we could agree in one concerning the Seamen employed in their and our Service, and that most probably in both the cases to which he alluded, it was for want of such agreement that they had found occasion of complaint.

That with regard to the Cases mentioned by his Lordship and that of the Baltimore there was this difference: the jurisdiction in the one was exclusive, and in the others divided: that a National Ship sailing on the ocean carried with her and is covered by the jurisdiction of her Nation; but when she enters the Ports and Territories of a foreign friendly Nation, she loses a portion of that entire Dominion and retains only so much thereof, and no more than is necessary to maintain her Discipline and interior Police. To that extent, and no greater is the Nation where she enters supposed to yield her a portion of its Jurisdiction, retaining the residue.

That this Rule would apply to foreign armies passing thro' the Territories of a Friendly Power, and that I presumed that numerous precedents would be found to this Effect. His Lordship concluded by saying that he had ordered a Search to be made into the usage of European Nations in respect to men of war, which resort to and make use of the Ports of friendly foreign Powers; that his belief was that it would be found that the Commander's word must be taken whether there were any Persons of

the Nation, whose Territories we had entered, among the Crew and that no examination was permitted.

The next day, at the Queen's drawing room, the first Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Spencer, in a very obliging manner expressed to me his regret at hearing that they were likely to receive from me a complaint against one of their officers. I said what I thought suitable to the friendly manner in which his Lordship expressed himself, and then observed that I had sent a memorial to my Lord Grenville complaining of the conduct of Cap. Loring. He replied that it had not yet reached the Admiralty. I then intimated to his Lordship what had passed between me and Lord Grenville and expressed a hope that the circumstance of the publication alluded to by Lord Grenville would not be seen in a light never intended, and that no past circumstance would be allowed to embarass our attainment of satisfaction in this very extraordinary Case. His Lordship's reply was liberal and friendly, but sufficiently guarded.

Case of the Ship Aurora.

Mr. King remarks that he had not yet had leisure to examine it.

Insurance Cases.

To my memorial on this Subject, and it is one of considerable importance, I sometime since received a note from Lord Grenville, inclosing the opinion of the Law Officers of the Crown, which states that the Questions could only be decided in the competent Tribunals, and that the executive Power could not influence the Decisions, and that it was not usual for Parliament to interfere to alter the Rights of Individuals in respect to their contracts. To this Note I immediately replied, in order to show that the opinion of the Crown Lawyers might be perfectly correct, and still nothing to the purpose, as we did not request the interference of Parliament to alter the Rights of Individuals in respect to their Contracts, but for the purpose of protecting such rights and to prevent their being altered by a proceeding subsequent to and without the Contracts, and which against justice it was proposed to make use of to defeat them. I have received no further

answer, nor do I know that I shall ; tho' I hear that the Lord Chancellor entertains an opinion favorable to our Case—a circumstance of importance should it go before the House of Lords.

6th Article of the Treaty.

Mr. Liston has sent no account of the interruption of the Commission under the 6th Article of the Treaty, and I am not without hopes that the business may be arranged without being sent here. We have had our share and a great deal of trouble in getting along with the Commissioners under the 7th Article, which still promises a satisfactory issue, and I shall be sorry to have anything to do with the 6th Article. You will not from thence infer that I think we should submit to the interpretation of that article intimated in your No. 42. So far from its being my opinion, I would sooner relinquish the benefits of the 7th Article than acquiesce in an interpretation of the 6th, so grossly abusive. We must proceed with Temper and take care that we are right, and as to the consequences, let them take their course.

High Court of Admiralty.

Since the appointment of Sir William Scott in this Court, the business proceeds with great dispatch, tho' I hear that Sir William's decisions manifest an extension instead of a greater limitation of the Rights of Belligerents in respect to Neutrals.

In a number of recent condemnations that have taken place for Breach of Blockade, the Judge has laid it down as incontrovertible Law, that a Blockade is a legal interdiction of all Trade inwards and outwards of the Place blockaded. That all vessels with their Cargoes seized in the attempt to enter, after Notice, and all vessels with their Cargoes seized coming out, provided such Cargoes were laden after notice, are liable to condemnation ; and that all vessels entering during the Blockade and seized when coming out, are also liable to condemnation, the penalty of confiscation attaching itself to all Vessels which break the Blockade.

I am also informed that the Judge has intimated an opinion that seems strong and vigorous in respect to neutral vessels, which with a view to the French Decrees and Regulations possess Cer-

tificates issued by French Consuls resident in neutral Countries, purporting that the Cargoes of such vessels are not of the growth or fabric of the British dominions.

That the possession of such Certificates may evince an unbecoming submission to the injustice of France, and one too not particularly friendly to Great Britain, may be true, but that they incur the forfeiture of the ship or cargo, is an opinion that cannot be made out or maintained by those Laws which alone ought to influence the Decisions of Prize Courts ; and if persisted in will tend to prove what has so often been alleged that the Judges of these Courts too frequently make the Law, instead of expounding it.

I don't hear that Sir William Scott has yet given an opinion upon the Question of a Trade carried on by a neutral between the French and Dutch Colonies, and their respective Mother Countries, nor has the Court of Appeals, tho' pressed to it, yet decided that question.

Arms.

I am rejoiced to learn from your last Dispatches, that we have a fair prospect of manufacturing at home Muskets as well as Cannon to any extent that our affairs may require. If this happens a real and most important Benefit will have arisen out of the difficulties which have prevented our obtaining arms from abroad : for no Nation is really independent that does not make at home every sort of arms and Military Stores. I observe that money is appropriated for the establishment of National Founderies. Considering the numerous Founderies in different parts of our Country, would it not have been far more œconomical and better to have collected the requisite information for the use of these Founderies, and to have employed them to cast our Cannon, giving liberal prices till the business was well understood and established ? The practice of this Country on this point as well as that of the Fabrication of small arms, is in favor of this policy. Founders perfectly acquainted with the business may easily be obtained.

As in some measure connected with this subject, I annex the copy of a Letter from Count Rumford to me, and referring to a private Letter from me to you for my sentiments respecting

the Count, I shall await your reply to enable me to send him an answer to this Letter.

Copper.

I understand that it is in contemplation to take off the Duty on the importation of foreign Copper ; what Effect that, when added to the discontinuance of the Copper Coinage, may have in respect to the permission to export Copper in Sheets and Bolts, I can't at present decide. The English mines yield annually about seven thousand tons of Copper ; those of Sweden, which next to those of England are I believe the most considerable in Europe, do not yield more than one thousand tons. The famous Anglesey mines fail, but from the high price of Copper the old and deserted Cornish mines are now worked ; so that there is reason to expect the quantity annually produced in England, will be as great as before the failure of the mines of Anglesey. I don't find that Copper is——anywhere so well or at all in Sweden or Denmark.

Maryland Bank Stock.

I can only repeat what I have again and again been obliged to write on this Subject. I from time to time flatter myself with the belief that I am near the attainment of my object, when new and trifling Difficulties spring up and defeat my expectations. The Chancellor is now, and for some weeks past has been, so unwell as to decline Business ; when he re-engages in the affairs of his office, I shall renew my Efforts. I still hope, but dare not, after so many disappointments, promise ultimate success.

Laws against Neutrals.

By this opportunity I send you a copy of the Message of the Directory to the Councils on the subject of Privateering. The Report upon this Message has not yet been made, or if it has I have not yet seen it. The discussion still continues in the Council concerning the time when the Law respecting neutral Vessels having on board Goods of the growth or fabric of England shall be deemed to have commenced its operation.

The Council of 500 resolved that it should operate from the

day of its Publication in the Bulletin. The Debates before the Ancients, instead of confining themselves to the Question, turn chiefly upon the Policy of the Law itself, and judging from the Members who condemn the Law, one would be inclined to believe that it would be repealed. The Message of the Directory holds a language more moderate, as well as more artful, than formerly concerning the Trade of neutrals ; but it is supposed that the Council of five hundred has too direct and considerable an interest in the Laws, as well as in the mode of Trial that now prevails, to consent to alter the one or the other.

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

COUNT RUMFORD TO R. KING.

Copy.

BROMPTON ROW, 13 March, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I send you herewith a small Pamphlet which will explain to you the causes which have rendered it impossible for me to go to America this Spring, as I had intended. I have not however given over the idea of visiting that Country, at some future period ; very far from it. I really hope and expect to be able to go there next Spring, and will most certainly do so if it should be possible, provided you should continue to advise it and encourage me with a hope of a kind reception.

I beg you would do me the honor to present one of the inclosed Pamphlets to his Excellency the President of the United States, and accompany it with my best respects and most cordial wishes for his health and happiness and future prosperity of the United States.

The model of a Field Piece on a new and, I believe, on an improved construction which I have destined as a Present to the United States I shall pack up and send to you in order to its being shipped to America as soon as I shall get it from his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, who has desired to have a copy of it.

You will recollect that in a conversation we had at your house, on the great importance to the United States of the Speedy Establishment of a Military School or Academy, I took the liberty to

say that to assist in the Establishment of so useful an Institution, I should be happy to be permitted to make a present to the Academy of my Collection of Military Books, Plans, Drawings and Models. I now repeat this offer and with a request to you that you would make it known to the Executive Government of the United States, and that you would let me know as soon as may be convenient whether this offer will be accepted.

I have the honor to be with the most sincere regard & Esteem &c &c

RUMFORD.

R. KING TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 30.

LONDON, March 16. 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I am somewhat fearful that we are a little premature in naming *a Commissioner to negotiate a Commercial Treaty with Russia*,* inasmuch as we are not yet ascertained of the sentiments of *the Russian Cabinet*, either in respect *to the Negotiation or the Place* of conducting it ; everything that has passed on that Subject having been a personal Conversation between me *and the Russian Envoy* at this Court.

I have lately written him a private Note intimating that I had received answers to my Letters, in which I communicated to you our Conversation, and tho' nothing was decided, that I had some reason to believe that the *proposed Negotiation would be agreeable to the President*, and that if it should be carried *on here*, it was quite probable *that the President* would commit it *to my Hands*.

He answered that he was pleased with the information and that he would immediately write *to his Court* upon the subject, stating what he said as proceeding *from our personal Conversations*, and that he hoped *a Treaty might be concluded* and that *we might respectively keep Ministers at Petersburgh and Philadelphia*.

I learn that the Governor General of Canada is to be changed, and that Admiral Vaudeport is to be succeeded. Neither of the Successors in these commands are yet chosen. I expressed *to Lord Spencer* my hope that the Admiral would be a man of prudence and of a temper calculated to preserve harmony and good will between us, and he assured me that he thought the ap-

* Italics in cipher.

pointment an important one. I shall take an early occasion to speak with *Mr. Dundas* respecting the character of the Governor General of Canada.

*Simcoe** should, and I presume will, not be the man; tho' he throws the blame off from himself respecting the Proceedings of 1793, still his opinions about America disqualify him for that Command.

We are impatient for the expected Letters from Hamburgh, as the affairs of the Continent are at a crisis. The last mail which left Cuxhaven on the 11th brings an account not altogether authentic, tho' much credited, that the Directory had declared war against Austria, and that the French army had actually crossed the Rhine at Kehls. *Mr. Grenville in a private Letter from Berlin to his brother*, says tho' he cannot send the intelligence officially, that it is generally believed *at Berlin.* Great hopes have been entertained that Prussia could be induced to combine with England and Russia; but if Austria is engaged, such is the jealousy between her and Prussia, that the latter will probably remain Neutral.

It is a day or two ago that I was told by one who had it *from the Duke of Clarence that* among *other* projects *to be produced by Mr. Grenville at Berlin was one to be* executed *by England and Russia to cut off all* the Trade of Neutral Nations with France and her Dominions. A report of the same sort, with the addition *that the United States are to join England and Russia* for this purpose is in circulation among a lower Rank in society. I don't know the degree of credit due to the whisper; but Rumours of this sort are not frequently destitute of all Foundation.

Towards the last of January La Fayette went into Holland; I have not heard of his return; he could not go there except by permission, and nothing is done in Holland, repugnant to the views of the French. Some foreign Journals say he has returned to France, where his wife has been for some months past, and conjectures of various kinds are made in consequence of this information. Some assert that he has made his Peace by his American Popularity, and that he will be sent Minister to Philadelphia to heal the differences between the two Countries, and to prepare the way for the next Presidential Election; but this is

* See letter to R. King May 1, 1800, by J. G. Simcoe.—Ed.

all so much an affair of conjecture that I relate it merely as such. The present Directory, or at least a majority of them, have within eighteen months spoken in the harshest manner of La Fayette, and were they or their Government to be interpreted in the way we construe others, we should not for a moment lend an Ear to such a tale.

The apprehension of another attempt of the French upon Ireland gains strength, and the internal disorder of that country is such as leaves little doubt that the United Irishmen are again preparing for the reception of the French. A new Directory is supposed to exist, which regulates the motions of the disaffected, tho' in a manner so secret as to elude detection. Martial Law is again authorized by the Irish Parliament and the most vigorous measures employed for the Safety of the Kingdom.

I will obtain the names of the Irish State Prisoners whose Pestilential Flight to the United States was fortunately arrested. They amount to Ninety, and a list of their names is easily procured.

I omitted at the time to inform you that at the particular desire of Lord Cornwallis, communicated to me through the Duke of Portland, I consented that one of these State Prisoners, by the name of Lynch, brother to a merchant of the same name in New York, should be permitted to go to New York, for which place he sailed some months since. He was represented to me as of inferior consequence as a Conspirator, and by no means likely to be mischievous among us. It is proper that you should know the fact, that he may be identified and remembered.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

JOSEPH HALE TO R. KING.

BOSTON, March 16, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

Before this comes to hand, you will probably be advised of the nomination of our Minister at The Hague as Minister Plenipo. to the French Republic ; of the surprise & agitation thereby produced among all good men ; of its being specially committed by the Senate ; of a large majority therein resolved upon a negative ; & of the subsequent modification of this extraordinary measure by adding Mr. Ellsworth & Patrick Henry, making of the three

a joint commission & restricting the departure of the two latter until suitable assurances are received from the *Great Nation.*

You will perhaps have been informed that the gun act embracing a right to recapture foreign vessels, prizes to the French, was lost by this executive measure ; that however the Federal tone was at length so far restored as to produce the adoption of the report on the Sedition & Alien acts, & of three accompanying resolves imparting the inexpediency of repealing those acts & any of the acts relating to the military, naval, or fiscal arrangements ; that the act for raising 24 instead of 12 Regiments was passed ; also that for encreasing the salaries of the heads of departments & that to empower the President to retaliate should the French decree be put in execution.

I now take the liberty to inclose via Dublin, the President's proclamation for a Fast to prove to foreigners that our Executive has not & does not mean to abandon the system of defence against France by any mean compliances. It may not be improper to add that the nomination of Mr. Murray is said to have been made with a view to outmanœuvre the arch Talleyrand & by no means intended as an overture at conciliation ; or to hold up the prospect of peace. It has more than once happened that weakness of intellect is reconcileable with soundness of intention. —The bad tendency of the measure will it is presumed produce no very serious effects in the interior. The influence abroad is very justly deprecated. With a blockhead at St. James to represent our Country our fears would be inexpressible. Even a man of the best talents will find employment for them all on this occasion. Yet the measure candidly viewed ought not to lessen the friendship or excite the jealousies of the British Cabinet. Their most solid interests unquestionably dictate a liberality & candour particularly in this instance.

Your most obed. servt.

JOSEPH HALE.

R. KING TO R. TROUP.

LONDON, Mar. 16, 1799.

MY DEAR SIR :

If practicable I will procure for you some information respecting the Process, &c, of the Prize Court of this Country. There is no book extant that gives any satisfaction upon this Subject. The

present judge of the H. C. of Admty. is a man of uncommon abilities ; I don't recollect much of his Predecessors, but I am inclined to think him the ablest Judge that has presided in that Court. His Predecessors can have no reason *on earth*, as Lord Kenyon says, to complain of this opinion. You must not infer from hence that Sr. Wm. Scott does not condemn neutral Ships and Cargoes, for I am quite apprehensive that he will in this as in most other respects hold the same distinguished Pre-eminence over his Predecessors. I have taken some pains to enquire of those who ought to understand the mode of proceeding in the Prize Court, but my enquiries have been made to little purpose ; for here as in all other Cases of Knowledge passing by Tradition, the reports of the initiated are not only imperfect but various.

The College of Doctors, who alone are counsellers or Speakers in this Court, does not consist of more than twenty members, who perpetuate themselves by the admission of new Brothers. These are persons educated at one of the Universities, where they must have resided Eleven years before they could have received the Degrees which form the indispensable qualification for an admission into the College of Doctors Commons, where they rarely arrive before they have attained thirty years of age. Give us good Lord peace in our Days, is not one of the prayers of this Brotherhood. It does not appear that the laborious acquisition of what has been written in poetry and prose, in English, French & Latin upon *the Law of Nations* is of much consequence or necessary to become a Doctor. Indeed Genet is not the only one who despises those worm-eaten authors. I shall have a great deal to tell you & Hamilton & Harrison and others, that you will think passing strange ! Between ourselves I have seen much less reason to discredit our own Courts, and lawyers, and learning and blind Justice, as well as somewhat less to admire those of foreign Lands than my simplicity had lead me to think I should ! !

We hear and at present believe that the directory has declared war agt. Austria. Ireland is again in a dreadful condition & in daily apprehension of another attempt at invasion from France. . . .

Yrs.

R. King to Colonel Pickering.

Personal and Private.

London, March 16, 1799.

Dear Sir:

It would have been quite agreeable to me to have received your son as my Secretary, had Mr. Dandridge chosen to have accepted of his late Military appointment; I took occasion immediately on the receit of your friendly Letter on this subject to speak to Mr. Dandridge respecting his appointment in the army and to say that in case he thought of returning to America, I should be inclined to receive your Son as his successor; observing to him at the same time that I had reason to be satisfied with him, his staying with me, or returning would be left entirely to his choice.

He told me that his application for a military appointment was made before he had any expectation of coming into my family, that he found the Dutch Climate disagree so much with his health, that he was obliged to resolve upon a return home, and as an employment when he came there had sought a Commission in the Army, but that he had relinquished the idea of the army as soon as he joined me, and should not resume it, if I had no objection to his remaining with me.

Under these circumstances I shall not forward the letters on this Subject to Mr. Smith and your Son, as I entirely agree with you that it may be of considerable advantage to him to spend some time here before he engages in his profession. I brought my youngest Brother with me with this view, and he returned home after remaining about a year with me.

If you will allow your Son to come here, tho' for the reason above stated I cannot secure him a Salary, as my Secretary, I shall be happy in receiving him as one of my Family and he may consider my house and table his own in like manner as tho' he was my Secretary. In this proposal, which is not offered as a token of civility, I shall be grateful if you agree.

With sincere regards &c. &c

Rufus King.

R. King to Colonel Pickering.

Private and Confidential.

London, Mar. 16, 1799.

Dear Sir:

If the President should think of sending a minister to Constantinople for the purpose of negotiating a commercial Treaty, I know of no one that I think more capable of conducting the negotiation than my early and worthy friend Mr. Gore. I have some reason to believe that such a mission would not be disagreeable to him, and it is but strict justice to observe that the patience, diligence and ability with which he has conducted the affairs of the by no means pleasant Commission of which he is a member, give him, exclusive of his respectable personal Qualifications, some title to the public notice and favor. Whether you will appreciate the advantages to our Trade that would be gained by such a Treaty I can only conjecture; nor do I know that any means are or will be likely to be taken in order to ascertain the Disposition beforehand of the Porte upon this Subject. I don't think we should take any ostensible step unless we are previously ascertained of a favorable Disposition at Constantinople. You will observe that I think we have been a little hasty in regard to Russia; tho' I have not much doubt that this Power will consent to negotiate, expecting perhaps that the negotiation be carried on at Petersburgh.

With great truth I am, dear Sir, your faithful Sert.

Rufus King.

R. King to James McHenry, Esq.

London, March 16, 1799.

Dear Sir:

I annex the copy of a Letter from Count Rumford, formerly Sir Benjamin Thompson, to me upon a subject somewhat interesting. I am persuaded that the establishment of an American Military Academy is an object of the first importance to us. Count Rumford founded one in Bavaria that enjoys a very high reputation, and I have reason to believe that he would receive very great pleasure in communicating to us the result of his ex-

perience on this Subject. I have not seen his Military Books, Drawings, &c, but am informed that they are inestimable. The Cannon he proposes to make a present of to the United States is a perfect model, and will serve to assist in the Casting and Mounting Field Artillery. I have sent a copy of the Count's Letter likewise to Col. Pickering, and must wait for the President's instructions, thro' him or you, in what manner I shall answer it. Count Rumford proposes to return with the view of residing a part of his time in his Native Country. On this Subject I take the liberty of referring you to a Letter from me to Col. Pickering, and will only add that it would undoubtedly be encouraging and grateful to him to receive an answer from the President, thro' me or in any other way, that he will be received in a kind and friendly manner.

I have not for a long time received any Letters from you; nor do I know that you have received your Books, Medals, &c, that I have at different times sent you. I shall by the earliest opportunity send you the Dies which have been ready these four months.

I am always happy to hear of and from you, and beg you to accept the assurance of my Sincere Esteem & Respect.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO O. WOLCOTT, ESQ.

LONDON, March 16, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I was in hopes to have heard from you by the last packet, and to have received your opinion respecting the arms sent by Pitcairn from Hamburgh to New York. You know that I have had considerable apprehension that their quality would disappoint us. I don't know what is the quantity Pitcairn has engaged. The interruption during the winter has been such as to cut off all correspondence. Not having an immediate Demand for the whole of the money in the hands of the Mess. Barings, I have requested them to pay Mr. Williams about £5000, to assist him in the prosecution of our prize Cases; this saves us from borrowing here for that purpose, which we shall be obliged to do unless we receive

further Remittances. I have also lately ordered the Mess. Barings to remit Pitcairn £7000.; the exchange is much in our favor, the Bills at two and a half and three usances, which I have desired might not be discounted, except as the money should be wanted.

This step has been influenced by the Persuasion that circumstances were at hand that would materially affect the exchange between this and Hamburgh, and the Bills being at long sight will in a great measure preserve us from Casualties. I shall send you soon the late Reports of the Committee on Finance and such other publications relative to that subject as have lately appeared. Send me in return your Reports and Statements to Congress. Without I obtain them I am not able to answer a thousand questions, that it is of use to us should be answered, and correctly.

Yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO COUNT RUMFORD.

LONDON, Mar. 17, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

That your numerous and respectable friends in this Country, should be gratified by the postponement of your voyage to America is extremely natural. But I foresaw such advantages from your return among us, to our various public institutions, many of which are but now beginning to establish themselves, that I cannot refrain from expressing to you my sincere regret that it is likely to be so long deferred. I console myself however with your obliging assurance that it is not entirely relinquished.

Though I think I might before hand thank you in the President's name for the many valuable tokens of friendship that you kindly offer us, I have preferred to send your Letter to the Secretary of State, with a request it might be laid before the President in order that I may receive his Instructions, in what manner I shall answer it. I beg you, my dear Sir, to pardon the delay that has occurred in my acknowledgment of the receit of your Letter, which has been occasioned by pressing Engagements, and to be assured of the sincere Regard & Esteem, &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

Lord Grenville to R. King.

Downing Street, March 21, 1799.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. King and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his memorial of the 11th of this month relative to the conduct of the Commander of his Majesty's ship Carnatic.

The Government of the U. S. may be assured that the King is always solicitous to respect the Rights and Honor of those powers with whom his majesty entertains the relations of friendship ; that the instructions, which by his majesty's orders are given to the commanders of his fleets or ships of war, affirm the strictest attention to this principle, particularly in the case of the ships of war of any of those powers ; and that his majesty, desirous at all times to manifest his friendship towards the U. S., will certainly see with displeasure any act which may have been committed by any officer in his majesty's service in derogation of the attention and respect due to their flag.

With regard to the particular facts mentioned in Mr. King's memorial the most immediate inquiry will be instituted into them that the distance of the service upon which the Commander of his majesty's ship Carnatic is now employed will allow, and on the result of this inquiry his majesty will pursue with delay such measures as the case may appear to require in conformity to the principles above stated.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

King to Jay—Domestic and foreign Affairs—Sedgwick—Nomination of Murray—Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions—Troubles of Commission under sixth Article—King to Secretary of State—French Movements—Louisiana—Blindness which prevents a general Confederacy against France—Lord Grenville and King—On Outrage by Capt. Loring—Blockade of the Ports of Holland—King to Lord Grenville, advising recasting eighteenth Article of the Treaty of Amity, etc., to obtain more Precision of Terms—Naval Stores—To Wm. Smith—Mission to Russia and the Porte—Count Rumford—Hindman—Result of the Elections—King to Secretary of State—Modifications of French Regulations against American Commerce—French military Operations in the Tyrol—To Jay—Muskets bought in Hamburg for New York—Troup—Disgust at Murray's Nomination—Insurrection in Pennsylvania—King to Sir Joseph Banks—United States Mint and Coins—To Lord Grenville—Specification of proposed Alterations in eighteenth Article.

Rufus King to John Jay.*

London, March 18th, 1799.

Dear Sir :

The opposition of Virginia, and of her offspring, Kentucky, appears bolder and more considerable than I had apprehended. The reform that seems to have taken place in the Carolinas is, however, a consoling and important circumstance. I have been inclined to believe that the Congressional election was the principal object of those inflammatory proceedings, which discredit and injure us abroad, and when passed, that these States would display less turbulence.

According to present appearances, the war must recommence between France and Austria, if it has not already begun ; but that an honest and solid confederacy against France is likely to take

* *Life of John Jay*, vol. ii., p. 296.

place between the great powers is more than I dare even to expect. Russia is uncommonly zealous. Passawan Ouglou has accepted pardon and promotion ; and it is just now said, how accurately is another point, that Russia and Austria are to lay aside their mutual jealousy, and to consult and act together for their common safety.

The commercial condition of England is extremely prosperous and notwithstanding the hazardous and really dreadful situation of Ireland, this country is united in an uncommon degree, and appears resolved to persevere in the war. The minister, at the opening of his budget, estimates the total income of all the people of Great Britain at a hundred million per annum ; and it is confidently expected that the taxes of this year will considerably exceed one-third of this sum.

The Directory lately hold a language respecting America more moderate, but not less artful and dangerous. Whether any change in their privateering laws will be made, I think uncertain ; if my conjectures respecting the views of the Directory are correct, these laws will be now modified, or at least for a time suspended. After the experience we have had, it will be humiliating if we are deceived by the artifices that will be practised among our people.

Obedt. & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

T. SEDGWICK TO R. KING.

STOCKBRIDGE, 20th March, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

. . . You will have seen the nomination of our friend Mr. Murray as Minister to the french republic, and its consequences. The immediate document to which the President refers, the Letter from Talleyrand to Pichon, which in the President's opinion affords "a plausible appearance of probability" (a degree of evidence I do not perfectly comprehend,) of *french sincerity*, is published. That letter refers to one of the date of the 4th fructidor. It is unfortunate that the fructidor letter asserts the claim of france to treat only with those "who are truly american, not seduced by Great Britain, neither friendly to royalty nor inimical to france." No good, it is stated, can be expected by a negotia-

tion in other hands ; and that fairness requires that he should warn the government of the U. S. of "these rocks." Nothing has, at any time, been communicated to our government more arrogant & offensive. In my opinion, and in this the federal sentiment is unanimous, our honor and of course our interest, required, that the scene of negotiation should have been the United States, and nothing should have induced us to relinquish this ground but severe calamity. Nothing could, in my belief, have been more unfortunate than this measure. After infinite embarrassments we had attained a point of all, on this side open and declared hostility, the most desirable, and which should not, but on great consideration, have been relinquished. The state of our affairs as well at home as in Europe required a firm adherence to the system which had been adopted ; and we must fear the effect which may be produced on the proposed negotiation with Russia and the Porte.

Our funds, notwithstanding all the depredations on our commerce, are productive beyond the expectation of any body. The surplus of permanent revenue, the last year, after satisfying all permanent appropriations, exceeded two millions and a half. Credit, from the effect of the last loan, appears sound and effective ; there having been nearly three times the proposed amount subscribed in one day. The Jacobins say that it is clear, from the result, that the terms proposed, by the Secretary, were excessive, for, it is argued, if eight per cent will produce 15 millions surely seven would have secured the proposed amount. But the facts authorize, conclusively, the proposed terms. The basis of his calculation was the actual market rate of interest ascertained by the price of the various species of stock. No other principle could have been adopted.

The conduct of the Legislature of Virginia, and its Satellite that of Kentucky,* you must have considered attentively. The

* The reference here is to the celebrated Virginia resolutions of 1798, prepared by Madison for the Virginia Legislature and by Jefferson for the Kentucky Legislature, presented by Nicholas, passed in the latter, and known as "the Kentucky Resolutions." They resolved that the United States were united by a compact, the Constitution, to which each State acceded as a State, its co-States forming the other party ; "that every State has a natural right, in cases, not within the compact, to nullify, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits." This principle was summed up by Mr.

conduct of the national government was openly denounced as hostile to liberty, proceeding by usurpation, insidiously to establish a Tyranny, in violation of the constitution & of oaths. If these charges were true, resistance was not only justifiable but a duty, and hence they were preparing for it by arming the People. Their address to their constituents is a justificatory memorial, little, if at all, short of a declaration of war. The effects of this strange production were, in some degree, counteracted by the address of the minority, a masterly performance, for which we are indebted to the pen of General Marshall, who has, by it, in some measure, atoned for his pitiful electioneering epistle. But what has been infinitely more beneficial is the firm, dignified & patriotic conduct of the other State legislatures, whose unanimity *will* in some degree redeem our character, disgraced by Virginia democracy ; and has, we are informed, arrested the progress of the designs of the leaders in that state.

I ought to have told you, for the honor of our executive administration, that none of the ministers, nor, I believe, any body else, was consulted by the President relative to the nomination of Murray.

The Secretary of State has, I presume, informed you of the unhappy divisions which exist among the commissioners on the subject of the British debts.* From all I know it is pretty cer-

Nicholas in these words : "That the several States who formed that instrument (the Constitution) being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction ; and that a nullification of those sovereignties, of all unauthorized acts, done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy."

Though the doctrine was denounced at the time by other States, to which Virginia appealed to support her in declaring the acts of Congress—among others, and, chiefly, the Alien and Sedition laws—unconstitutional and to take the "necessary and proper measures to maintain unimpaired the authorities, rights, and liberties reserved to the States respectively or to the people," the assertion of these principles has since been on several occasions the cause of danger to the country, and was the ground on which the rebellion of 1861 was pretended to be based. The crushing of that settled forever the principle that the United States is not a compact of States, with reserved rights, but a "government of the people, by the people, and for the people."—Ed.

* "The commission sitting at Philadelphia under the sixth article, the appointment of the fifth commissioner or umpire of which had fallen to the British, was by no means so harmonious (as the 7th at London). Claims of all

tain that a secession must take place on the part of our gentlemen. I hope no very mischievous effects will ensue. In any event, however, I believe, all dispassionate men will concur in opinion that great indiscretion, if nothing more, has marked the conduct of the commissioners on the part of G. Britain.

There have been serious embarrassments experienced in every part of our country from three causes, overtrading *externally*, the plunder of our commerce, and speculating *internally*. The latter has been most severely & extensively felt. It has pervaded every part of our country from the Potomack, & more especially from the Hudson to the eastward. The rage for acquiring property by other means than industry and economy was not confined to towns but extended to almost every neighborhood in the country, & the effects have been such as might have been expected. The only remedy has been applied, and altho' a severe one, it is already in the towns, and will be in the country effectual. Many are, and more must be ruined; but the essential interests of the country will not be injured, nor, ultimately, its strength or re-

sorts had been filed, including many by expatriated Tories, for the value of their confiscated property, to the amount, in the whole, of twenty four millions of dollars; and the ground taken by the majority of the commission was such as threatened a very heavy burden to the United States. There was a difference in the commission both as to the allowance of interest while the war continued and as to the classes of persons entitled to claim under the treaty. The British majority of the commissioners were disposed to hold the United States responsible, in the first place, for all unpaid debts, and to throw upon them the burden of proving that, had due diligence been used, these debts might have been collected. The American commissioners maintained, on the other hand, that as the United States were only responsible for those debts the recovery of which had been prevented by legal impediments, it rested on each claimant to show that due diligence had been used, and that the recovery of his debt had been prevented by legislative obstacles, or by the debtor's becoming insolvent during the continuance of such obstacles. After much discussion, some of it very warm, and before one claim had been definitely adjudicated, the American commissioners, with the approbation of their government, prevented any awards by their withdrawing. When this became known in England, the British government withdrew their members from the board sitting there; and both commissions thus came to a full stop. But, notwithstanding this interruption, both governments expressed their anxiety to carry out the treaty in good faith; and Sitgreaves was soon after dispatched to England to co-operate with King in obtaining, if possible, some explanatory article on the subject of British debts."—Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 2d ser., ii., p. 339.

sources impaired. The pursuits of sober industry were never better rewarded—commerce is generally protected; and there never was, probably, a time when it was more lucrative. Humanity will regret that so many men, should by an excessive ardor to become rich, have plunged themselves into serious difficulties, from which they will be able by severe & long exertion only, if at all, to extricate themselves; but the greatest mischief, politically considered, is that in too many instances ruined speculators commence zealous patriots.

The salary Act compared with what *ought* to have been done is certainly a paltry measure, but considered as the best that *could* possibly be done it is of immense importance—The measure had been defeated in the house by the votes of some who especially acted on the federal side—when it was revised in the senate, it was necessary, that it should be done, on a scale which would insure the assent of those men. This information is due to the character of the Senate, in general, to my own in particular, as I originated the measure there.

It is with extreme pain that I anticipate becoming again a member of the house. It was my ardent wish, & I thought my firm determination to have retired forever from public life, but an adherence to that resolution was, under the circumstances, impossible. Another two years will, I hope, afford a better prospect.

With much sincerity I am my dear Sir, your friend

THE. S.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 31.

LONDON, Mar. 21, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

The Packet is still detained in order that I might receive Lord Grenville's answer to my memorial, respecting Capt. Loring; if it is sent in season I shall annex it to this Letter.

The crossing of the Rhine by the French armies on the first instant, and a correspondent movement that probably took place at the same time against Tuscany, were the preludes to the declaration of war that followed against the King of Hungary and Bohemia and the Grand Duke.

Thus, as all impartial observers foresaw, the temporizing at Vienna during which Switzerland and Piedmont and Naples have

been overturned and France at her leisure has recruited and re-established her armies, has been worse than useless, has been the loss of favorable moments and of precious occasions.

As yet we have no intelligence from Vienna of the temper with which this explosion has been received, nor do I think it by any means certain that Prussia will even now heartily unite her strength in an honest confederacy, which alone can bring back France within those limitations the safety of Europe requires. We are in hourly expectation of the news of a battle between Jourdain and the Arch Duke. The rapidity of the advance of the French columns sufficiently announce their expectation of reaching the Austrians before they are entirely prepared.

We have the French papers to the 15th, but I see nothing in them directly relative to us, and the new objects that must now engage their attention will for the present most likely put us and our affairs out of view.

I send you a copy of Carnot's answer to his denunciation by his colleagues: there seems no doubt that it is an authentic performance. Our late Envoys, or at least General Pinckney, believed that Carnot entertained more equitable opinions concerning the United States than the majority of his colleagues.

This answer discloses his project respecting Louisiana; and if such views were entertained by him, whom we believed the most just and moderate, can we suffer ourselves to doubt the intention of his colleagues? Is there the slightest reason to suppose they have changed their purposes? Ought we not rather to believe that it has been confirmed by the manner in which we have opposed it? And can we persuade ourselves after such an opposition that we shall escape the alternative of war or submission?

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 32.

LONDON, March 22, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Lord Grenville's answer was not in season for the mail of yesterday; I have since received it and a copy is annexed to this Letter which will probably overtake the Mail at Falmouth. Our

information from Berlin, by the Hamburgh post, confirms the opinion that Prussia resolved on the system of neutrality the moment that France renewed the war against Austria. Mr. Grenville's mission must consequently fail, and the war will be prosecuted upon unequal terms and with the greatest vigour against a partial and disjointed confederacy. The 25,000 Russians, who have for some time been in the neighborhood of Vienna, are on their march for Italy where the combined army will be commanded by the Russian General Suwarrow. The first blow has been unfortunate to the confederates; the whole of the Austrian Corps that occupied Coire in the Country of the Grisons having, it is said by surprize, been made Prisoners by the French under Massena. I should be happy to believe that this first success is not likely to be followed by future and more important victories. One is tired with beholding, and with endeavoring in vain to account for the blindness that even yet prevents an honest and general confederacy against the overbearing Power of France.

With the most perfect Respect and Esteem &c &c

RUFUS KING.

LORD GRENVILLE TO MR. KING.

DOWNING STREET, March 21, 1799.

Lord Grenville presents his compliments to Mr. King, and has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of his Memorial of the 11th of this month, relative to the conduct of the Commander of his Majesty's Ship Carnatic.

The Government of the United States may be assured that the King is always solicitous to respect the Rights and Honor of those Powers with which his Majesty entertains the relations of friendship: that the instructions which by his Majesty's order are given to the Commanders of his Fleets or Ships of war enjoin the strictest attention to this principle, particularly in the case of the Ships of war of any Such Power; and that his Majesty desirous at all times to manifest his friendship towards the U. S., will certainly see with Displeasure any act which may have been com-

mitted by any officer in his Majesty's service in derogation of the attention and respect due to their Flag.

With regard to the particular facts mentioned in Mr. King's memorial, the most immediate enquiry will be instituted into them, that the distance of the service upon which the Commander of his Majesty's Ship Carnatic is now employed, will allow, and on the Result of the Enquiry, his Majesty will pursue without delay such measures as the Case may appear to require in conformity to the Principles above stated.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 33.

LONDON, March 22, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

It has occurred to me since closing my Letter of this date, that in consequence of the Enquiry ordered to be instituted into the conduct of Capt Loring, it may be adviseable to obtain and send to me proofs more direct and regular than those included in the Report of the Consul at the Havannah. I judged it proper to strengthen the statement of the Consul by alleging in my memorial, as I was authorized to do by the purport of your Number , that the same was confirmed by the subsequent Report of the Commander of the Baltimore. It would have been more regular to have drawn up a Statement from the Report of the Commander of the Baltimore, which should have been signed by him and his principal officers, and addressed to the Secretary of the Marine.

I submit to your consideration whether this should not yet be done. It may be sent to me to be used if the Result of the Enquiry, that has been ordered, should render it important. My apprehension is that Loring will *excuse himself by* * saying *and attempting to prove that the Commander of the Baltimore acquiesced in and consented to all that was done.*

With perfect Respect & Esteem &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

* Italics in cipher.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 34.

LONDON, March 23, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I last evening received a note from Lord Grenville, a copy of which is annexed, announcing a Blockade of all the Ports of Holland. I think I have before informed you that the High Court of Admiralty here consider a Blockade as an interdiction of all Trade inwards and outwards of the Blockaded Port, an interdiction to be enforced by the confiscation of all Vessels with their Cargoes seized in the attempt, after notice, to enter into or come out of the same ; the only exception is in favor of Vessels coming out of the Blockaded Port, and which entered the same before the Blockade commenced ; and even in this case the Cargo to be exempt must have been received on board before notice that the Blockade existed.

Actual notice is given by the men of war of the nation establishing the Blockade, when the same is presumed to have been unknown at the place from whence the Neutral Vessel cleared ; but such notice is not deemed to be necessary when the Blockade was known at the place of clearing.

I suggest for your consideration whether after formal notice, as in the present case, it will not conduce to the security of our Trade, that the Collector of our Ports should officially be advised thereof, with Instructions not to grant clearances for such Blockaded Ports. Such Clearances are granted for Amsterdam, notwithstanding the notice given to us of the Blockade of the Texel, and altho' it is done in the hope of escaping the French Privateers, it on the other hand exposes our vessels to be sent in here for adjudication.

With perfect Respect & Esteem, &c, &c

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

LONDON, March 25, 1799.

MY LORD :

With a view to greater precision it might be advantageous to recast the whole of the 18th Article of our Treaty of Amity, Commerce & Navigation ; but this would require more time and

attention than could perhaps at this moment be spared from other and more urgent engagements, or than would consist with the speedy attainment of the particular object of the Conference that I lately held with your Lordship on this Subject.

Referring therefore to some future period the general subject, I submit to your Lordship's consideration the proposal that I am ordered to make in respect to a more exact definition of the Articles of Naval Stores, which according to the intention of the Parties, and the Law of Nations, ought to be esteemed as Contraband of War.

Our Treaty after enumerating certain articles as arms and implements serving for the purpose of war, adds, "and also Timber for Shipbuilding, Tar or Rosin, Copper in Sheets, Sails, Clamp and Cordage, and generally whatever may serve directly to the Equipment of Vessels, unwrought Iron and Firplanks only excepted."

It is in consequence of this great comprehension of the last Clause of this Paragraph, that the Ships of the United States, trading to the Dutch and Spanish Colonies, are subjected to great Loss and Damage by seizure and detention for having on board either Iron Nails of various sizes which seem directly and chiefly for the construction of houses and other buildings in the said Colonies and for the making of Sugar Casks, Boxes, & other Packages ; or Oznaburghs, an inferior sort of their coarse linen and used chiefly for Negro Clothing.

Nails of this description are of a size that cannot supply the place of Spikes which are directly for Ship Building ; and Oznaburghs is wholly unfit for the Sails of Vessels even of the lowest Tonnage that frequent the Ocean. Notwithstanding this difference between Sail Cloth and Oznaburghs, and between Spikes and House Nails, as well as between their respective uses, the one is confounded with the other by the British Cruizers in the West Indian Seas.

In order to avoid the interruption and loss arising from this error, we propose by way of an additional article, to agree upon the enumeration of those articles which alone should be deemed to serve directly for the equipment of Vessels, or upon an enumeration of such as shall not be so considered ; or if it shall be proposed to exchange Declarations, to be followed by corre-

spondent Instructions to your Ships of war, Cruizers and Courts of Admiralty, to except the Articles above mentioned from the Catalogue of Articles deemed to be Contraband of War.

In any of these modes the object at which we aim may be attained; the choice is submitted to your Lordship in the persuasion that the end is one that must receive your Lordship's Approbation.

With perfect Consideration & Respect &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO W. SMITH.

LONDON, March 26, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

Farther consideration serves to strengthen my first impression respecting the step that has been taken in regard to Russia and the Porte. I thought it a little premature, and I still think that it will require some management in order to give to it a turn that may not embarrass us. There has been, as you will probably recollect, an awkward circumstance concerning our Consular appointment to Russia; this would have been easily overcome, and the coincidence of the opinion of Russia & of the United States in respect to France would have gone far to smooth the way to the attainment of the object of the President's late appointment.

The negotiation with the Porte is an affair of still more interest; and in my opinion it must be a preliminary measure to ascertain, thro' some friendly quarter, the disposition of the Turkish Government before you or any other public character appear there: indeed I understand that this practice is invariably adopted. I don't know whether the subject has been mentioned in your correspondence with our Government, but it has constantly been treated of in mine for two years past—not the manner of conducting the negotiation, but the importance of a Treaty with the Porte, as well in respect to the advantage and extension of our Commerce, as to the Security that it would give to our Treaties with the Barbary Powers.

Previously to the return to Constantinople of the Turkish Ambassador, whom I found here on my arrival, and who was a quiet

good old man, I had several conversations with him upon the Subject of a commercial Treaty, and on his going, gave him a short memoir, drawn up chiefly with a view of shewing the advantages which such a Treaty would give to Turkey.

Upon the coming of the present Ambassador, who is a more intelligent man, who *shewed his exact knowledge* by saying, when I was first presented to him, that he was glad to see a man who came from the country of Diamonds and of Gold ! ! ! !, I took an early occasion to renew the Conversation with him, but with more caution as I was unable to discover his sentiments.

As soon as we received the advice of Lord Nelson's victory, it appeared to me that a favorable occasion was about to offer itself for me to take measures for the conclusion of a Treaty with the Ottoman Empire ; and in the very next conference I had with Lord Grenville, I mentioned the project to him, entirely as from myself, and observed that the influence that England must acquire by the victory of the Nile, that with her favor and the good will of Russia, which we had no reason to suppose would be withheld, we might probably succeed in establishing a Treaty that, exclusive of some commercial advantages, would be of value to us by giving stability to the Treaties, which at great expence we had lately concluded with the Barbary Powers : his Lordship answered that he could beforehand assure us that we might rely upon the influence and good office of the King in the course of our negotiation.

About the same time, a conversation took place between me and the Russian Ambassador, which began on his part, relative to a Treaty between Russia and the United States, in the course of which I said possibly we might desire to avail ourselves of the present moment to negotiate a commercial Treaty with the Porte, in the course of which negotiation the influence of Russia would be of great service to us : his answer was such as I could have desired ; but the whole was merely a personal conversation, and ended by a mutual promise to send to our respective Governments a report of it. It was in November last that I reported to Col. Pickering as well my conversation with Lord Grenville as with the Russian Ambassador.

In a Letter of the 6th of February he barely mentioned the matter as one of importance, that was under consideration : My

next intelligence is the appointment announced in the Newspapers.

I went immediately to the Turkish Ambassador in order to give the intelligence in his mind a turn that might prevent embarrassments. I told him of the conversation I had had with Lord Grenville, and of his answer: that I had reported the same to my Government, as well as the conversation I had before had with him and with his Predecessor: that according to our Forms, the Senate must approve the appointment of Ambassadors; that the Senate was not a body in permanent session, but like the English Parliament commonly assembled only in the Winter; that it is therefore often necessary that an appointment should be made a long time beforehand, and that notwithstanding the news that you were appointed, which I believed tho' I had no regular information of it, still all the customary measures would be observed in order to manifest our respect to the Sultan and to ascertain whether it would be agreeable to him to receive our Ambassador: and tho' I was not authorized to speak to him on the subject, yet perhaps he would think it adviseable to send an account of our conversation in order that unfavorable impressions might be prevented, adding that I had only to desire that he would not state the conversation so as to give the idea that any answer was expected.

He told me that he would pursue the course I recommended which I believe he will do: he then said his Predecessor had spoken with him on the Subject, and that after his arrival at Constantinople he had made some favorable communications to the Reis Effendi concerning it. He said that in August last he mentioned the Subject to Lord Grenville, and added that if England approved, who was their *Great Ally* he thought it would be favorable.

He then enquired particularly respecting you, your age, Profession, former Employment and political opinions. I answered that you were about 38 or 40 (too young a man would not do), a Gentleman of fortune, a man of Letters, always employed in great affairs and a distinguished member of Congress, answering to Parliament, lately come abroad and for the first time, a pronounced friend of order and an enemy of the Philosophy and Politicks of France. The answer shewed that all this pleased, and he en-

gaged to report the whole, and if he received anything on the Subject, to communicate it to me. I shall wait for my Letters before I say anything further to Lord Grenville.

I have thought it adviseable to send you this—and shall cheerfully assist in collecting such books and information as may be useful to you.

With respect to myself, I am persuaded that my nomination has been made on the supposition that the Treaty with Russia would be negotiated here: this cannot be done, and I presume the business will pass into other hands.

I send you a letter from Murray, who complains that he shall never again hear from Philadelphia, that Dispatches from the Secretary of State, which I forwarded passed his letter on the way. I received notice a day or two since that all the Ports of Holland are blockaded by the English Fleets. The war has, according to our accounts, recommenced, and the first affair has been against the French. But I am afraid to expect what I hope for, so often and great have been our former Disappointments.

Nothing interesting from Philadelphia. We have to-day a Report that Truxton in the Constellation has taken the Insurgente French Frigate after an action of two hours, and carried her into Martinique. The Report wants confirmation and I hope will have it.

I am with great Respect & Esteem
Your faithful friend
RUFUS KING.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

Private.

PHILADELPHIA, Ap. 2, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

. . . Count Rumford will be cordially welcomed to his native land. I showed your letter concerning him to the President. Count Rumford's works are read with avidity. A man whose studies and labours are directed to the service of mankind must meet a friendly and honorable reception wherever real worth and excellence can be duly estimated.

Wm. Hindman to R. King.

Talbot County, Maryland, Aprl. 8th, 1799.

My dear Sir :

I presume You have heard that Mr. Joshua Seney (whom You must have known in Congress) defeated Me at the last Election ; the Fatigue & Exposure He underwent in his Exertions to give Him Success occasioned his Death—I did not again come forward as a Candidate—The Contest lay between Jacobin Jo. Nicholson (who I am sorry to say carried his Election, He had however only a Majority of 74) & Federalist Jno. Goldsborough ; had the latter declared Himself sooner than He did, He would have been elected.

In One of my Letters to You, I gave You a hasty Statement of the new House of Representatives, (which it is expected will be more fœderal than the last was) perhaps the enclosed list may be more correct. The last Congress died gloriously, I never knew the fœderal men hang better together, & act with more Firmness than at the last Session. I wish the new Congress with their Accession of Fœderalism may do as well.

The last Information I had from Virginia was, that Genl. Marshall would be elected ; if so, it will be complete Victory over the jacobinic jeffersonian Junto ; & many Gentlemen have been so sanguine as to think there will be returned from that State 7 or 8 fœderal Members ; the People there are certainly fœderalising very fast.

I have great Hopes that our Friend Sedgwick will be the next Speaker, his Merits are great, He behaved nobly in consenting to be chosen to the House of Representatives, to keep out the late insignificant Member from that District, or some other who might be equally bad & contemptible.

I rejoice much to hear of the late French Disasters, I sincerely pray They may speedily be shut up within their own Territory, or extirpated from the Face of the Earth.

I was elected last Winter to a Seat in our State Senate, which I have accepted.

Yours very sincerely & affy.

Wm. Hindman.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 35.

LONDON, April 12, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I have received another Note from Lord Grenville on the subject of the Blockade of the Dutch Ports. We are now informed that all the Ports of the United Provinces are in a state of vigourous Blockade. The former notice of which I sent you a copy with my last Letter respected the Ports of Holland only.

Tho' I have carefully watched the French papers, I have not yet seen any Report of the proceedings of the Council upon the Message of the Directory mentioned in my No. 14. A master of one of our ships who arrived here a few days past from France brought the copy of a Letter written and published in English in Paris by Dupont, formerly Consul at Charleston, to the Commissary of the Directory with the Court of Cassation. This Letter purports to be written at the Desire of the Commissary, and in order to explain the kind of papers ordinarily given to American vessels. The explanations are tolerably correct, and the Letter throughout is in favor of the Restoration of all American Vessels and Cargoes captured on account of a supposed irregularity in their papers. Most probably you will have seen Copies of this Letter before this reaches you, as there can be no doubt that it was written for the purpose of appearing in our newspapers.

This Letter seems also to have had some relation to the late Arrété of the Directory of the 18th of March, a copy of which taken from the Redacteur of the 23d ultimo, is annexed. It is not obvious what the Alteration is, that is professed to be made by this arrété, in that of the 2d of March 1797. We complained that any other Paper than the ship's Passport was demanded and justified ourselves in doing so by the Treaty. The present arrété applies to us in common with all Neutrals, the Regulations of 1744 and 1778, and consequently lays the Treaty out of the question. It is true that the Regulations of 1744 and 1778 do not require any precise form in the Roles d'Equipages and it may be intended to leave the Liberals at liberty to admit our ship's Articles as the Roles d'Equipages required by their regulations.

We have received American Newspapers containing the two

Messages of the President respecting another Mission to France ; and about ten days before a mail from the West Indies brought us an account of the capture of the French Frigate l'Insurgente by the Constellation.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c, &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SECRETARY OF STATE. No. 36.

LONDON, April 16, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

In a former Letter I have taken notice of a Resolution of the Council of Five hundred adopted upon a reference from the Tribunal of Cassation, and which declared that the Law authorizing the Capture of Neutral Vessels having on board Articles of the growth and fabric of Great Britain should operate from the date of its passage. This Resolution has been the subject of long and elaborate discussion in the Council of Ancients, where it was finally rejected according to the late French Papers by a large majority on the first of March. The Tribunal of Cassation was divided, a part of the Members being of opinion that the Law was to take effect from the day of its Passage, and the residue contending that previous notice should be given to all Neutral Nations before their Vessels could be affected by it. The two Councils are also divided upon this question : the immediate consequence must be a delay in pronouncing Sentences by the Tribunal of Cassation. I have no means of judging how the Question will finally be settled.

We have Paris Papers to the 18th instant ; There seems no longer any Doubt that Jourdain after several severe actions in Suabia has been driven back by the Arch Duke ; and that Massena has not been as successful as was for some time supposed in his repeated Efforts to penetrate from the Grisons into the Tyrol.

The French Papers state that their Army has entered the Dominion of Tuscany, and that the Grand Duke has retired to Vienna. I have not a word from France respecting the Capture of the Insurgente Frigate, nor of our appointment of another

Mission to the Directory, tho' the news of both these events was probably known at Paris on the 6th or 7th instant.

With perfect Respect and Esteem &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO JOHN JAY.

LONDON, April 19, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

By my Letter of the 7th of December, I informed you that I had given orders to Mr. Pitcairn, our Consul at Hamburgh, to purchase three thousand German Muskets for the State of New York. Under date of the 25th ulto, he informed me that he had accordingly engaged two thousand five hundred Muskets at 26/6 d. sterling each. Under date of the 5th instant he informs me that on the 10th he should be called on for part and in one month for the remainder of the Payment for these arms, and on the 12th he adds that the 2500 Muskets for New York were principally received, and that he should give me information when they are shipped. As the funds are not yet arrived, I authorized him to draw on the house of Bird, Savage and Bird, who will accept his Bill in the expectation that the Remittances will come to hand before their acceptance falls due.

The Muskets will be shipped from Hamburgh in Vessels bound to New York, and Insurance may be made accordingly, tho' the name or names of the Vessel or Vessels are not known.

With great Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. TROUP TO R. KING.

NEW YORK, 19th April, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

. . . I am almost afraid to write to you about the State of our political affairs. We have experienced a sad reverse in the temper, ardor and zeal of our fellow citizens. The late nomination of the President for the purpose of renewing negotiations with France has given almost universal disgust. This measure, besides the intrinsic unfitness of it, was secret and without advice, which has also contributed to render it more disgusting. There

certainly will be serious difficulties in supporting Mr. Adams at the next election if he should be a candidate.

The army is progressing like a wounded snake. Last year its progress was obstructed by the President's retiring to Braintree. He is now there and likely to continue there during the whole season. All the measures of the government are retarded by this kind of abdication. The only apology, in my opinion, for the present abdication is that Mrs. Adams was left sick last Fall at Braintree and that she has ever since continued there. General Maitland, who lately arrived here on the supposed St. Domingo business, has, we understand, been delayed and embarrassed by the President's absence in the objects of his Mission, the result of which has not yet transpired.

The insurrection in Pennsylvania may be considered as quelled. All the ringleaders, very few excepted, are apprehended and in prison. Their conduct has been dastardly and without concert. * . . .

Burr is again a candidate for the Assembly and I believe he will succeed. He is acquiring much influence and is disposed to profit by it. The last winter he procured a bill to pass for incorporating a company by the name of the Manhattan Company. Its ostensible object is to bring water to the city; but its real object is to furnish new projects and means for speculation. The

* This insurrection was caused by a resistance against the direct tax, which was ordered by the late Congress, to increase the revenues of the government; among the articles to be taxed were houses, of which the classification was made by measuring the windows. The officers appointed to do this work were resisted in several of the counties, and the Marshal, under "the warrants from the District Court of Pennsylvania" was unable to execute his writs against the rioters. "The President immediately issued a proclamation requiring submission to the laws. He called upon the Governor of Pennsylvania for a detachment of militia," which was granted. "No opposition was made to the troops and Fries and some thirty others were secured and carried to Philadelphia. Fries was indicted for treason . . . and was found guilty. The court held that to resist a law by force, with intent to defeat its execution altogether, amounted to levying war. But as it appeared after verdict that one of the jury, previous to being impanelled, had expressed his opinion that Fries ought to be hung, a new trial was granted. Several of Fries' companions were found guilty of misdemeanor." Fries was tried a second time and found guilty, but was pardoned by the President.—Hildreth, *History of the United States*, 2d ser., vol. ii., pp. 312–366.

capital of the company is to consist of two millions of dollars. The shares are $50. each ; and the capital may be applied to any monied operations whatsoever. The charter is to be forfeited if the company within ten years does not supply the city with water. . . . Burr governs everything by a decided majority amongst the directors. . . . The most respectable mercantile and monied interests are decidedly opposed to the measure ; and they attach much blame as well to the Council of Revision as to the Assembly and Senate. I have no doubt that if the company carry their schemes into effect, they will contribute powerfully to encrease that bloated state of credit, which has of late essentially injured us, by repeated and heavy bankruptcies. It is given out that we are to have a new bank established by the Company and that they will also embark deeply in the East India Trade—and perhaps turn their attention to marine insurance. . . . Mr. Gouverneur Morris is at Morrisania. . . . He is in excellent health and is very happy to see his friends, to whom he is all hospitality. His wines are of superior quality and given with great liberality. His attachments to his own country and government have encreased by what he has seen in Europe. . . . He seems determined to remain a farmer, and not again to embark in public life. . . .

God bless you.

ROB. TROUP.

R. KING TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Ap. 21, 1799.

SIR :

I have too much pleasure in obeying your commands to delay my reply to your polite and obliging Note of yesterday. By a Law for the Establishment of our Mint passed in 1792, we settled the proportionate Value of Gold to Silver in the Coins of the U. S. at 15 to 1, according to quantity in weight of pure Gold or pure Silver.

By the same Law the standard of our gold coins is established to be eleven parts fine to one part alloy, the alloy to be composed of silver and copper in such proportions not exceeding one half silver, as should be found convenient ; and the standard of our silver Coins to be fourteen hundred and eighty five (1485) parts

fine, to one hundred and seventy nine (179) parts alloy ; the alloy to be wholly of copper.

Our Gold Coins are Eagles, half-Eagles and quarter-Eagles ; the Eagle is of the value of Ten Dollars, and contains 270 grains of standard gold, of which 247 grains and ½ part of a grain are of pure Gold. The half-Eagles and quarter-Eagles express the Proportions of the Eagle they respectively contain.

Our Silver Coins are Dollars, Half-Dollars, quarter-Dollars, Dimes & half-Dimes. The Dollar (which corresponds in value with the Spanish milled Dollar, current in the U. S. at the Establishment of our Mint) contains 416 grains of standard silver, of which 371 Grains and a ¼ part of a Grain, are pure silver ; the Half-Dollar, quarter-Dollar & Dime & half-Dime respectively contain the half, the quarter, the tenth and the 20th part of the standard silver Dollar.

The Dollar is our money unit ; the money of account of the U. S. is expressed in Dollars, dimes, cents & mills, corresponding to units, tenths, hundredths, thousandths ; and the public accounts, Proceedings of the Judiciary of the U. S. are kept and had in Conformity to this Regulation.

With perfect Respect &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO SIR JOSEPH BANKS.

GR. C. PLACE, 21st April, 1799.

DEAR SIR :

I am sorry that I have not a piece of each denomination of our Coins to offer you ; but I take the liberty to send and beg you to accept as Specimens of our Coinage, a half-Eagle, a Dollar and a quarter-Dollar. I add to them three medals as samples of a large number that by order of our Govt., and under my direction were last year struck by Boulton, for the purpose of being distributed among the Indians within our Territory. A small ring is soldered to the edge of the medal by which according to the Indian custom, it may be suspended as an Ornament of Dress.

The Devices * have been chosen with a Reference to our En-

* The Devices were made by the Painter, John Trumbull at the request of Mr. King. Mr. Trumbull was at this time in London, a member of the Commission under the 7th Article of the Treaty with Great Britain.

deavours to change the manners of the Indians, & as far as practicable to civilize them. For this purpose, we at stated periods deliver to them seeds of various kinds, Cattle, Sheep & the different implements of Agriculture.

With perfect Respect &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GT. CUMBERLAND PLACE, 30th April, 1799.

Mr. King presents his Compliments to Lord Grenville, & has the honor to acknowledge the rect. of his Ldp's. Note of the 22d inst., enclosing a specification of such Nails as are understood not to be included in the Catalogue of Articles deemed Contraband of War. Mr. K. is not certain that the proposed Specification includes the different Sorts of Nails used for Housebuilding and various other purposes other than Shipbuilding in Gt. Britain, as the rose headed Nail, & perhaps others are omitted ; & he is the more apprehensive that any description by mere names will be insufficient, as different names are given to nails of the same sizes in the U. S. and Engd., the American names being generally taken from the uses to whh. the nail is apply'd, or from the price per hundred or per thousand ; other names differing from those of Engd. & the States may be given to the same nails in the British Colonies & the article intended to be explanatory may itself require explanation.

To avoid this want of precision Mr. King takes the Liberty to suggest instead of the enumeration or a Specification as has been proposed, that it shd. be agreed that all Iron Nails under the size of Spikes or Deck Nails should be excepted from and not included within the provisions of the 18th article of the Treaty of Amity, Commerce & Navigation between the U. States & Gr. Britain.

APPENDIX I.

THE kindness of Mrs. Daniel Kilham Dodge, of Brooklyn, N. Y., enables the Editor to publish here, though properly belonging to the previous volume, some letters, found in March, 1894, in an old trunk of her husband's great uncle, Daniel Kilham, of Newburyport, Massachusetts. They are letters between Dr. Kilham and Rufus King, and throw some new light upon the public affairs of the day and illustrate Mr. King's private as well as public life.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

BOSTON, Feby. 18th, 1784.

DEAR KILHAM:

By the Gazette you learn that the def. Treaty is at last ratified by Congress. The General Court are now agitating the propriety, and calculating the expence of some public exhibitions of Joy, accompanying the proclamation of the peace completed. Some say it has become an old story, others reply that granting the fact it will bear telling again and again. How the question will be determined is perhaps immaterial; but *the spirit which governs very generally here, is very pitiful and I fear will prove prejudicial.*

Notwithstanding a liberality of sentiment upon some subjects and a general toleration of almost all opinions, except political, prevail, yet is it certain, that there is not a great deal still to be corrected? The ability of the country is substantial—her debts are trivial, but there is a parsimony which many in office call Republicanism, that casts an ill feature upon all public doings. This mistaken sentiment of political economy checks all public grants

to the servants of Government ; and in effect discourages men of abilities from qualifying themselves for national departments ; of consequence the state is badly served. When justice is withheld from those who have ably and faithfully served the public, little is to be expected from such a government in favor of the arts and sciences : and the prevailing spirit above referred to, I fear, will wholly suppress an institution which I could wish at least attempted ; I mean that of a Botanical Garden at Cambridge.

By a letter from St. John, the French Consul at N. York, addressed to President Willard and Doctr. Holyoke, as Pres. of the Academy, it appears that the King of France in aid of such an institution has directed his minister to communicate to the University of Cambridge in Massachusetts that, as a testimony of the Respect he bears to that University and to enable them to effect a purpose ornamental as well as beneficial, he will, by their permission, cause to be sent and transported to them annually, at the proper season, *free from every charge*, the annual seeds and plants of his own Royal Gardens, of every description. No answer has been as yet made. It strikes many persons agreeably, and it is supposed that the purpose would be very extensively practical at Cambridge. Amongst a few friends I have heard the subject canvassed—and my own sentiments have been flattered in the frequent observation of others, that, should the distribution be attempted, it would be most safely trusted to your protection and guidance. Could a fund be established that would give an independent annuity to a man of genius and letters, for his attention to such an institution, I should feel most happy in seeing you in such a character. I have some sentiments upon the practicability that I will waive *until we meet.* Perhaps the matter is not so utopian as you may imagine. I am anxious to attempt something for the medical professors. I wish altho' it is small, that it may succeed —something like a general infirmary at Cambridge, to be under your care &c—this last idea you will receive in confidence— Should you meet with good Parson Bass congratulate him for me on this intelligence, viz

" His holiness the Pope has caused to be written to *Congress* a letter congratulatory upon the peace and independence of the United States, and to convince *them* of the sincerity of his congratulations, informs, that as the English Church have a special

union with their civil government in the King of the one being the head of the other, and as a difficulty from that source may be in the way of a regular ordination of Ministers of the Gospel in the United States thro' the English Bishops, he offers to ordain such person or persons as Congress shall designate as Bishop or Bishops in the United States by the true apostolic imposition of hands—and agreeable to such ritual as Congress may adopt."

This information is true—I expect in a few days a copy of the Letter. But your time nor friendship can be no apology for me adding,—except that I am with the utmost sincerity your friend & Hum. Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

TRENTON, 12th Dec., 1784.

DEAR SIR :

I have been here so short a time, that I can say very little to you upon the subject of our general affairs ; wait a little time, and I will give you a general state of them. This place for the residence of Congress has many inconveniences and a motion was a few days since made to adjourn to Philadelphia, but passed in the negative. We shall however adjourn I think from this place, either to the city of New York or to Philadelphia.

We have before us a serious remonstrance from the Spanish Agent against our navigating the River Mississippi ; they deny the right under our treaty with the Court of London, and say that any American Vessel which may come into that River will be confiscated.

This is a subject that alarms the Southern States, and will require a considerable degree of delicacy and firmness to be conducted with safety.

No account from the British Court favors the idea of a cordial amity towards the United States, and the detention of the Forts on the western frontier is probably under positive instruction. . . .

With esteem and friendship,

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, March 8, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR:

. . . I wish to know how you proceed in your affairs: how is honest Nat. Carter? Does he think of me ever as he smokes his pipe? If he does, pray tell him that I am gratified, that my idea associates with agreeable objects; for such alone pass the mind of a hearty smoker. You will oblige me in mentioning me to Swett that I am truly interested in his friendship and prosperity. I think he deserves as much as he has a prospect of obtaining, and his prospect is good *in the situation where* he is. When I shall be fortunate in meeting him and you again, which I hope is not far distant, I think I can remark to him some ideas which will be to his benefit.

Smith I suppose gives you a dinner twice or thrice in a winter —you take your supper with him, hear a German battle and ogle Miss Hannah once a week. . . .

With real esteem,

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Ap. 26, 1785.

Yours of the 30th of March was received this evening; it is written in the stile of friendship and with the most obliging expressions of attachment; accept in return my most sincere acknowledgments, and rely upon this, that my friendship is founded on so long an acquaintance, and so full a conviction of ingenuous merit, that I shall not soon relinquish it. . . .

You obligingly inquire of my affairs; I reply that I never have spent any period of my life with so close an application to business, or with so few amusements as since I left you. In a situation the duties of which may subject me to public examination, and with some little ambition, I have been desirous of pursuing a conduct that would not hazard me in the first view, nor dishonor me in the second. As to my victim condition, that you say is reported, I assure you that there could no report be circulated con-

cerning me that would be less true. At present I think it improper to bow to beauty or bend to fortune. So negligent have I been on this subject, that upon my honor I assure you that I think of neither except when I think of home.

Adieu yours affectionately,

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, July 25th, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR :

I have yours of the ninth instant for which accept my thanks. Little is to be immediately expected remedial of the embarrassments which almost the whole of the American Commerce is exposed to. The Gentlemen in trade, almost universally through the States, are uneasy and complaining. It has been the fashion to suppose all grievances originated with the British nation ; but in this instance much of the pressing difficulty, of which constant complaint is making, is to be carried to the account of the excessive importations made on credit, and the mismanagement of the importers in the sale of their merchandize.

Congress it is said must have additional powers or commerce will be totally ruined ; do those, who make this observation, know the difficulties of effecting what only costs them a breath to express ? Have they considered the mode of effecting their wishes ? Do they know that one third of the States are individually interested in opposing any commercial treaty or negotiation whatever ? Have they heard the Southern States remark that their countries yielded a plentiful and valuable export in their Indigo, Rice, Wheat, & Tobacco—that the freer the trade the more valuable to the State possessing these staples—that the more numerous the nations are, who come to their countries to buy their produce, the greater the competition among the purchasers, and consequently the higher the price at which the produce will sell ; whilst the quantity of goods in different hands suitable for their market may be purchased at a lower price than if the laws of trade restricted any power or nation in their intercourse ?

These are some of the difficulties which will authorise an opinion that little can at present be expected from Congress. The

Eastern States will consent to vest powers in Congress competent to a regulation of foreign Commerce, but the Southern States will never consent to regulations which will effect what the Northern States desire. . . .

Adieu your's affectionately,

R. KING.

Supplement—Mr. Adams was received with the usual ceremonies and honors at the British Court on the first of June. We have dispatches from him, informing only of his reception &c. &c. —his private interview with the King must have been curious. What he will negotiate time must manifest. Young Mr. Adams arrived here a few days since, having left his father about the middle of May on his departure for London. As late as the last of May the drought had continued to be most severe ; the corn will be short in Europe, the herds are greatly diminished for want of forage, and the apprehension is great as common in populous countries that the human race will suffer from famine.

This remark may be drawn from this information, that if the United States had energy sufficient to prevent the supply of provisions to the West Indies and wheat to Europe, we should be able to negotiate commercial treaties on more advantageous terms than at present.

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Aug. 24, 1785.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . When I shall meet you is wholly uncertain ; I fear not so soon as I could desire. I am in a situation which perplexes me ; was I a man of moderate fortune, I would follow my present pursuit ; for I think I could do it with honor and with a prospect of some service to my country ; but if this opinion should prevail, I must abandon my profession ; by this I could live with convenience, in peace and without hazard ; leaving this quiet prospect, I find much at hazard and little certainty except constant vigilance of numerous enemies, for Parties will exist. I am undetermined.

At present adieu ; love me as I love you ; think for me ; you are my friend, you know every thing concerning me and can judge perhaps more justly than I myself can.

Again adieu,

R. K.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Oct. 10th, 1785.

DEAR KILHAM :

. . . I thank you for your last of the 11th of September. I find that some of my friendly admonitions to you were unnecessary. I am perplexed with your opinion upon my subject—Politicks or Peace. I do assure you that I balance. Even in my profession I could better my prosperity by removing from Newburyport. But I think I never shall remove.

I can only bid you adieu.

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Oct. 12th, 1785.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

. . . I have nothing politically important to communicate. The subject of commercial embarrassments is exhausted—Congress have no powers—and their recommendations are nugatory.—A Treaty of commerce has lately been concluded between Prussia and the United States. This Treaty contains some articles in favor of humanity and for the protection of the weak, which are new and without precedent between any nations. But Prussia understands the principles of war better than those of commerce. The Treaty gives an important friend to the United States, so far as paper, ink and seals can convey, but will in a very small degree advance their commerce or riches. A negotiation is upon the tapis with Spain—but the progress is cautious and slow—and when the business will terminate, no mortal can conjecture. England will form no Treaty of commerce in her present exasperated temper. The loss of America and the difficulties in Ireland irritate the nation to an extreme degree. However well the

King's ministers may be upon the subject of a commercial Treaty, they will not dare proceed under present circumstances.

Unless the several States vest power in Congress to regulate commerce, or will themselves agree in some uniform measures, *no Treaty can ever be expected*—the reasoning of the British upon this subject is so obvious, that I will not state it to you.—But enough—I bid you farewell for this time

And am your

R. K.

This is currente calamo.

To this letter Dr. Kilham gave the following answer:

"Both yours of the 10th & 12th are come to hand and are favors indeed. . . . The Treaty with Prussia was new to me. It is always happy when I find a Prince who recollects *the cause of humanity*. . . . What are the advantages expected by the mercantile interest of this country from a treaty of commerce with G. B. I cannot conceive. Will she stipulate a repeal of her navigation laws? Will she oblige herself *by treaty*, which is an irreversible law, to admit us to a free commerce in her W. I. Islands, where she will not admit us by an Act of her Legislature, revocable at pleasure? We have nothing to give her which she *esteems* an equivalent for those favors; and to expect her to entertain a partiality for our interest in opposition to her own, we must be young indeed. We must devise to make her less necessary to us by becoming our own manufacturers notwithstanding the two mighty objections of want of people and high price of labor. The observation is so obvious as to be almost frivolous that if our population is small the consumption of manufactures must be proportionally so. Our population is quite sufficient for a proper division of labor and that is all that can be requisite. When there are a sufficient number of subjects for every species of industry, they ought to be *introduced by Government*, for by increasing *the species of industry* there will be an increase of the *general mass of industry*, for many children and infirm persons, out of the whole variety, will find something to which they may apply themselves.

The high price of labor operates equally against exporting as against manufacturing and is the reason why many cargoes are sold abroad for less than they cost.——

R. King to D. Kilham.

New York, Decr. 8th, 1785.

My dear Friend :

. . . The unaccountable policy of the commercial powers of Europe concerning the Barbary powers renders it necessary that America should also pay tribute to these Pirates.

I am very grateful to my friends for any inquiry they may make about me or my affairs, and hope before many months elapse to convince them in person of the sincerity of this declaration. Not even the Ladies of this city, agreeable as many of them are shall with all *their Frailties* detain me. I am, I thank God, no prisoner—my system will not admit the idea. Both you and I have passed that feverish age, which leads to indiscreet attachments and subjects the reason to the passions.

You ask me what are my habits of business, of amusement ; you know my disposition upon the general pursuits of life, by having observed my practices. I have too much pride to be an ignorant man ; and that constant industry to understand, and form dispositions of, the complicated and various business before Congress, is to me a pleasure and amusement.

The amusement of leisure men here lies in the frequent and elegant private Routs or parties given by the Ladies and Gentlemen of the city. In addition to these a public assembly and concert alternately every fortnight. A company of players furnish the pleasures of a theatre three nights every week. I confess this last amusement is very agreeable, and that I partake of it more frequently and with more satisfaction, than of any other which this gay City affords.

This is not a letter from the Delegate, but from your friend and is confidential. I embrace you, adieu !

R. King.

R. King to D. Kilham.

New York, March 5th, 1786.

My dear Friend :

. . . Our domestic affairs are greatly embarrassed, the subject of revenue is intricate even in the simplest forms of Government ; but complex as our federal Government is, all questions of revenue are complicated in the highest degree. A late act of

Congress, stating some of their money engagements, and their means of complying with them, is a plain statement and refers to the determination of the States a question infinitely important to the existence of the Confederacy. The doctrine of Expedients has brought us thus far ; but expedients serve only to postpone, and not to remove, the evils which for a time they alleviate. They are therefore improper and impolitic in a Republic, where the people determine on all governmental acts, and consequently ought not only to know, but also to feel, every evil which surrounds them. A false delicacy has sometimes governed the public acts of Congress ; an apprehension has been formerly entertained that foreigners would not sufficiently honor and esteem us if they knew our real situation. This has been a mistaken policy —America was respectable in arms, she was admired. But peace, so far from advancing her fame, has diminished her former reputation ; and there are few nations whose public credit is at so low an ebb as our's. The only method of repossessing what we have lost, is by giving true information to the people and submitting to their judgment the promotion and establishment of their own Glory and Honor. . . .

I am authorized to affirm that I am with the purest esteem and regard your sincere and obliged friend,

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Apr. 5th, 1786.

MY DEAR KILHAM :

Have you wholly forgotten me—if this is the case the event which I wish to communicate will afford you no pleasure, but like many pieces of uninteresting intelligence will be read and thought of no more. I will not believe this to be the case, since the very information will be an apology why I have not been so diligent a correspondent as you had good right to expect. The lady to whom six days since I was married has merits to demand your esteem ; and when you know her, which I hope will soon be the fact, will convince you that I ought to be, what I really am, extremely happy.

I cannot be particular ; time will not permit it, and perhaps the patience of friendship would be exhausted with the detail. I

hope and expect to take you by the hand in June, when we will put and answer questions till we are mutually satisfied.

Pray present my respects where they are due—my gratitude to my fellow townsmen was never more lively than at this moment; to them I am indebted for an unmerited partiality and with them I hope to spend a life not destitute of grateful recollection.

Adieu my dear friend—I embrace you.

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, June 17, 1786.

DEAR KILHAM:

I was pleased with the instructions of Newburyport to their Representatives, but much more so when I found you was chairman of the committee which reported them for the town's adoption. They have been reprinted in all the newspapers this way, and have received the approbation of liberal men. . . . You never have mentioned a word in any of your letters concerning Doctor Swett; by the Gazette account of the medical Society, I am satisfied in finding his name mentioned among the living. I earnestly wish he may long continue their friend and physician. When you see him, be good enough to tell him that there is a Doctor White in Congress from North Carolina who has frequently mentioned to me his acquaintance with Doct. Swett at Edinburgh. White is a very clever fellow and loves good Burgundy as well as his friend Swett.

I have nothing new to mention to you, except that it is an unpleasant thing to be the daily witness of the humiliating situation of the federal government; without power, destitute of revenue, pledged for engagements, and without ability to execute them.

Adieu.

R. KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Oct. 29, 1786.

DEAR SIR:

Two posts have arrived and I heard not a word from any member of the General Court. You must be impressed with the sentiment that we are extremely anxious to be informed of every

step taken by the Legislature at this critical juncture of the Government. What measures you will pursue to preserve the Commonwealth, it is your duty diligently to inquire. Wisdom and Fortitude ought most highly to distinguish the present Assembly. Upon what they do, or omit, in an eminent degree must depend the national safety. The evil is of great magnitude, and the remedy must be equally extensive and wholly efficacious. I confess that I was greatly surprized when in Boston to find such apathy among the people when the Government was convulsed and the existence of the Commonwealth was in danger. Very few men appear to be informed (or if informed continue silent) of the dangerous principles avowed by the leaders of the Insurgents.

These men publicly avow the opinion—that all America, which was formerly under the British Government and now within the United States, was acquired by the people of the United States, and by their joint exertions; that all men being by nature equal, the *Property ought to be equally divided* among all the citizens of the United States; and that upon the principles of this acquisition, and the dissolution of the Government existing before the Revolution, all debts contracted before that period are annihilated and any attempts to inforce their payment are attempts for plunder and robbery.

I have the best authority for affirming that these pernicious principles are cherished and industriously propagated by the leaders of the Insurgents. If when opinions so fatal to the Commonwealth are openly taught and justified, they, who by their office are bound to watch for the safety of the Government, content themselves with limited applications and detail reforms, when the evil is general, and the disease has possessed itself of the vitals, there is good reason to despair of the Commonwealth and to give up all to Anarchy and confusion.

Farewell yours sincerely

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Nov. 19, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR:

Your account of the proceedings of the General Court has afforded me much more information than I had received from any

other quarter; pray continue to write to me, as you must be convinced of the anxiety I entertain concerning the public affairs at this very critical juncture. I will write to B. T., but I wish you had been particular in suggesting the points that I should dwell upon.

I can hardly suppose it possible that he should entertain any Ideas unfavorable to public or private credit. As to the grievances of the People, so loudly and generally complained of, I confess myself in opposition to the opinions of those who unite in these complaints. Grievances can not be suffered in a Government constituted as our Government is. The laws are the acts of a majority of the people—every citizen by the nature of the social compact is bound to submit to this majority—the execution or administration of such laws are not grievances. If the laws are incautiously or unwisely enacted, and the majority think so, they may be annulled by the new Legislature—the operation of a law, inconvenient or unwise in itself, can continue but a single year, because it will be repealed, if the majority unite in opinion that it is inconvenient or unwise. No law would be passed which would be so enormous or bad, that it would be intolerable for one year; what reason is there then for the complaints, and rash proceedings of the present opponents of our Government?

I will not add upon this subject—you have fully considered and are extremely capable of examining, the subject—my remarks must therefore be either erroneous, or unnecessary because they have before passed in your mind.

Farewell

R. KING.

We have not yet made a Congress. Who will be President is yet uncertain; probably Mr. Nash of No. Carolina, or Mr. Jno. Langdon of New Hampshire should the latter come on.

R. KING TO D. KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Jan. 28, 1787.

DEAR KILHAM:

. . . Nothing has taken place in the general affairs of the Union since I saw you of any consequence except the measures

that you are well acquainted with. Indeed Congress separated in October and have not since been organized. Seven States will probably be represented tomorrow, when possibly we may elect a President. I pray you to write me. . . .

Farewell, be assured that I am most affectionately yours,

RUFUS KING.

Dr. Kilham writes to Mr. King about the same date.

"I think the proceedings of the Gt. in its present sessions must give you the greatest pleasure, & the present spirit I doubt not will be a remedy superior to the great misfortunes we have actually suffered, and to prevent the of Rebellion. They passed an act disqualifying all who have acted as non-commissioned officers or privates from holding any civil or military or town offices for a term, and conditioned also from being electors in the choice of any of these offices. This we hope will be a security against corruption in the approaching election. Gen. Lincoln is to be continued with a force of 1000 or 1500 men in the disaffected counties till the peace shall appear to be perfectly restored and *confirmed.* The time being nearly expired for which the first drafts were made, they are to be replaced by themselves or others, and good funds are provided for their subsistence and payment. This last circumstance is the most material. Gentlemen of property are growing prudent and begin to insure by advancing liberally, and the dishonest part of the Legislature begin to discern that faith is as necessary in politics as in religion.

"After the spirit of Rebellion is completely subdued the business will be half done ; a spirit of obedience and *industry* is to be restored which is the greatest object of Legislation.

"I have learned by the Gazette that Congress have assembled. The affairs of the Union are daily growing more serious. I should be much gratified to know what order will be taken on them. In my last I wrote you on the subject of the Convention. I hope to have your opinion before you receive this. To me the difficulties appear unsurmountable."

R. KING TO DANIEL KILHAM.

NEW YORK, Nov. 25, 1787.

It is a long time since I heard anything from you. Permit me to inquire of you how the public opinion stands relative to the measures of Government in the suppression of the Rebellion? How goes Electioneering? Men and measures are now very intimately united. Displace men and you disapprove measures such men supported.

Farewell

R. KING.

On the reverse of this, without date, is the following in Dr. Kilham's handwriting:

"I have of late been absent, therefore did not receive your's of 25th ult. till you must have learnt the public opinion on the subject of your enquiry.

"You will perceive by the new Elections that the public are dissatisfied & very unhappy & so long as the people remain their own governors and mistake the cause of their misfortunes they must continue so. In this country there will be almost a total change of Senators—those most probably elected are Mr. Goodhue, Mr. Coffin, Mr. Wood, Mr. Osgood; some of whom have never been men in any public office. There will undoubtedly be as great changes in the House, but what they will be is yet too early to determine. Many draw the most unfavorable conclusions from these circumstances. I do not. If the people are pleased with their governors they will more patiently submit to the government, and it is essential that a free people should be satisfied with their Rulers. After the present change the people I wish may begin to be composed, but if not, though I believe G. himself scarcely knows by what operation it is to be effected, some material change must take place in our national government. So many men & so much property can never be without some government, & if they are very corrupt and very licentious, it must be an absolute one, which G. avert—I expect to hear from you in B." (No signature.)

APPENDIX II.

Endorsed in Rufus King's handwriting:

"Conference with Ld. Grenville Aug. 10th, 1796."

According to Ld. Grenville's appointment I waited on him at 11 o'ck A.M.

I stated to him that I brought with me Dispatches altogether favorable to a firm Friendship & perfect Harmony between our two Countries and that my endeavours would be directed to this object.

After shewing him my second Commission authorizing a continuation of Mr. Jay's Negotiation, &c, I observed that the objection to the XII Article was the limitation of the Tonnage, and the Restriction not to export from the U. S. certain enumerated articles—that altho' formerly perhaps ¾ of our Vessels, employed in the W. In. Trade were at or under 70 tons, that now perhaps not one in Eight of our Sea Vessels were of so small a Tonnage—that the duration of the article wd. not in Prudence permit the building of New Vessels, and besides that they wd. be unprofitable as nearly the same men and expenses would navigate a vessel of perhaps 100 tons, and that in the carrying of Lumber the Freight wd. not be an object in a vessel of that Tonnage.

That in respect to the Restriction not to export the enumerated articles, we had thought we might agree in applying it solely to such as were recd. from the Br. Islands, and that our system of Drawbacks wd. execute the Stipulations—but that on a fuller consideration, we had found that if we entered into this Stipulation with G. B. the other Powers holding W. In. Cols. wd. expect us to form a similar Stipulation, the consequence of wh. would be to reinstate the Article in its originally objectionable shape. That we thought the regulations of little consequence to G.B. inasmuch as we shd. rarely take from them any articles except their Rum; their other productions being ordinarily higher in their price than in the neighbouring Islands. Besides all the colonizing Powers had for the last half Century opened their W. In. Cols. in time of war without any such Restriction and that it would be better to suffer the Commerce to stand on its ordinary Footing

which wd. give us a share of it in time of war, than to form a Stipulation that would contain the Restraints proposed.

Lord Grenville said that the limitation of the tonnage was desired by them on the same principle as they wished a Restraint agt. our re-exporting W. In. Produce—that they wished to prevent our becoming the carriers of their W. In. Produce to the different European Powers—that they had not been sensible that so few of our vessels were of the proposed tonnage—that it would be requisite that he shd. confer on these Points with those at the Head of the Trade and Colony Systems, &c. &c.

I then observed that no subject was so embarrassing as that of our Seamen—and that I hardly knew how to express myself respecting it—that I fear our claims might be wide of each other, and that the true mean wd. be difficult to agree in. His Lordship said that he was sensible of the Difficulty ; that placing himself on our side it was obvious, and he requested me to take his Place for a moment in order to perceive the motives which influenced them—that their Navy was their safeguard—that their Admirals and Admiralty Board were constantly complaining that the navy was decaying from the Embarrassment experienced in manning their Ships—that the British Seamen were escaping the public service by engaging in the American Employ and challenging the Protection of the American Flag.

I said that my Ideas were far from settled on any precise plan —that we thought, after fair reflection, and a full view of the situation of the claim of G. B., that we were entitled to pass the High Seas without interruption—that when we came within the Br. Jurisdiction a right of Examination in order to obtain Br. Seamen wd. not be contested—that in the Ports of the Kingdom some Embarrassment might result from the Examination, yet it wd. be much less than would be the Case in the Colonies where the exercise of this Claim was very injurious to our Citizens, and ruinous in some cases to our Merchants.

That if we could by convention adjust these Points in a fair and reasonable manner, it would wonderfully tend to promote Friendship & Good Will between us.

That a Plan of Protection had been adopted, (here I explained to Ld. G. the Tenor of the late Law, which his Lordship appeared to have in some degree misconceived and to have thought very

lightly of) but the ex parte Representations would be of little avail to compose the public opinion entertained on either side: hence the advantage of an adjustment by Convention: that the Proofs after all would constitute the real Difficulty. We did not desire to withdraw from their Duty their people, in order to engage them in our Employ; our only wish was to secure our own People from being forced out of our Ships, whereby they were injured and our Commerce exposed to infinite Embarrassment.

Lord Grenville said that with respect to an exemption from examination, &c, on the High Seas, unless great latitude was given to their Doctrine of the four Seas, &c, the Position would differ from what they had practiced, and as they supposed without injustice to for. stations — that they man their Navy by cruising with their Frigates in the chops of the Channel where they met their Merchantmen, which, as soon as they have come near their Ports, usually suffer their seamen to go on Shore, leaving only the Officers & a Boy or two, with Protections on board to Navigate the Vessel.

It was understood between Lord G. & me that this conversation shd. be viewed as only breaking the Subject, that he shd. consult with Lord Spencer and his Colleagues, and that instead of writing we shd. freely converse on this and such other Topics as shd. come up, and shd. we advance towards any Result, that then it shd. be put in Paper.

Lord Grenville here adverted to our late Law authorizing the appointment of an Agent to reside in their W. Ind; he said he wished this measure had been considered, and if it should have been found proper, that Instructions shd. have been given to their Governors &c respecting it—that at present it was not allowed to any Nation to send an Agent into yr. colonies, that looking at their laws, he apprehended that their Governors wd. not think themselves authorized to permit the Residence of such a character, and he felt uneasy lest the sending away of such agent should be unfavorably construed in America. I suggested the expediency of an early attention to the subject, promised a copy of the Law and intimated the idea of an Instruction wh. shd. allow such agent to reside, say in Jamaica, there to receive applications from Amer. Seamen &c, confining his agency to a correspondence with the Govr., who shd. in this respect have authority to enquire of

their Navy officers. This arrangement suggested itself from Ld. G's having said that a secret correspondence between such Agent and the Admirals, Captains & seamen would undiscipline their Navy.

We were here interrupted by a Messenger with Letters, wh. Lord Grenville on opening found to come from the D. Portland's office, being dispatches of the 11 & 18 June from Lord Dorchester. He read them and said he wd. send me copies. They stated Cap. Lewis' arrival at Quebec, his dispatches from —— and his arrangements to give up the Posts immediately, wh. he says Cap. Lewis desired might be delayed till our Troops arrived to receive them. The last letter mentions Lewis' Departure from Quebec & the order being issued to the several Posts by the Adj. Genl., duplicates of wh. were given to Cap. Lewis for the delivery of the Posts to the American Detachments.

I mentioned to Ld. Grenville that it would be satisfactory, could I have it in my Power to say when I wrote to America that the Commissioners on their and our part had formed their Board and that the preparatory arrangements were in train for their commencing business. He replied that Mr. Hammond had recd. his instructions to have the Commission to yr. Commrs. prepared, and he had signed an order for the placing the Great Seal to it, but that Mr. H's departure wh. was sudden, had produced some delay ; that the measure shd. advance, and if the Commissioners could agree to meet on Saturday or Monday, he wd. endeavor that Dr. Nicholl & Mr. Anstey should be previously furnished with their commissions.

I then asked his Lordship whether he had any Evidence of the authenticity of the Letter published a day or two since, as from the Directory to M. Barthelemi, announcing the determination to stop neutral cargoes bound to Br. Ports, &c, &c. He said he believed it authentic, but had no other than the same Evidence that was before the Public, that he had intended to have spoken to me about it, indeed he had been desirous of writing to me in order that I might have it in my power to contradict the allegation that G. B. had issued any order of the tenor alleged in the letter in question, but that he did not know how to take notice of a Document of the authenticity of whh. he was not fully and regularly ascertained ; but that he expected shortly to hear from the King's

minister at Basle, when if the Document proved, as he believed it, true, he would write me a letter on the subject.

He added on my enquiry that no new order had been issued on the subject of captures, &c.

APPENDIX III.

The great importance of the proper adjustment of the questions involved in the settlement of the claims of American citizens against Great Britain, under the 7th article of Jay's treaty, is sufficient warrant for giving here the long dispatch of Mr. King to the Secretary of State, showing both the ability and excellent spirit with which the case was stated and maintained by Mr. King and responded to in the same temper by Lord Grenville and the Lord Chancellor. The consequence was, as will be seen, that the proceedings of the Commission, which had been interrupted and seemed likely to come to an end without accomplishing the purpose for which the Commission was appointed, were renewed and continued, with one slight break, until the claims were settled to the satisfaction of both governments.

In the letter of January 14, 1797, to the Secretary of State, Mr. King refers to the embarrassments which had occurred in the proceedings of the Commissioners in London, under the 7th article of the treaty with Great Britain, and which had been happily removed, and promised a more detailed report of the occurrences. This report, with that of an additional conversation with Lord Grenville on the subject, is presented in this appendix.

R. King to the Secretary of State.

London, Feby. 26th, 1797.

Dear Sir:

Having already informed you, that the embarrassments, which have been experienced by the Commissioners under the 7th article of the Treaty with this country had been satisfactorily removed,

it may seem useless that I should send you a particular report on that subject. But as the provisions of the 6th article are analogous to those of the 7th, the proceedings which have taken place respecting the latter may have some influence in giving a construction to the former, and hence the propriety of your being made acquainted with them.

The repeated objections to the jurisdiction of the Commissioners, having about the middle of December brought the board to a stand, I considered it to be my duty to ask of Lord Grenville a conference upon the subject, which took place on the 16th of December in the following manner.

I have desired this conference, my Lord, in order to state from the communications of the American Commissioners what I understand to be the situation of the Questions that have been brought before them ; it is my duty to report the same to my Government ; but it is previously proper to ascertain with precision how far the proceedings under the directions of the King's Advocate General are to be considered as having received the approbation of his Majesty's Government, and whether they are to be followed up in the consequences to which they lead. A case of each class into which the American claims divide themselves has been brought before the Commissioners by Mr. Bayard, the American agent. These cases, pursuant to a rule of proceeding adopted by the Board, have been severally notified to Mr. Gostling, the King's Proctor, who has, in each case, given in an answer denying the jurisdiction of the Commissioners. Thus in the class of cases, which have been decided in the High Court of Appeals, Mr. Gostling replies that the Commissioners have no jurisdiction, because the sentence of that Court is definitive : in the class depending before the High Court of Admiralty, and before the High Court of Appeals, that the Commissioners have no jurisdiction, because the claimants, if entitled, may obtain compensation in the ordinary course of justice ; in the class, in which unsatisfactory Decrees have been rendered in the lower Courts, and against which, for various reasons, appeals have not been claimed, or prosecuted, that the Commissioners have no jurisdiction because it has been from the neglect of the claimants, that they are unable to obtain compensation in the ordinary course of justice.—The consequence of which replies appears to be that there is no case in which the

Commissioners can act.—The Commissioners on the part of his Majesty's Government have moreover intimated an opinion that it was their duty, in every case in which the King's Proctor should deny the jurisdiction of the Board, to abstain from deciding such question of jurisdiction, and to refer the cases to their Government for instruction; and that, in case a majority of the Board of Commissioners shall differ from them in this opinion, it would be lawful for them to withdraw and thereby incapacitate the Board from deciding such Question.

I am not prepared, said Lord Grenville, to answer officially upon this subject. I have read over the Papers presented to the Commissioners by Mr. Bayard, and the answers of Mr. Gostling, and they are in circulation preparatory to a meeting of the Council, where the subject must be considered before I can give you a regular answer. I have no difficulty, however, in communicating to you my way of thinking upon most of the points. Without making professions, I may be allowed to say that I have an earnest desire that this Business should proceed in a satisfactory manner. I labored much in forming the Treaty with America, and I have considered it as an act that was likely to afford me much pleasure and some reputation. I must, therefore, wish the removal of every obstruction that can in any way defeat the object of my labor; but we are obliged, sir, to pay great deference to every thing connected by law, or usage, with our national marine, which forms our national safeguard. England, therefore, holds high those maxims of the Law of Nations, which respect maritime questions, and she has always maintained what this Law sanctions, that every nation has a perfect right by her own Tribunals to decide questions of Prize. Her Supreme Court for the trial of such questions is composed of characters distinguished for their learning and respectable for their rank; it is the Highest and most honorable Court of the Nation, excepting only the House of Lords. It is natural, therefore, that we should endeavour to preserve all possible respect for, and by every suitable means prevent the existence of a doubt concerning, the justice of this Court. I am fearful, continued Lord Grenville, that these questions have been unadvisedly raised; a few which might have been omitted, have given birth to reflections, that with a little more caution would not have existed. Mr. Bayard should not have

alleged, *an illegal and unjust decree* of the High Court of Appeals, as the ground of his applications to the Commissioners. In cases of Costs, Demurrage, Freight, &c., in which there have been no appeals, and in which the omission or delay can be accounted for; in cases under the order of the 6th of Novr.; in cases where new evidence can be procured; in cases where a general opinion prevailed that it would be of no advantage to appeal; and possibly in other cases, there would be a propriety, said Lord Grenville, that the Commissioners should afford relief. In respect to the cases in which the Decrees of the High Court of Appeals were not satisfactory, it is now somewhat difficult to form a correct opinion. Had no question arisen, it would be much less embarrassing. It would seem to be an extraordinary situation for England to place herself in, to appear before the Commissioners to contest a precise charge of illegality and injustice in the Decree of the High Court of Appeals, and upon a re-examination of the matter of such Decrees to see them reversed. Would not the rule that each Nation has an exclusive right of deciding maritime questions be weakened thereby? Might not foreign Nations, hereafter, impeach the justice of our High Court of Appeals and adduce in support of their charge a decision of these Commissioners reversing its Decrees? It must not, however, be understood that the King's Government will of course support the pleas offered by Mr. Gostling. The Government employ him as their Proctor, who in imitation of the lawyer of other clients, will endeavour to make the best defense for his principal, and in doing so may offer a plea that the Commissioners will perhaps adjudge a bad one. The conduct of our Commissioners, continued Lord Grenville, appears to have been cautious and prudent, the right to withdraw is perhaps countenanced by that part of the 7th Article that requires the presence of one commissioner at least of each side; thus leaving with the respective Governments a power, by instructing their Commissioners to withdraw, to prevent the decision of any question not intended to be submitted to them. Thus if the Lot should give to Great Britain the fifth Commissioner under the 6th Article, and these Commissioners should attempt to draw within their jurisdiction questions clearly without the same, perhaps the American Government might instruct their Commissioners to withdraw and thereby in such cases arrest the

proceedings of the Board. Under all circumstances, said Lord Grenville, it may be adviseable to defer for the present giving any information to your Government upon this subject. I shall probably be able to answer officially in the course of a week and the Packet will sail in the beginning of January : If you think it requisite in the present posture of the Business to write to your Government, I must also write to Mr. Liston.

I am quite content, my Lord, to defer writing in hopes that it will become unnecessary ; I will however ask your Lordship's attention to a few short observations at this time ; and I will begin by observing, that I am persuaded, and might add that I know, that the few objectionable points which are found in Mr. Bayard's memorials to the Commissioners, did not originate with us ; they were suggested by and added at the instance of Doct. Nicholl, one of your Commissioners, and of this fact I will take care to furnish your Lordship with satisfactory proof. We adopted the language of the Treaty, which was sufficient for our purpose, and were, therefore, without inclination or motive to impute injustice to the High Court of Appeals. We well understood that the Commissioners were not to be considered in the precise light of an appellate Court, having authority to reverse the Decrees which have been rendered in any of his Majesty's Courts of Admiralty, or to order the restoration of the thing which had been condemned by them. The Remedy of the Treaty, instead of such restoration, is a compensation in money for the loss of it, which supposes the sentence of condemnation, as between the original parties, to stand unreversed, and the property vested accordingly. We, however, never doubted, nor, in our opinion, does the language of the Treaty permit a doubt, that we may demand compensation, in money to be paid by his Majesty's Government for losses and damages sustained by reason of the condemnation, as well as on account of the irregular capture of our ships and cargos. Without going into a particular examination of the Article, I can not suppose that any difference of opinion will exist upon its true construction in this respect. Disclaiming the opinion that the Commissioners can reverse the Decrees of your Courts of Admiralty so as to affect the title to the property held under them, we conceive that every question to be decided by the Commissioners is between different parties, and that their awards will

operate not against the original Captors, but upon the King's Treasury.

But, my Lord, I am not surprized that difficulties of this sort have arisen without ascribing improper, much less impure, motives to Doctr. Nicholl, from whom they have proceeded, or to any others of the learned corps to which he belongs. I will take the liberty to observe, that I have apprehended a strong and systematical, as well as a skilful and persevering opposition to any interpretation of the Treaty, which will remove the many American Causes depending in the Courts of Admiralty and submit them to an extraordinary and more summary Tribunal. It is natural enough that this should happen—three or four hundred Causes, *prudently* managed, would prove very profitable, and for a long time so. This is a delicate suggestion, and I rely upon your Lordship's candor for my apology. Of one fact, we can give your Lordship the strongest assurances, which is, that we have no preference of mere forms; that which shall be efficacious to procure for us the compensation we claim and expect, and which shall be most satisfactory to you will be most agreeable to us.

Lord Grenville entered into no farther observations on the subject and concluded the conference by expressing a wish that I would have a conversation upon the subject with the Lord Chancellor.

On the next day I met the Lord Chancellor at the Duke of Portland's, who told me that he was desirous of conversing with me respecting Questions which had arisen relative to the powers of the Commissioners. On my replying that I should be happy to meet him at any time that he should appoint, he named the next morning. I accordingly waited on him, when he began by observing, I have been reading Mr. Bayard's & Mr. Gostling's papers, and I do not think either of them such as they ought to be. It was not necessary for Mr. Bayard to allege formally, that the Decree of the High Court of Appeals was illegal and unjust, in order to make out a case proper for the examination of the Commissioners. It seems to me, therefore, that Mr. Bayard should take back, or amend, or prefer in a different form his claim, so that it should adopt and follow the terms of the Article; and on the other side, these general demurrers of Mr. Gostling are absurd and he must take them back. The reasons

assigned by him against the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners, or in bar of the claim, are the very cases which it was intended should be examined and decided by the Commissioners. I told the Lord Chancellor that his observations confirmed me in my opinions, and then stated to him the observations which I had made to Lord Grenville. Having with me an abstract of the Papers of Mr. Bayard and Mr. Gostling, I referred to several of the cases, and the Lord Chancellor concurred in the remarks that I made respecting them. Adverting to the Case of the Betsy, Furlong Master, in which the High Court of appeals had confirmed the condemnation in toto, I suggested that this was understood to be a case in which upon every principle the claimants ought to be compensated ; and saying this, I asked the Chancellor in what manner and on what allegations it could in his opinion be brought before the Commissioners—He replied that *the Decree* might have been proper as between the captor and claimant, though the claimant might thereby have suffered loss and damage, on account of which according to the stipulation of the Treaty, he may have a fair demand upon the King for compensation ; that therefore it might be alleged that on all the circumstances of the case, the claimant was under the Treaty entitled to compensation for loss and damage from the King's Treasury.

I said that I was apprehensive that the Corps of civilians would embarrass us. He replied that he thought he had seen in that question a dislike to the article and to the proceedings of the Commissioners ; but that if Mr. Gostling persisted in his Demurrers, they must change him. I again alluded to an opposition from Doctor's Commons, and added that I had understood that they expressed themselves pretty strongly upon this subject—sometimes intimating an opinion that the order of the King for prolonging the time within which appeals could be claimed was illegal, and at others, going still farther and declaring that the King had no right or power to make a Treaty, stipulating what is contained in the 7th Article. The Chancellor said, this was going very far indeed—that he however was not a stranger to the character of Doctor's Commons, that he had himself found some trouble with them, and related a decision that had lately taken place in the Probate of a will which appeared extraordinary ; he added that Sir William Scott was undoubtedly a fair and honora-

ble character, and in his belief would be disposed to give the natural and proper course to the business that should be brought before the Commissioners. I expressed my hope that this would be the case and observed that the complaints of our merchants and the commercial injuries which we sustained induced Mr. Jay's mission—that we have always conceived that these cases were to be fairly and liberally examined and that those who have suffered were to be fully compensated—that in respect to the amount, great or small, if just, it was due ; and the sum was of small consequence compared to a liberal settlement which should inspire harmony and a friendly correspondence between the two countries. The Chancellor replied that these reflections were certainly just. I suppose, said he, the sum will be large, but that is of no importance. He then expressed a desire to see our Commissioners, and concluded by asking me to send him a formula, such as I would approve, to be used by Mr. Bayard in presenting our claims to the Commissioners.

On the following day I sent him the formula ; and likewise sent to Lord Grenville a copy of a letter written to me by Messrs. Gore and Pinkney, explaining the manner in which the objectionable part of Mr. Bayard's memorials had been adopted. My note to Lord Grenville likewise supplied an omission that had occurred on my part in the conference I had had with him. The following is a copy of the note :

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville, and in order that the origin of the form employed by Mr. Bayard in presenting the claims of the American citizens to the Comms. under the 7th Article of the Treaty between his Britanc. Majesty and the United States may be fully understood, he takes the liberty for his Lordship's information, to inclose the copy of a letter on the subject, that he has received from Messrs. Gore & Pinkney the Amer. Comrs. In reviewing the conference which Mr. King had the honor to hold with Lord Grenville on Friday, it occurred to him that he had omitted to state to his Lordship an opinion that he has supposed to be correct, respecting a point of some importance which his Lordship may have seen in a light somewhat different from that in which it has appeared to Mr. King.

Mr. King alludes to the intimation of an opinion on the part of the British Commissioners that in every case in which the jurisdiction of the Board of Commissioners should be questioned by his Majesty's Proctor, it would be proper that the Board should refer such question to the decision of the two Nations and in the meantime forbear to act respecting such case—and that if after the suggestion of a question of jurisdiction by his Majesty's Proctor, the Board should at-

tempt to proceed, it would be justifiable in the British Commissioners to withdraw and thereby prevent the Board from acting on any question that should arise in such case. The provision in the Treaty which requires the presence of at least one Comr. of each party to make a Board, is supposed to authorize this course of proceeding ; and a supposed case of an obviously improper extension of jurisdiction has been stated as one, that would require to be thus arrested.

Without detaining his Lordship with a recital of the numerous references, and endless negotiations that must result from this practice, it seems pertinent to observe, that neither of the reasons appear sufficient to excuse, much less to authorize, so hazardous a course. It was essential to the impartiality of the Board, and conformable to common usage in private submissions, that one of the arbitrators named on each side should be present at the examination and discussion of every question : but has it ever from hence been inferred, that the arbitrators of either party could with propriety be withdrawn in order to arrest the hearing and defeat the decision of the question submitted ; or, is this the only, and therefore the proper, mode of avoiding the inconveniences of the decision of a question, not submitted, or without the jurisdiction of the Commissioners? The decision of a question not submitted, or without the jurisdiction of the Comrs. would be utterly void and in no degree obligatory. If, for example, the Board should receive a complaint, and award the payment of money in the case of a capture that happened since the exchange of the Ratification of the Treaty, or before the commencement of the existing war, as such award would be plainly without jurisdiction in the Board, it would be void, and his Majesty's Government would not be bound to pay the money so irregularly and illegally awarded ; and so in every case in which the Commissioners should make a decision without, or beyond the limits of their jurisdiction ; and in this principle which seems incontrovertible in public as well as in municipal law, is found a perfect security against every irregularity of this sort that can be imagined or apprehended. Mr. King has taken the liberty to present these hasty reflections to Lord Grenville, which he omitted when this topic was the subject of their late conversation : as that was understood to be not official, Mr. King requests the favor of Lord Grenville, to receive these observations as a part of that conversation which was omitted.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Dec. 18th, 1796.

Nothing further occurred till the 26th of Dec., when on the invitation of the Lord Chancellor, Messrs. Trumbull, Gore and Pinkney accompanied me to his Lordship's house ; who, after the customary salutations, observed that he had gone over all the cases, except one, which had been presented by the Commissioners ; and that he thought these cases would divide themselves into three classes.

The First, including the cases of condemnation in the High Court of Appeals,

The Second, including the cases in which there have been Decrees of restoration, but without costs and damages and if condemnation without freight and costs.

The Third, including the cases in which the right of appeal had been lost.

In respect to the first class, the Lord Chancellor said that the Decrees must stand ; that they settled the property and could not be affected by any act of the Commissioners. There may have been sufficient reasons for the Court of Appeals to condemn as the questions stood before them—and nevertheless there may exist a fair and equitable claim upon the King's Treasury, under the provisions of the Treaty for complete compensation for the losses sustained by such condemnations.

The like observation is applicable to the second class ; the decree of restoration in the opinion of the claimant was just, but he thinks it did not go far enough and claims Costs and Damages ; and the decree of condemnation in certain cases has been legal, but the claimant expected freight ; the captures under the order of the 6th of Novr. fall within this class. Here the captors had colour of authority to seize and send in for adjudication : the Court would restore the property, but would not condemn the captors in Costs ; and yet it will be just that the claimants should receive his Costs and Damages.

In respect to the Third Class, the Court of Appeals were obliged in some instances to refuse the appeal, because a limited time having been allowed to prefer the appeal, and that time having expired, the captors thereby acquired Rights, not within the discretion of the High Court of Appeals to impair. Still the claimant may be able in a satisfactory manner to account for his not having come seasonably forward with his appeal. This is undoubtedly a case within the provisions of the Treaty. The property will not, it cannot, be restored ; but the full value thereof may be, and in such cases, must be paid out of the King's Treasury.

The Commissioners are not a Court of Appeals, above our High Court of Appeals : they are however competent to re-examine questions decided by the High Court of Appeals as well as all other cases described in the Treaty ; and they can give redress, not by reversing Decrees, already passed, and restoring the iden-

tical property, but by ascertaining the amount of the Loss or Damages that the claimant has sustained and awarding the payment thereof to be made by his Majesty's Treasury. The Chancellor continued by saying, he had examined the case of the Betsey—Furlong, Master ; there is no reason, said the Chancellor, assigned by the Judge of Bermuda sufficient for the condemnation. The circumstance of this capture's being made as the vessel was coming out of Guadaloupe (which Island, Admiral Jarvis, in a letter he wrote upon the subject, declares to have been blockaded from the date of the arrival of his Majesty's fleet in the West Indies) did not authorize the Vice-Admiralty to condemn her, nor for this cause & any of those alleged by the Vice-Admiralty Judge, could the High Court of Appeals have affirmed the decree of condemnation. The question of Blockade is one of fact ; there cannot be a blockade by construction : the capture must be by the fleet, or ship, which makes the blockade ; and the vessel must be in the act of attempting to enter the blockaded place—A vessel on her voyage, and at a distance, but intending to go to a place blockaded, is not for such intention liable to capture, but two points which were new, and which the claimants could not be prepared to meet, were made before the H. C. of Appeals ; one was, that Patterson, one of the claimants, was a British subject ; the other, that another of the owners was domiciliated at Guadaloupe. Now if the claimants are able to controvert these points, and can shew the allegations not to be true, the Commissioners will certainly award compensation for their Loss and Damage to be paid out of his Majesty's Treasury. The Chancellor added that he thought the Formula that I had sent him was a proper one ; that in his opinion, it would be adviseable that Mr. Bayard should take back his memorials and prefer others ; and that Mr. Gostling must take back his Demurrers. Upon its being suggested that the same embarrassments might arise in future, if upon every objection to the competency of the Commissioners, a reference must be made to the respective Governments for their Instructions, instead of such questions being decided by the Commissioners themselves, the Chancellor said that the doubt respecting the authority of the Commissioners to settle their own jurisdiction was absurd ; and that they must necessarily decide upon a case's being within, or without, their competency.

Soon after this conference with the Lord Chancellor, Parliament adjourned for the Christmas Holidays, and the business of the Commissioners remained suspended till the 24th of January, when by appointment I met Lord Grenville at his office, who informed me that he had experienced much uneasiness on account of the delays which had taken place in the business of the Commissioners ; but they had not been able sooner to come to a decision respecting the subject of our former conferences. He now hoped that the Commissioners would go on with farther interruption. He had sent for (he said) their Commissioners and had told them " that it was the opinion of the King's Government that they should proceed in examining and deciding *every question* that should be brought before them according to the conviction of their consciences ; in doing which they would examine cases already decided and award on them and all others according to the Provisions of the Treaty, which it would likewise be their duty to consider and interpret."

Lord Grenville added, that they had thought it would not be adviseable to put any thing in writing, as that would have the appearance of a new or explanatory article ; and he thought there would not arise any future embarrassment. I replied, that I was happy to perceive that the business would now proceed ; that I had no desire that anything should be in writing : but as many persons were interested in the questions depending before the Commissioners, and as a rumour had gone abroad that the business had for some time been at a stand, which rumour would undoubtedly reach America, I should think it proper, in order that no inconvenience should proceed from these reports, to state the result of the Conferences that I had had with him ; I added that so confident had I been, that ultimately there could not be a difference of opinion, that I had already ventured to say that I was persuaded that every embarrassment would be removed—and concluded my reply by saying that I should have great pleasure in being able in consequence of what had now passed, to write to my Government that, agreeable to my former intimation, I was authorized to say that the Commissioners would in future proceed to consider & decide, according to the provisions of the Treaty, every question that should be brought before them. I thought the occasion a suitable one to insinuate an opinion respecting the

instruction of that part of the Treaty which limits the time within which claims must be presented to the Commissioners; after speaking of a letter that I had written to his Lordship complaining of the delays of Sir James Marriott's Court, which Lord Grenville observed was in train to bring the subject under consideration, I said that I sincerely hoped the High Court of Appeals would also proceed with greater expedition than hitherto they had done; that for various considerations it was much to be desired that the many American Cases now before the Court, as well as those which may soon be expected to be there, should be decided by them, in preference to the Commissioners. But the limitation of time within which our claims must be presented to the Commissioners, necessarily limits the time during which the Court of Appeals can have the custody of these causes; and all of them, undecided by the Court, upon the last day for the reception of claims by the Commissioners, will undoubtedly be removed before that Board, who would thereafter be fully competent to examine and decide them. As the Commissioners could not, in like manner with the Court of Appeals, decree the restoration of the property by the captors, but must award compensation in money to be paid by the King's Treasury, the Government have an interest that may perhaps urge the H. Court of Appeals to make greater dispatch. 'T is true the Commissioners may order assignments, which will put the Government in the place of the claimants, and enable them to pursue the captors, but they will be exposed to the inconveniences of an advance of the money to the claimants, and will have the trouble and uncertainty of a recovery from the captors.

Lord Grenville made no observation upon this construction, and observed only that he hoped the business would be accelerated from other considerations, meaning, as I conceived, the obligations of the Court to administer justice without delay. I replied, that I had thought it proper to intimate at an early stage of the business these reflexions, and that I sincerely united with his Lordship in hoping that no unnecessary delay would be experienced hereafter in the proceedings of the High Court of Appeals.

The result of the Conferences I communicated to our Commissioners, who now met their colleagues in a temper correspondent

to that which had been shown by the Government upon this occasion.

The Memorials of Mr. Bayard and the Demurrers of Mr. Gostling have been withdrawn, and the Commissioners, in consequence of the renewed application of Mr. Bayard have already decided several important cases ; and I am in hopes will hereafter proceed without experiencing a renewal of the embarrassments which for some weeks entirely arrested their proceedings.

Dr. Nicholl in our behalf and Sr. William Scott in behalf of the Br. Government have likewise recently gone through the cases of costs and damages, which have been provisionally submitted to their decision. I have not yet received from Mr. Bayard a list of those cases, but from eight or ten cases that I have seen, I am induced to believe that these have been such as will be pretty satisfactory.

With perfect respect, I have the honor to be, Dear Sir,

Your obt. & faithful Servt.

RUFUS KING.

R. KING TO LORD GRENVILLE.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, 18 Dec., 1796.

Mr. King presents his compliments to Lord Grenville. . . . In reviewing the conferences which Mr. King had the honor to hold with Lord Grenville on Friday last, it occurred to him that he had omittted to state to his Lordship an opinion that he had supposed to be correct, respecting a Point of some importance, which his Lordship may have seen in a light somewhat different from that in which it has appeared to Mr. King.

Mr. King alludes to the intimation of an opinion on the part of the British Commissioners, that in every case, in which the Jurisdiction of the Board of Commissioners should be questioned by his Majesty's Proctor, it would be proper that the board should refer such question to the Decision of the two Nations, and in the mean time forbear to act respecting such case : and that if after the suggestion of a question of Jurisdiction by his Majesty's Proctor, the board should attempt to proceed, it would be justifiable in the British Commissioners to withdraw and thereby prevent the board from acting on any question that should arise in the Case. The Provision in the Treaty which requires the

presence of at least one Commissioner of each party to make a board, is supposed to authorize this course of Proceeding; and a supposed Case of an obviously improper extension of Jurisdiction has been stated as one that would require to be thus arrested.

Without detaining his Lordship with a recital of the endless References and numerous negotiations that must result from this practice, it seems pertinent to observe that neither of the reasons appear to be sufficient to excuse, much less to authorize, so hazardous a course.

It was essential to the impartiality of the board and conformable to common usages in private submissions, that one of the arbitrators named on each side should be present at the Examination and Decision of every question. But has it ever from hence been inferred that either party could with propriety be withdrawn in order to arrest the business and defeat the Decision of the question submitted? or is it the only, and therefore a proper mode of avoiding the inconveniences of a Decision not submitted to or without the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners?

The decision of a question not submitted or without the Jurisdiction of the Commissioners would be utterly void and in no degree obligatory. If, for example, the board should receive a Complaint and award the payment of money in a case of capture that happened since the exchange of the Ratifications of the Treaty, or before the commencement of the existing war, as such an award would be plainly without Jurisdiction in the board, it would be void; and his Majesty's Government would in no degree be bound to pay the money so irregularly and illegally awarded. And so in every case in which the Commissioners should make a decision without or beyond the limits of their Jurisdiction; and in this principle which seems incontrovertible in public, as well as in municipal Law, is found a perfect security against every irregularity of this sort, that can be imagined or apprehended.

Mr. King has taken the liberty to present these hasty Reflections to Lord Grenville, which he omitted to do when this Topic was the subject of their late Conversation: as that conversation was understood to be not official, Mr. King requests the favor of Lord Grenville to receive these observations as a part of that conversation which was omitted.

APPENDIX IV.

THE REBELLION IN IRELAND IN 1798.

The means of communication between the United States and England were so uncertain and dependent on the time occupied by sailing vessels between the two countries—several months often intervening between the sending of a despatch and the reception of an answer—that, as has been said in the course of this correspondence, Mr. King was obliged on many occasions to exercise the discretion he was permitted by his government to use, when the necessity of prompt decision and action forbade his awaiting definite instructions. The new questions constantly arising in the troubled and almost daily changes occurring in European politics, and especially as they affected American interests, could only be met by general instructions from the United States ; while much must be left to the minister in England, requiring his careful watchfulness and wise judgment. It was requisite that he should not only have the confidence of his government in his ability, judgment and fidelity to his country's welfare, but that he should maintain in a courteous but decided manner the positions which, either as directly instructed, or acting upon his own convictions of duty, he felt himself called upon to take. While under these circumstances, Mr. King was ever vigilant of events, and kept his government fully informed on the special business of the mission, he gained the confidence of those with whom he had to deal, by his intelligent handling of the questions before them, by the honesty and integrity of his character, and by the conviction that he sought only the best interests of his country, whose history, people, and wants he thoroughly understood.

Among the matters he was unexpectedly called to decide was one which presented entirely new features, for the settlement of which no instructions could have been prepared. It was consequent upon the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland, the disposal of the leaders in that unfortunate and unwisely planned revolt against the English government. Before engaging in the examination of the record of Mr. King's agency in preventing the British government from sending the leaders to banishment in

the United States, it will be well to ascertain and show why he acted as he did ; and to do so it will be proper to bring forward some matters, relating to the earlier history, in which he had taken a conspicuous part.

It has been shown in the correspondence how he had been impressed with the crafty and impudent designs of France, through her emissaries from abroad and treacherous sympathizers at home, to bring his country under the control of that government, and to excite the people against the wise administration of Washington by discrediting the motives under which he acted. While recklessly striving to win the people over to French ideas, they denounced the treaty recently made with England as a violation of our treaties with France, and an insult to her. Mr. King, whose especial instructions in conducting his mission were to settle the commercial relations with England, found that the hostility between that country and France was constantly a hindrance to reaching any definite results. France, while professing to be a friend, was plundering our vessels, insulting our ambassadors, and using all the arts of a subtle diplomacy to blind the eyes of the American people, and endeavouring to engage them in the war she was waging against England. While England, to protect her own interests, and claiming that her action was due to French decrees and aggressions, in part, embarrassed the commerce of the United States, suffering her naval officers to detain and capture American vessels, engaged in legitimate commerce, permitting her admiralty courts to condemn them on the most frivolous pretences, and impressing American seamen in her seaports and from American vessels.

The recent insult to the envoys in France, and the duplicity with which the rulers sought to cover their plans, only increased Mr. King's horror and disgust at the demoralizing tendency of French principles, and to the possible danger to his own country from the dissemination of them,—a feeling and conviction which were not likely to be changed by the views of those with whom he consorted in England, but were strengthened by the efforts there made to resist the machinations of France to bring the English people also under her control.

Ireland was the only side on which England could be attacked with any hope of success ; and the disturbed condition of that

island, seeking to gain independence, gave to the French an opportunity of embarrassing England by plotting with the discontented Irish to wrest their island from her control and establish a hostile government upon it. Formidable as was the threatened danger to England, the plans of assistance were unsuccessful. The expeditions were injudiciously planned, inefficiently carried out, through the watchfulness of the British navy and the want of proper support on the Island, and failed to accomplish their purpose. The rebellion was overcome at last by the power of England, and the leaders were captured. The government, however, consented to spare their lives, which had been forfeited by their acts, on the condition that they should be transported to, or voluntarily emigrate to some other country. Choosing the latter course they selected the United States as that to which they would go. Upon the first hint of such a disposition, and of the intention of the British Government to send them there, Mr. King felt himself called upon to protest against any such action on the part of the government, for reasons which are contained in the correspondence elsewhere presented, but are here brought together for a full justification of his action, viewed in the aspect of the times.

On May 11, 1798, Mr. King wrote to the Secretary of State:

"... Ireland is in a wretched state; martial law prevails throughout the country, and every day supplies new proofs of the intimate connection that subsists between the Chiefs of the Malcontents and the Directory. ... Several persons have been taken up and confined. ... The government are said to have obtained proofs of a conspiracy formed by some of the Members of the Corresponding Societies to assist the French in case of a descent, to set fire to London, ... The trial of O'Connor and the other persons indicted for Treason, will come on the week after next; after which the Government will publish the proofs of the conspiracy."

Again, on June 14th, he directed the Secretary's attention to the probable early suppression of the rebellion, and to the opinion

"that thousands of the fugitive Irish will seek an asylum in our country. Their principles and habits would be pernicious to the order and industry of our people, and I cannot persuade myself that the Malcontents of any country will ever become useful citizens of our own."

After saying that in this communication he had discharged his duty, he remarked that it belonged to others to decide what was to be done.

In a private letter to Mr. Pickering, of July 19, 1798, Mr. King recalled to him the intimation of his official letter of the 14th of June, and said :

"I perceive that members of the disaffected Irish will be expelled and that they will be disposed to plant themselves among us. It was the practice of the Emigrants from Scotland to bring with them Certificates from the religious societies to which they belonged, of their honesty, sobriety and generally of their good character. Why should we not require some such document from *all* [italics by the Editor] Emigrants, and it would be well to add to the testimonial that the person, to whom it was granted, was not expelled from his country and had not been convicted of any crime. I am, I confess, very anxious upon this subject. The contrast between New England and some other parts of the United States is in my view a powerful admonition to us to observe greater caution in the admission of Foreigners among us. If from the emigrations of past time we have suffered inconvenience, and our true national character has been disfigured, what are we to expect from the Emigrants of the present day."

Again, on the 28th of July, he writes to the Secretary of State :

"In Ireland the rebellion is at an end, a general amnesty with a few exceptions, will soon be proclaimed ; many of the inferior chiefs will be permitted to go into exile. I have before intimated the probability of such a measure and hope the President will have power to exclude from our country all such foreigners, whose residence among us would be dangerous."

The same views are repeated in a letter to Colonel Hamilton, July 31, (p. 376 of this volume) and, on the 3d of August, he wrote the private note to Colonel Pickering a portion of which follows.

Private.

LONDON, 3d., Aug., 1798.

. . . It appears from the accounts from Ireland that nearly 100 persons, including Lawyers, Physicians, Merchants and others, who have been engaged as Chiefs in the late Rebellion are to go into Exile for Life. A Bill for this Purpose has been brought into the Irish Parliament. Although I do not hnow

it to be the intention of the Exiles, I have many reasons to suspect that they expect to find an asylum among us.

I do my duty in apprising you of the probability of the Measure, it belongs to others to make those Regulations that will enable the President to take care of the public safety. . . .

Yrs. &c.

R.K.

Having thus discharged his duty in reporting to his government the facts above noted and awaiting instructions, he writes on the 5th of September of an ill-conceived landing of French troops, on the 22d of August, at Killaloe in Ireland, with military stores from three frigates, which had driven back a corps of British troops, but against which Lord Cornwallis had gone with a considerable force. Without speaking further of this, or of a subsequent expedition from Brest to the Irish coast, which was broken up by the capture of the vessels engaged in it, or giving any further details of the events which led to the putting down of the rebellion and the surrender of the leaders, he says in a letter to the Secretary of State September 13, 1798 :

"The Invasion of Ireland has ended in the Surrender of the Invaders. As yet we have no returns of their numbers nor of that of the Irish who joined them ; both are supposed to be inconsiderable. The Reports of the Secret Committee of the Irish Parliament, which I send to you, fully disclose the principles and views of the leaders of the Rebellion. These are so conformable to those which have prevailed in France, so false and so utterly inconsistent with any practicable or settled Government, that I have taken occasion to express my wishes that the United States might not be selected as the country to which any of the State Prisoners should be permitted to retire."

The letter to the Duke of Portland will show the manner in which Mr. King's "Wishes" were communicated to him, and the answer of the Duke will show how they were received.

R. KING TO THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

Private.

MARGATE, Sep. 13, 1798.

MY LORD :

The publication of the Reports of the Secret Committee of the Irish Parliament relative to the late Rebellion seems to put beyond all doubt the object and expectation of its Leaders ; the princi-

ples and opinions of the men are in my view so conformable to those which have unhappily prevailed in France, so dangerous, so false and so utterly inconsistent with any practicable and stable form of Government, that I feel it to be a duty to my Country to express to your Grace my earnest wishes that the United States may be excepted from the countries to which the Irish State Prisoners shall be permitted to retire.

I certainly do not think that they will be a desirable acquisition to any Nation, but in none would they be likely to prove more mischievous than in mine, where from the sameness of language and similarity of Laws and Institutions they have greater opportunities of propagating their principles than in any other country.

I have on many occasions been sensible of your Grace's friendship for my Country : but at this period of national alarm, when all that has been best and most wisely settled by our common ancestors is attempted to be torn up and subjected to new speculations and experiments, your Grace can afford us no stronger or more valuable token of your regards than by an interference with his Majesty that shall prevent any of the Irish State Prisoners (who appear to be the converts and agents of the new School of Philosophy and Politicks) from seeking an asylum in America.

With most perfect Consideration &c &c.

RUFUS KING.

DUKE OF PORTLAND TO RUFUS KING.

Private.

LONDON, Saturday 22d Sept., 1798.

DEAR SIR :

I sincerely beg your pardon for having so long delayed an answer to the Letter you did me the honor of writing to me on the 13th inst, on the Subject of the Countries to which the Irish State Prisoners shall be permitted to retire.

It is unnecessary that I should trouble you with a detail of the difficulties and objections which will embarrass the choice of a proper residence for them ; and much more so I trust that I should assure you of my entire concurrence in the opinions and wishes which the Consideration of the Subject has led you to express. I can assure you with the most perfect confidence

that the King will never permit any of the persons in question to set his foot in the Territory of any State in amity with his Majesty by whom there is any reason to suppose that such a visitor would be objected to.

I cannot but be flattered by the manner in which you express your sense of my conduct, tho' you really do me no more than justice; and I will therefore take the liberty to add from myself, that from the knowledge that my particular situation has furnished me with, of the sentiments and declarations of these Prisonerz, ever since their confession, the country of the United States is the last in the World which I should wish to see become their residence. Believe me, Sir,

with very sincere regard & Esteem
Your faithful and most obt. Servt.
PORTLAND.

October 6, 1798, sending to the Secretary of State copies of his correspondence with the Duke of Portland, Mr. King says:

"Though they are both private letters, I have not thought it proper to omit communicating them to you. There are occasions, and this is one of them, of delicacy, as well as of importance, and in which we can only act from our own view of what the public welfare appears to require: I flatter myself in this instance it will not be thought either that my opinion was ill-founded, or that the step it gave rise to was impolitic."

The next communication to the Secretary of State, October 19, 1798, says:

"The newspapers continue to announce that preparations are making to send the Irish State prisoners to the United States. I wrote another letter to the Duke of Portland upon the subject, a copy of which is annexed, and likewise a copy of his Grace's letter to Lord Cornwallis that has been sent to me and which will, I presume, relieve me from any further concern on that head."

R. KING TO HIS GRACE, THE DUKE OF PORTLAND.

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, Oct. 17, 1798.

MY LORD:

I am concerned to trouble your Grace again on the subject of the exile of the Irish State Prisoners, especially after the friendly assurances your Grace has had the goodness to give me and

which have induced me to believe that they would not be permitted to go to America. But the late accounts from Ireland which, I hope inaccurately, state that preparations are making to send them to the United States, give me much anxiety least I have omitted any further Step that might have been expected or proper in order to prevent it. It is true that the President of the U. S. has power to deny, and in my opinion will refuse, them a Residence among us, provided he is apprized of their names and delinquencies; but of these he may be ignorant, especially as I have expressed to him my expectation that they would not be permitted to go to America. If his Majesty's Government is still free to decide, I must repeat my earnest hope that these delinquents may not be permitted to proceed to the United States. If the permission of Government has already been given, I take the Liberty to ask of your Grace a List of the names and a Description of the Persons of those of the State Prisoners who are to be sent into my Country, in order that I may, if possible, in season, apprize my Government of the measure.

It is quite possible, and I still hope, that these Publications are altogether erroneous; in this case I must beg your Grace's pardon for having thus unnecessarily troubled you on a Subject that thro' your obliging interference had already been satisfactorily decided.

With the most perfect Esteem and Respect, &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

DUKE OF PORTLAND TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

Copy.

LONDON, 17th Oct., 1798.

MY LORD:

The systematick attempts which have been constantly making by the French Government to overturn the present Constitution of the United States have naturally rendered the American Minister particularly attentive to every circumstance which bears the appearance of contributing in any degree to the accomplishment of that design. In the publication therefore of the terms upon which the lives of the Irish traitors were spared, he thought he saw that his country was threatened by a prospect of the introduction not only of principles of that dangerous tendency, but of

missionaries of the most alarming description, and those apprehensions being increased and confirmed by newspaper reports and extracts of private correspondence, he wrote me the Letter, of which I enclose your Excellency a copy, to which I returned the answer which you will receive enclosed, by which your Excellency will see what has passed between him and me upon this subject. But that your Excellency may have no doubt of the sentiments of the King's confidential servants upon the question generally of the right which our State possesses to transport its subjects into the Territories of another, I am to inform you that we are clearly of opinion that no such right exists according to the Law of Nations, and consequently that his Majesty has not the power to banish any one of his subjects to the Dominions of any other State or to authorize him to settle or to land them without the consent of that State having been first specifically obtained. It is unnecessary therefore for me to enter into the Policy of this measure ; but I must not abstain from adding, that if the question of right was uncontrovertibly established to be the reverse of what I have stated it to be, considering the actual circumstances of the United States and their relative situation to this country and France, his Majesty wd. not permit any step to be taken, which could give the United States any sort of umbrage or offence, and this step less, if possible, than any other, from the effects it might be capable of producing on that Government, and the injury which might result from it to the general happiness of mankind. The paragraph which I have seen within these two or three last days, purporting the immediate departure of your State Prisoners for America have made me feel it necessary for me to write thus fully to your Excellency upon this subject and to acquaint you that it is his Majesty's commands that not one of the Traitors, whose lives have been spared upon condition of being banished from Ireland and passing the remainder of their days in the dominion of a State in amity with his Majesty, shall be suffered upon any account whatever to go to or reside within the Territories of the United States until his Majesty's express permission for that purpose shall have been signified to your Excellency by one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

I have the honor to be &c. &c.

PORTLAND.

In a letter to Hamilton, Nov. 9, 1798, Mr. King says :

"You will see that I have prevented the sending to you of about fifty Irish State prisoners, who were at the head of the rebellion in Ireland, and closely connected with the Directory at Paris. Probably our patriots will think my conduct presumptuous. In the present posture of affairs, I could have no hesitation."

WM. BINGHAM TO R. KING.

"Sept. 30, 1798.

"I deprecate the consequence of the insurrection in Ireland—if successful, as it regards England,—if otherwise, as regards this country. In which case we shall have immense emigrations of an ignorant and deluded class of people, who will make a merit of resisting every Government they live under. I cannot see how we can shut our doors against their admission—a late law has rendered a longer residence necesssary to naturalization, but this will not prevent their seeking an asylum here, altho' it will deprive them of the power of influencing elections."

WM. BINGHAM TO R. KING.

"Dec. 8, 1798.

"I entirely agree with you in the danger that may arise from the emigration of so many Irish insurgents to this country; amongst whom it appears there are many professional characters, who will be able to make an impression on society, much greater than the common class of disaffected Irish. They will join the party in opposition to the Government and will vent their resentments against Great Britain by attacking those who are disposed to be on friendly terms with her. They will be discontented and therefore disorganizing characters whose residence among us cannot be otherwise than injurious in the present moment of political agitation."

The manner in which the President received the above communication and approved of the action of Mr. King, is shown by the following extract from a letter of the Secretary of State.

T. PICKERING TO R. KING.

"5 Feb., 1799.

"Your timely interference to prevent the emigration of the Irish traitors to this Country is extremely acceptable to the President—And if removed to any other Country many of them probably will find their way hither and therefore not only a list of their names but a description of their persons & ages would be very useful to us if attainable."

March 16, 1799, Mr. King writes to the Secretary of State :

"I will obtain the names of the Irish State prisoners, whose pestilentias flight to the United States was fortunately arrested. They amount to ninety and a list of their names is easily procured.

"I omitted at the time to inform you that at the particular desire of Lord Cornwallis communicated to me through the Duke of Portland, I consented that one of these State prisoners, by the name of Lynch, Brother to a merchant of the same name in New York, should be permitted to go to New York, for which place he sailed some months since. He was represented to me as of inferior consequence as a conspirator, and by no means likely to be mischievous among us. It is proper that you should know the fact that he may be identified and remembered."

HENRY JACKSON TO R. KING.

DUBLIN, 22d July, 1799.

SIR:

I am one of the many that has been implicated in this unfortunate country and having obtained the Lord Lieutenant's permission to go to America, provided I go with your consent, I beg leave to refer you to the American Consul in this city for my general character.

I have been for many years in the Iron Trade and lately sold part of my Works for £26.250—and there remains yet to be disposed of what has cost me upwards of £10,000—a principal part of that sum I have vested in American defer'd stock and American Bank Shares. The whole of this property I intend removing to America with my family as soon as possible. I have long had a predilection for the American form of Government, but my being so engaged in manufactures in this country prevented my removing. Should I meet with a situation to my liking I hope to make my knowledge of the Iron Manufacture and Foundry business an acquisition to any part of the Country I may settle in.

The Joseph, belonging to New York, is now here and intends sailing the 10th of next month; if I am so fortunate as to get a favourable answer to this application, I intend going by her. I take the liberty of sending this open to Joseph Wilson Esq to be forwarded.

I am with great respect &c.

HEN. JACKSON.

Mr. Wilson enclosed this in a letter dated July 24, 1799, to Mr. King—in which he speaks in strong commendation of Mr. Jackson as to his moral and business qualifications, founded on an acquaintance of fifteen years.

Mr. King's answer to this letter follows.

R. KING TO HENRY JACKSON, ESQ.

BRIGHTON, Aug. 28, 1799.

SIR:

I ought to inform you that I really have no authority to give, or refuse permission to you or any other foreigner to go to the United States: the admission and residence of Strangers in that country being a matter that by a late Law exclusively belongs to the President. It is true that the Government of that

country in the course of the last year, in consequence of my interference gave me an assurance that a particular description of persons in Ireland, who it was understood were going to the United States, should not be allowed to proceed without our consent; this restraint would doubtless be withdrawn in favor of individuals against whose emigration I should not object; and I conclude that it is upon this supposition that you have taken the trouble to communicate to me your desire to go and reside in the United States. Without presuming to form an opinion on the subject of the late disturbances in Ireland, I entertain a distinct one in relation to the political situation of my own country. In common with others we have felt the influence of the changes that have successively taken place in France, and unfortunately a portion of our Inhabitants has erroneously supposed that our civil and political institutions, as well as our national policy might be improved by a close imitation of the models of France. This opinion, the propagation of which was made the duty and became the chief employment of the French agents resident among us, created a more considerable division among our people, and required a greater watchfulness and activity from the Government, than could beforehand have been apprehended. I am sorry to make the remark, and shall stand in need of your candour in doing so, that a large proportion of the emigrants from Ireland, and especially in our middle States, has upon this occasion arranged itself upon the side of the malcontents; I ought to except from this remark most of the enlightened and well educated Irishmen who reside among us, and with a few exceptions I may confine it to the indigent and illiterate, who, entertaining an attachment to freedom, are unable easily to appreciate those salutary restraints, without which it degenerates into anarchy. It would be injustice to say that the Irish emigrants are more national than those of other countries, yet being a numerous, tho' very minor portion of our population, they are capable, from causes it is needless now to explain, of being generally brought to act in concert, and under careful leaders may be, as they have been, enlisted in mischievous combinations against our Government. This view leads me to state to you without reserve the hesitation that I have felt in your case; on the one hand we cannot object to the acquisition of Inhabitants from abroad possessing capital and skill in a branch of business, that with due caution, may without risque or difficulty, and with public as well as private advantage, be established among us; but on the other hand if the opinions of such Inhabitants are likely to throw them into the class of malcontents, their fortune, skill and consequent influence would make them tenfold more dangerous, and they might become a disadvantage instead of a benefit to our country. You must be sensible that I possess no sufficient means of forming an opinion respecting your sentiments, but the motives which lead me to interfere with your Government to restrain the Emigration of the Persons above alluded to, oblige me to observe a due caution on the present occasion. At the same time I desire not to act with illiberality and should be unwilling to bring upon my country the slightest imputation of inhospitality. What Mr. Wilson has written, so far as it goes, is satisfactory; and on the whole I have concluded after this unreserved communication, which I hope will be received with the same candour as it is made, to inform you, authorizing you to make

use of the information, that I withdraw *every objection* that may be supposed to stand in the way of your being permitted to go to the United States, adding only my earnest wish that you may carry with you an unbiassed mind, may find the state of the Country, as I believe you will, favorable to your views of business, and its Government deserving your attachment.

I must beg your Excuse for the great delay that has occurred in sending you this answer, which I assure you has arisen from other causes than the want of due respect to your letter.

With great Consideration, &c, &c,

RUFUS KING.

Mr. King, under the existing circumstances, could not have acted otherwise, as he says, than he did. It was not a question simply of interfering to prevent Irishmen from emigrating to America, as was afterwards charged against him, but of his duty to look after the interests of his country and after those chiefs whom he characterized as imbued with French principles and would be leaders in propagating them among his own people, who were at that very time so largely under similar influences and causing much embarrassment to the Government. It was the leaders that he would keep out, men who had made trouble in their own country and were not likely to be quiet in a country where speech was free and where much discontent was in the air. The Congress also had passed Alien and Sedition laws (whatever may be thought of their wisdom), which clearly indicated the sentiment of the country and the determination that French principles and disorganizing ways should be checked by even such questionable means. Mr. King therefore must be judged by the circumstances and conditions in which he was placed, which show that he acted wisely, for those very men who found their way over became leaders among those who opposed the government. It was not Irishmen because they were Irishmen, that he objected to ; for he well knew the services of Irishmen and their descendants in the War of the Revolution and in the councils of the nation—his own associates in public affairs,—but he feared the present leaders, for he knew the principles they avowed and by which they had been governed, in carrying out what, as men aiming at liberation from what they deemed the oppression of the British rule, they believed they had the right to do. It was the principles avowed and the associates to whom they allied themselves that made those men at that time dangerous citizens for the United States.

As will be seen in subsequent periods of his life, indeed throughout his public life, this action was the source of bitter hostility to him and his family whenever they were candidates for public office. In the year 1806, and in 1816, when he had been put forward for election as Governor of the State of New York, Mr. King wrote for publication an answer to charges, with which the newspapers were filled, a vindication of his action in this matter, based upon the grounds above noted, as will be seen when the events of those years are under consideration.

In the *Life of Hamilton*, by J. C. Hamilton, vol. vii., p. 156, we find this expression of opinion by him in 1819—a writer who was not inclined to say anything favorable to Mr. King.

"The oppressed and infuriated Irish also sought an asylum here from their poverty and their wrongs. Long suffering from misrule, this impassioned people were led to regard established government as an abuse. Craftily prejudiced with the belief, that neutrality was subservience to England, and that Federalism meant more than a love of the Constitution, of law and liberty, they were soon marshalled in the Democratic ranks, of which they became and have continued a most efficient part. . . . The great mass of the Irish were prompted by misguided prejudices. Warm in their affections, faithful in their trusts, their women constituting a part of every household, holding its children in their arms and watching over their infancy; their men building the cities, and the public works, and ranging themselves among the first in battle for American rights, to them the gratitude is large. But among them were their political offenders, who, abandoning their fealty to England, placed their affections on France and became her active partisans. . . . The Democratic societies organized by Genet, had been denounced by Washington and were suppressed. An association was now proposed and entered into, better suited to the bolder character of these recent emigrants. . . . 'THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN' was founded, 'of all such and such only as had suffered in the cause of freedom, or who by their zeal for the rights of mankind had rendered themselves distinguished and worthy of trust.' The members were bound by a test oath, 'organized with military gradation and precision; pledged to act with energy and union; to act upon instant warning—what was this monster other than a conspiracy against the government.' Hamilton characterized it as threatening 'an internal invasion,' and 'its existence was the leading and all sufficient motive for the enactment of a law for the removal of aliens,' 'judged dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States,' &c."

Among other evidences that the conduct of Mr. King was sustained by those whose opinion he regarded, is a letter from Mr. G. Cabot, February 16, 1799. He says:

"If the seditious were hardy enough to denounce you for the great service you have render'd the country in shutting its doors against Irish Desperadoes, you would still have reason to be content, for the praises of the good would be increased in proportion to the clamours of the vicious; but I believe the measure is so generally approved that Faction will hardly dare to condemn."

APPENDIX V.

MIRANDA.

To understand better the circumstances which gave rise to the project with which the name of Miranda is connected, the following narrative may be given. The dependencies of Spain in South America were very restive under the government of the mother country, and especially after the success of the American Revolution, and many ardent spirits in these colonies of Spain sought to obtain for them their independence. Among those who were most prominent, was Francisco de Miranda, a native of Caracas, who had studied and observed in the United States the system under which they were living, and who had in previous years "disclosed his views, among others, to Hamilton, upon whom he fixed his eyes as a coadjutor in the great purpose of his life. Nor was Hamilton slow to perceive its importance and its advantages." * There was no active co-operation at that time, and Miranda betook himself to Europe, and endeavored to engage some of the European nations in his plan, but without success.

Taking advantage of a threatened war between England and Spain, he had communicated with the British Ministry with a view to effecting the liberation of the South American colonies of Spain; but was disappointed by the restoration of good feelings between the two countries, though he had been listened to with favor. Soon after he had gone to France, hoping to reap some benefit from the revolutionary ideas of the leaders, obtained a commission in the French army, and under Dumouriez served with some distinction. With a change of rulers there, he was banished from France and took refuge in England, then engaged in a war with France, hoping again to get a hearing from the ministry, and to show that as Spain was the close ally of France, they

* *Life of Hamilton*, vol. vii., p. 212.

might, by engaging in his scheme, cripple the latter's resources. We find that he was successful in obtaining a hearing, and we have in the following letters of Mr. King to the Secretary of State the evidence of the position he occupied in England.

On February 7, 1798, Mr. King wrote, in cipher, a letter to the Secretary of State:

"I have had some reason to believe that the prospect of our being engaged in the war has renewed the project that on more than one occasion has been meditated against South America. I think I am not mistaken in this conjecture. Miranda, who was certainly engaged in this scheme at the time of the affair of the Nootka, and who since has served under Dumouriez in France, came to this country a few weeks since. He has been with the ministry and is here by their desire or with their permission: the object is the complete Independence of South America to be effected by the co-operation of England and the U. S."

On February 26th, he again writes in cipher to the Secretary of State. No. 65:

"*Two points have within a fortnight been settled in the English Cabinet respecting South America. If Spain is able to prevent the overthrow of her present Government and to escape being brought under the entire controul of France, England (between whom and Spain, notwithstanding the war, a certain understanding appears to exist) will at present engage in no Scheme to deprive Spain of her possessions in Sth. America. But if, as appears probable, the army destined against Portugal, and which will march thro' Spain, or any other means which may be employed by France, shall overthrow the Spanish Government, and thereby place the resources of Spain and of her Colonies at the disposal of France, England will immediately commence the execution of a Plan long since digested and prepared for the compleat independence of So. America.*

*If England engages in this Plan, she will at Philadelphia propose to the U. S. to co-operate in its execution. Miranda will be detained here, under one pretence or another, until events shall decide the Conduct of England. The Revolution of Spain is decreed; the attempt will be made, and the success is scarcely doubtful. The President may therefore expect the overture of England, and will, I am persuaded, act upon it, under the influence of that wise and comprehensive Policy, which, looking forward to the Destinies of the New World, shall in the beginning by great and generous Deeds lay deep and firm the foundations of lasting accord between its rising Empires. If possible, I will bring together and seasonably arrange, and send to you such information, as I have been able to procure upon this interesting and very consequential Subject, having found out and acquired the confidence of certain Jesuits, natives of So. America, who with a view to its independence are, and for several years have been, in the service and pay of England. I have conversed with them and seen the Reports,**

* It is probable that these "reports" are the document referred to by Mr. Charles Francis Adams in his *Life of John Adams*, vol. i., 523, and published

which they have prepared for their Employers. These communications throw much light upon the population, the Resources, the oppression and the Temper and character of the Spanish Americans. . . ."

It will be seen that the plan suggested and prepared in England was that, "if England engages in this plan, she will at Philadelphia propose to the U. S. to co-operate in its execution." Miranda was to be detained until England decided upon her course, and then "the President may expect the overture of England." In the meantime Mr. King promises that he will gather and send to the Secretary such "information as I have been able to procure," and states some of the sources from which he has obtained it. There is no evidence that this matter was previously known in America, or even thought of, so as to set the plan of co-operation in motion, and yet Mr. C. F. Adams, in his *Life of John Adams*,* insinuates that Mr. Hamilton had the idea of this co-operation in view as early as January 24, 1798, at which date Mr. Adams consulted his cabinet as to the course proper to be taken, in case the commissioners, who were in France, failed to accomplish the objects for which they were sent. Mr. Hamilton was not in the cabinet, but was consulted by the friends with whom he generally acted in the Federal party, and Mr. C. F. Adams says that the only one, Mr. McHenry, who answered in writing, so far as appears, drew his ideas upon the subject from Mr. Hamilton. In this paper Mr. McHenry suggests among other things that "authority, in case of a rupture, be given to the President to provide 'by such means as he may judge best,' ships of the line, not exceeding ten, the suspension of the treaties with France, an immediate army of sixteen thousand men and a provisional one of twenty thousand more." It was also proposed, instead of making an alliance with Great Britain, which would not be wise, or entering into a formal treaty with her, to give instructions to Mr. King to "sound Great Britain as to a plan of co-operation in case of open rupture, pointing the co-operation to the Floridas, Louisiana, and the South American possessions of Spain, if rupture, as

in full in an appendix G. It is dated Paris, Dec. 22d, 1797. Mr. J. C. Hamilton, in his *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, vii., 213, refers to the same document, as furnishing "early in the following month the general terms of the agreement arranged with Pitt."

* Vol. i., p. 515.

is probable, should extend to her"; lodging authority with the British Minister for all these purposes.*

Mr. Adams says:

"The recommendations are almost identically those which appear in Mr. Hamilton's private letters to Mr. Pickering. But in addition to this the paper closed with some suggestions which show a coincidence even more marked with the peculiar policy which that gentleman was at the time advocating in his correspondence."

Now in the letters from Mr. Hamilton to Mr. Pickering, and of the latter to Mr. Hamilton, which are from March 17th to April 9th † inclusive, there is not one word about a plan for anything more than a general co-operation with Great Britain in case of a rupture, without a hint of making use of the vessels to be bought or hired, or of the troops to be raised, in endeavoring to set free the Spanish possessions in America. They are not even mentioned, except that Mr. Pickering says that despatches had been received which rendered it probable Spain had ordered the evacuation of the posts about New Orleans, probably thinking to do us a grateful thing before surrendering Louisiana to France. On March 17th Mr. Hamilton says that the serious condition of affairs calls for a "temperate but grave, solemn, and firm communication by the President to Congress" in consequence of the communications which had been received from the commissioners in France, and recommends generally the same provisions suggested by Mr McHenry; but there is not one word about Spanish possessions in it; nor is there a hint about them in a letter from him to Mr. King, cited by Mr. J. C. Hamilton as "probably March, 1798," nor in two other letters to Mr. King of "May, 1798," and May 12, 1798, in the former of which he says:

"It is a great while since I have received a line from you, nor have I deserved one; the vortex of business in which I have been, having kept me from writing to you. At this moment, I presume, you will not be sorry to know my opinions as to the course of our public affairs." ‡

Mr. Hamilton in his letter to Mr. Pickering, March 17th, closes with these words:

* *Life of Alexander Hamilton.*, i., 516.

† *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., pp. 269 to 279.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 287.

"In my opinion, bold language and bold measures are indispensable. The attitude of *calm defiance* suits us. It is vain to talk of peace with a power with which we are actually in hostility. The election is between a tame surrender of our rights or a state of mitigated hostility. Neither do I think that this state will lead to general rupture, if France is unsuccessful; and if successful, there is no doubt in my mind, that she will endeavor to impose her yoke upon us." *

Thus far, whatever may have been Mr. Hamilton's wishes or hopes respecting the South American colonies of Spain, no written expression appears, and the next communication from Mr. King, relative to this matter, is found in the letter in cipher to Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, the commissioners in Paris, April 2, 1798.

On the same date Mr. King wrote to the Secretary of State, in cipher:

"DEAR SIR:

"General Miranda has informed me that his associate and Countryman Mr. Caro, is about to return to So. America, and that he will take Philadelphia in his way, in order to deliver to the President a Letter that the General has for that purpose committed to his care.

"Having been made acquainted with the object of Mr. Caro's voyage, I take the liberty of introducing him to you and of requesting that you will assist him in the delivery of the Letter with which he is charged for the President.

"With perfect Esteem & Respect,

"RUFUS KING."

On April 6, 1798, a further communication is made by Mr. King to the Secretary of State, also in cipher, in the following words:

"*South America must soon pass through a Revolution; we have an immense interest in the Event, as well as in the manner in which it shall be effected. In a former Letter, I have communicated to you the views and intentions of England, who will not provoke the Revolt in Case Spain shall be able to save herself from a Revolution and keep the French out of Portugal: and tho' there seems little probability that this will be the case, England since the arrival of Miranda here, but without his knowledge, has informed Spain not only that she will not countenance or assist the Spanish Colonies in becoming independent, but that she will join her in resisting the Endeavours of others to accomplish it, provided that Spain will oppose the views of France against her own Dominions and those of Portugal. At the same time that this communication has been made to Spain, an Expedition has been prepared and the correspondent arrange-*

* *Hamilton's Works*, vol. vi., p. 271.

ments at Trinidad have been ordered, for the purpose of beginning the Revolution of So. America; in this event, as I have before intimated to you, England will at Philadelphia open herself to, and ask the co-operation of, the United States. Miranda who is impatient with the Delays that he experiences, as well as ignorant of the provisional Decisions of this Cabinet, has concluded to send his Friend and associate, Mr. Caro, to Philadelphia with a Letter for the President; and I have given him a Letter to identify him and introduce him to you. Conjecturing the intentions of France, and knowing with precision those of England, we shall be the better able in season to consider and regulate the conduct that it shall be proper for us to pursue."

Mr. J. C. Hamilton quotes from the *Edinburgh Review*, xiii., 291, a paragraph from a letter to Mr. Hamilton from Miranda, dated April 6, 1798:

"This will be delivered to you, my dear and respectable friend, by my compatriot, Don . . . *charged with despatches of the highest importance for the President of the United States;* he will inform you confidentially *what you would desire to learn on this subject.* It appears that the moment of our emancipation approaches, and that the establishment of liberty over the whole Continent of the new world is confided to us by Providence. The only danger that I foresee is the introduction of French principles, which would poison liberty in her cradle and finish by destroying also yours."

To the same M. Caro, Miranda committed a letter to President Adams, which is here given, taken from the *Life and Works of John Adams*, viii., 569:

F. DE MIRANDA TO JOHN ADAMS.

À LONDRES ce 24 Mars, 1798.

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT.—C'est au nom des colonies Hispano-Américaines, que j'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à votre Excellence les propositions ci-jointes. Elles ont été présentées également aux Ministres de sa Majesté Britannique, qui les ont reçu très favorablement, en témoignant beaucoup de satisfaction d'avoir à agir dans un cas pareil avec les États Unis dé l'Amérique. Et il me semble que le délai que j'éprouve (affligeant réellement, dans un moment aussi pressant) résulte précisément de l'attente ou le gouvernement Anglais paroit être, de voir l'Amérique du Nord decidée à rompre définitivement avec la France; par le désir qu'ellea de faire cause commune, et de co-opérer ensemble à l'indépendance du continent entier du Nouveau Monde.

Comme l'esprit de justice, générosité et atachement de mes compatriotes vers les États Unis, se trouve mieux exprimé dans le document qui me sert de pouvoir, autant que d'instruction, j'ai voulu y joindre une copie complète. Persuadé que cette démarche amicale et franche servira plus efficacement à accélérer la decision . . . comptant toujours sur la reserve indispensable,

dans tout ce qui ne regarde pas directement les États Unis. Si quelque article de ceux qui sont contenus dans cette instruction (ou toute autre chose qui soit relative) eut besoin d'explication. D. Pedro Josef Caro, un de mes compatriotes, commissaire aussi des colonies Hispano-Américaines, et chargé de vous remettre celle-ci, pourra satisfaire amplement et complètemment a tout. *

Sa mission après avoir reçu les ordres de V. E., est de se rendre sans délai au continent Hispano-Américain afin d'instruire nos commettans et compatriotes de l'état actuel des négotiations à nous confiées, ainsi que la situation politique de l'Europe. Je vous prie de vouloîr bien lui faciliter tout-ce dont il auroit besoin pour cet important objet, et pour se rendre incessamment à la province de Santa Fé de Bogotà.

Je ne vous dissimule pas, Monsieur le Président, mes inquiétudes sur l'entrée prochaine des troupes Françaises en Espagne. Crainte qu'un movement convulsîf dans la métropole ne produise pas des secousses anarchiques dans les colonies; et que l'abominable système de la France ne s'introduise chez nous, faute d'avoir pris des mesures promptes et efficaces pour l'empêcher. *Dii avertant.* Enfin j'espère que le petit secours dont nous avons besoin pour commencer, et qui se reduit à *six ou huit* vaisseaux de ligne et *quatre ou cinq milles* hommes des troupes, nous les trouverons facilement tant en Angleterre que dans l'Amérique . . . Mes souhaits seraient que la marine fut Anglaise et les troupes de terre Américains. Veuille la Providence que les États Unis fassent pour ses compatriotes du Sud en 1798, ce que le roi de France fit pour eux en 1778! Je me félicite toujours de voir à la tête du pouvoir exécutif Américain cet homme distingué, qui par son courage rendit son pays indépendant, et qui par sa sagesse lui donna après un gouvernement bien balancé, en sauvant ainsi la liberté. Nous profiterons sans doute de vos savantes leçons, et je me rejouis de vous apprendre d'avance que la forme de gouvernement projété est mixte, avec un chef héréditaire du pouvoir exécutif sous le nom *d' Ynca*, et, ce que j'aime davantage, pris dans la même famille : un *Sénat* composé de familles nobles, mais non héréditaire ; et une *Chambre* des communes élue parmi tous les autres citoyens qui auront une propriété compétente. Telle est l'esquisse de la forme du gouvernement qui parait réunir la majorité des suffrages dans le continent Hispano-Américain, et qui empêchera sans doute les conséquences fatales du système Franco-Republican, que Montesquieu appelle *la liberté extrême.*

En vous addressant directement ces propositions, j'ai cru mettre toute la reserve requise dans une affaire aussi extraordinaire qu'importante. J'ai l'honneur en outre d'y joindre un état de la population, produits, exportation et consommation de l'Amérique Espagnole, qui étant fait sur des notices les plus exactes, ainsi que les plus récentes, m'a paru meriter votre attention.

Avec les sentimens de la plus haute considération et de l'estime la plus parfaite, j'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.

FRANCISCO DE MIRANDA.

* M. Caro did not come. Being in great haste to return home, he sent a letter to Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, May 10, 1798, asking him to deliver the documents to the President.

The letter of Miranda to the President did not reach America, as will be seen, until the 20th of August. In the meantime Mr. King on May 12th wrote to Mr. Hamilton :

"Nothing but vigor and energy will save our country. Unanimity cannot be expected. . . . The people of America will support their government, if that government acts with decision ; if it appeals to the pride, the patriotism, and the honor of the nation ! But if it temporizes, if it wastes itself in words, if it stops short of the only course that remains for its adoption, consistently with the public safety, the next election will convulse the country, and may, as the Directory intend and expect it shall, give the government to those who will deliver us up to the same ruin that continues to desolate Europe. . . . I received a short letter from you a few days since without date, which gave me great satisfaction, as it authorized the hopes that public opinion was sounder than that of its representatives. War will increase the public taxes. These are unpleasant subjects for meditation ; the passions must be attended to, they must have an object—there is a great one. I can't explain myself. I have had no occasion for reserve with the Secretary of State, because I can write to him in cipher." *

On July 14th † Mr. King in a letter to Mr. Hamilton sketches the condition of affairs in Europe with the remark that

"the struggle is left to England, who certainly maintains it with increased zeal and resolution. For some months past we have not a word about peace. . . . In this state of things, we are (for so I consider our situation) forced into a war of defence. Have you received a former letter of mine on this subject? It is of infinite importance that we are not deceived by ourselves or others. We must do more than merely defend. I still think that the object that I have before suggested, demands all our consideration and energy. Don't suppose that I would combine fortunes with those of others. On the contrary, whatever our interest may require in regard to a co-operation with others I am averse to indissoluble engagements with any one. The Continent of Europe cannot be saved, but this is no reason why America should perish likewise. France is the only nation that projects enterprises, or succeeds in putting them into execution ; all others are puzzled in a perpetual effort to find out and defeat the plans of France, without concerting and attempting to execute one that might give to France the disadvantage of defence. If we follow this course, I dread the issue."

On 31st July, 1798, in a letter to Col. Hamilton, Mr. King, after adverting to the firmness of the English Government in its course towards France, and his opinion that in consequence the

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 285. † *Ibid.*, vi., 3.

people will be more and more likely to support it in the measures to be taken, says :

"This opinion should be taken in connection with an observation (the importance of wh. appears to me the greater the oftener I consider it) that I have suggested in more than one of my late letters. The composition of addresses and the forming of volunteer associations who will have nothing to do, are for the present well ; but they will cease to be novelties and soon become tiresome ; and to be secure you must have some sufficient object that will interest and employ the passions of the nation. The mere defensive system of the enemies of France has been the principal cause of her success, and if we adopt the error we shall be exposed to greater risque than by a bold and active system, which, exclusive of being the most certain means of safety, would promise the acquisition of great and lasting advantages.

"The Destiny of the new world, and I have a full and firm persuasion that it will be both happy and glorious, is in our hands. We have a right and it is our duty to deliberate and act, not as secondaries, but as Principals. The object and the occasion are such as we ought not in respect to ourselves and others to suffer to pass unimproved."

This letter was not acknowledged by Mr. Hamilton until October 2d, when he says :

"Mr. R. delivered me your letter of the 31st July. The opinion in that and other of your letters concerning a very important point, has been acted upon by me from the very moment that it became unequivocal that we must have a decisive rupture with France. In some things my efforts succeeded, in others they were disappointed ;—in others I have had promises of conformity to lay the foundation of future proceeding ; the performance and effect of which promises are not certainly known to me. The effect, indeed, cannot yet be known." *

As before stated, Miranda's letter of March 24th, and documents with it, reached the Secretary of State on August 20th, as appears by a letter from him to the President, of the 21st,† with which he also inclosed Mr. King's letters of February 22d and April 6th :

"Sir :

"I inclose a letter which I received last evening under cover from M. Pedro Josef Caro, accompanied by a letter from Mr. King, intended as an introduction to M. Caro ; but the latter having missed a passage to the United States, in the British cutter which sailed from Falmouth for New York on the 20th of

* *Works of Hamilton*, vi., 362.

† *Life and Works of John Adams*, viii., 583.

April, and circumstances requiring his arrival in South America with as little delay as possible, he forwarded the packet to me. A copy of the translation of his letter to me I have the honor to inclose.

"Under the same cover were inclosed two letters, one for Colonel Hamilton,* the other for General Knox, which I forward by this post to those gentlemen."

The inclosed letter of M. Caro is dated,

"FALMOUTH, 10 May, 1798.

"SIR—The annexed letter of the Hon. Mr. King to you will serve as a credential in my favor in presenting myself to you with the important mission it announces. An unforeseen accident has frustrated my voyage hence to your Continent in his Majesty's Cutter, which sailed for New York on the 20th April last; and a combination of circumstances requiring my arrival in South America with as little delay as possible, I have received instructions immediately to depart by the shortest route of the leeward islands, and am ordered to communicate it to the government through the medium of you, by transmitting the pamphlet which I inclose, and should have conveyed personally. I pray you to deliver it into the hands of His Excellency the President; and, as eventually some answer may be practicable in so interesting a business, General Francis de Miranda, our compatriot and principal agent of all Spanish America in union, a person extremely well known, and in particular to the Hon. Mr. King, whose intervention is as to both parties safe and secret, will remain in London.

"I also hope you will have the goodness to receive the first tribute of my respects in the Spanish language and style, as I am unable to render it in English and that you will not confide the secret to interpreters who are not known."

In reference to the letter, inclosed in M. Caro's package, to Colonel Hamilton, sent by Mr. Pickering to him, Mr. Pickering says August 22, 1798:

"Not to miss a mail, I wrote you one line today and inclosed a letter from, I suppose, General Miranda. If its contents give rise to any questions which it will be prudent for you to ask, and for me to answer by the mail, it may be done; otherwise the information may be suspended until we meet."—*Hamilton's Works*, vi., 343.

There does not appear to be any answer to this.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON TO RUFUS KING.

NEW YORK, Aug. 22, 1798.

MY DEAR SIR:

You will be no doubt fully instructed of the measures which have taken place on the part of our government and you will have seen in the numerous addresses to the President a confirmation of the opinion I gave you respecting the disposi-

* Letter of February 26, 1798.

tion of this Country. From both you will have derived satisfaction though you should not think we are *yet* where we ought now to be. But console yourself with the assurance that we are progressive in good. The indications are to my mind conclusive that we are approaching fast to as great unanimity as any country ever experienced and that our energies will be displayed in proportion to whatever exigencies shall arise.

I have received several letters from General Miranda. I have written answers to some of them, which I send you to deliver or not according to your estimate of what is passing in the scenes where you are. Should you deem it expedient to suppress my letter, you may do it & say as much as you think fit on my part in the nature of a communication through you.

With regard to the enterprise in question, I wish it much to be undertaken, but I should be glad that the principal agency was in the U States—they to furnish the whole land force necessary. The command in this case would very naturally fall upon me—and I hope I should disappoint no favorable anticipation—The independency of the separated territory under a *moderate* government, with the joint guarantee of the co-operating powers, stipulating equal privileges in commerce, would be the sum of the results to be accomplished.

Are we yet mature for this undertaking? Not quite—But we ripen fast, and it may (I think) be rapidly brought to maturity, if an efficient negotiation for the purpose is at once set on foot upon this ground—Great Britain cannot alone ensure the accomplishment of the object. I have some time since advised certain preliminary steps to prepare the way consistently with national character and justice. I was told they would be pursued, but I am not informed whether they have been or not.*

Yrs. Affecly.

A. H.

A. Hamilton to General Miranda.

New York, August 22. 1798.

Sir:

The sentiments I entertain with regard to that object have been long since in your knowledge. But I could personally have no participation in it, unless patronised by the Government of this Country. It was my wish that matters had been ripened for a co-operation in the course of this Fall on the part of this Country. But this can now scarcely be the case. The Winter however may mature the project and an effectual co-operation by the U States may take place. In this case I shall be happy in my official station to be an instrument of so good a work.

The plan in my opinion ought to be a fleet of Great Britain, an army of the U. States.—a government for the liberated territory agreeable to both the Co-operators, about which there will be probably no difficulty. To arrange the

* This letter was received by Mr. King on October 20, 1798, as appears by his letter of that date.

plan a competent authority from Great Britain to some person here is the best expedient.—Your presence here will in this case be extremely essential.

We are raising an army of about Twelve thousand men. Genl. Washington has resumed his station at the head of our armies.—I am appointed second in command.

With esteem and regard
I remain Dr. Sir,
Yr. very Obt. Servt.
A. HAMILTON.

In the meantime Mr. King, on August 17th, communicates in cipher to the Secretary of State the following report of a conference with Lord Grenville:

Our conference here took a turn to the *probability of the Revolution of S. America*:* He was fuller and more explicit than he had been on any former occasion, always understanding *that my conversation on this* subject *was personal and wholly unauthorized. The digression which treated of the practicability and of the means of effecting the measure*, tended to shew to me *that they have at times considered and combined with their views of a future connection with the United States, the independence of the Spanish Continental Colonies.* I did not perceive, nor do I believe it to be the case, *that they have any recent information of the present temper, disposition or plans of these Colonies, a knowledge more easily procured from the United States than from Europe and which is indispensably requisite to the success of an enterprize to accomplish the Revolution.* He spoke of the *government to be established in these as a Revolution ;* he thought *our System would attract and receive their approbation*, and made some remarks upon *the apprehension* to be entertained on account *of their genius and character*, which especially *in Peru*, was said to be *highly animated and full of enthusiasm*, and concluded by observing that he was more and more confirmed in the opinion, that *none but Englishmen and their descendants knew how to make a Revolution.*

On the same date, General Miranda wrote another letter to the President, Mr. Adams,† in which he says:

"Depuis le départ de ma dépêche, les circonstances sont devenues plus favorable encore. Les événemens survenus et en Europe et aux États Unis rendent même la séparation des colonies Hispano-Américaines indispensables ; d'autant plus qu'elles sont décidées à ne pas devenir les agens, encore moins les sujets, de la république Française. . . . Je vois avec plaisir que l'Angleterre, sentant enfin que son salut et son bonheur futur dépendent absolument d'une

*Italics in cipher.

† *Life and Works of John Adams*, viii., 581.

alliance et d'un attachement intime avec l'Amérique, est resolue, en déposant tout esprit de jalousie et de monopole commercial, à co-öpérer avec vous en faveur de cet important objet, dont le succes assurera non seulement le bonheur réciproque, mais encore la gloire immortelle, des trois parties intéressées.

" Mr. King, votre digne ambassadeur auprès de sa Majesté Britannique, et qui joint ici à tant de titres de l'estime générale, entrant dans tous les détails, vous communiquera les renseignemens qui vous seront nécessaires, tant à l'égard de l'Europe qu' à l'égard de l'Amérique du Sud. Nos intérêts étant les mêmes, et mes commettans ayant mis toute leur confiance dans leurs compatriotes du Nord, j'ai cru ne pouvoir mieux remplir leurs désirs qu'en agissant d'accord avec lui, sans la plus légère reserve, et avec une confiance mutuelle.

" Puisque votre réponse doit en quelque sort décider le sort de l'Amérique méridionale, et combler les souhaits de mes compatriotes, je vous prie, Monsieur le Président, de vouloir bien me la faire parvenir le plutôt qu'il vous sera possible."

" F. DE MIRANDA."

These letters were not received in America until the following October, on the 3d of which month the President wrote to T. Pickering, Secretary of State, from Quincy :

" DEAR SIR :

" Inclosed is a duplicate of a letter from Miranda, with some estimates. Read it and think of it. A number of questions and considerations occur. We are friends with Spain. If we were enemies, would the project be useful to us? It will not be in character for me to answer the letter. Will any notice of it, in any manner, be proper?" *

It does not appear that the Secretary ever answered these questions, " and," Mr. C. F. Adams says, " the grand plan thus perished by inanition." † Of course, without the President, no efficient action could be taken. But the fact is that the communication from the British Government, to that of the United States, of which Mr. King had spoken as a preliminary to any arrangement, was not ever made ; the whole correspondence had been unofficial, except that of Mr. King to the Secretary of State, as to the possibility and probability of co-operation between the two countries, and that of General Miranda with the President and Mr. Hamilton, Miranda himself being earnest and sanguine, and believing that Great Britain seriously contemplated the expedition which he desired and which perhaps at one time it apparently did.

* *Life and Works of John Adams*, viii., 600.

† *Ibid.*, ii., 532.

For had it not done so, how could Mr. King have written in a private letter to Mr. Hamilton, as he did on October 20th?

"My dear Sir:

"I have received your letter of the 22d August, with the enclosure that has been delivered as directed. On that subject things are here as we could desire. There will be precisely such a co-operation as we wish the moment we are ready. The Secretary of State will show you my communication on this subject. Though I have not a word from him respecting it, your outline corresponds with what has been suggested by me, and approved by this government. Fortunately some months past I obtained a fac simile of the latest map of the country. It has been now two months in the hand of an engraver, who has engaged to deliver the copies in January. This government has considerable information respecting the interior, as well as concerning the condition and dispositions of the inhabitants, though I apprehend it is not of a recent date. What we know is favorable; but if we are to be betrayed by France, the glorious opportunity will be lost. I am gratified on receiving your opinion of the good condition of our public affairs, but I do not feel confident that we are as safe as you appear to think we are. It is fraud, not force, I fear. . . . A Paris paper of the 8th instant, which is the latest that takes any notice of the United States, says: Les dernieres lettres de Bordeaux assurent qu'il y est arrivé un courier extraordinaire porteur d'ordres pour rémettre l'embargo sur les navires Américaines. Voila donc la guerre inévitable avec ce peuple, du moins toutes nos correspondances coincident."

In a private letter to Mr. Pickering, October 20, 1798, Mr. King says:

"You are silent concerning *South America* *; I have again and again touched upon it; I have wished to say much more, but I have not thought it prudent. *As England is steady, she will* furnish *a fleet and military stores, and we should* furnish *the army.* A *map of the country* that some time since I procured, *is in the hands of the engraver; the copies will be* delivered in *January.*"

R. King to A. Hamilton.†

London, March 4, 1799.

Our opinions do not differ upon a very important subject that has more than once been mentioned in our correspondence. I am entirely ignorant of the sentiments of the President, though I have again and again treated of it, and sometimes with earnestness, in my dispatches. This silence gives me some

* Italics in cipher.

† *Works of Hamilton*, vol. vi., 402.

inquietude.* Mr. G. will send you the reflections that have occurred to him, and will also explain the motives for putting them into your hands. I cannot at this distance decide upon the expediency of publishing these reflections, but I am much inclined to recommend it, as all our conjectures, explained and confirmed by everything we see, enjoin us to look for safety only in our own courage and upon our own continent.

With perfect regard and attachment, &c.

R. KING TO A. HAMILTON.

LONDON, March 9, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

By Mr. Erskine, whom I have introduced to you, I send you a copy of the famous Map of So. America that Fayden has lately engraved. It is a facsimile of the Spanish map so carefully concealed at Madrid.

Fayden is employed in another map upon the same scale of the Spanish Territories North of the Isthmus; it will be less accurate and authentic, but such as it is it will supply a desideratum. I am from many considerations restrained from saying what ought to be said and must not be delayed respecting this important Country. I am entirely convinced, if it and its resources are not for us, that they will speedily be against us.

Spain and Portugal are completely in check; and the game may be terminated with them at the pleasure of France. The next step is plain and will be by and by unavoidable. What do we expect, what, without infatuation, can we expect of France? Why then any further Reserves?

Yrs. truly

R. K.

It does not appear that anything further was done in Miranda's business. Tired of awaiting the decision of Great Britain to commit itself to and engage in his scheme of revolution, finding also that the earnestness of England varied with the success or disaster of France in her affairs on the Continent, and being straitened in means, he desired to come to America, possibly to see if he might meet with a more favorable reception. On the 21st of January, 1799, Mr. King applied for a passport for him to leave England for the West Indies, which was not granted to him, and again on the 1st of August he addressed a private note renewing his request, to Mr. Huskisson, Under Secretary with Mr. Dundas, which, with Mr. King's note to General Miranda and one to Mr. Pickering, are here given:

* The only notice of the President's opinion is to be found in his letter to Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, on October 30, 1798, which does not appear to have been communicated to Mr. King.

R. KING TO W. HUSKISSON, ESQ.

Private.

G. C. P., Aug. 1, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

It is not without reluctance since the receit of your note of —— that I renew the subject of a Passport for General Miranda; my sole inducement proceeds from the extreme embarrassment in which I see him, and from which he has no means of extricating himself while he remains in England.

It is not suitable that I should enter into or even entertain an opinion, on the policy of granting or denying a Passport for Trinidad; besides that point is decided. He now desires a Passport to leave England to go to the U. S., and as I have no reason to think his going there would be disagreeable to the American Government, I take the liberty of asking you to submit to Mr. Pitt, this request of the requisite permission for him to leave England for the U. S., and that you will at the same time explain to him that my interference originates in the knowledge of the pecuniary Embarrassments of General Miranda, and of his utter want of resources to enable him any longer to subsist in this country.

With Sentiments &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING TO GENERAL MIRANDA.

BRIGHTON, Sept. 1, 1799.

DEAR GENERAL:

I have just received a note from Mr. Dundas, informing me that on application to Lord Grenville, a Passport will be granted to you to leave England for the U. S. of America. As you may wish to take immediate measures on the Subject of your Passage, I do not suffer the Post to return without sending you this agreeable information.

We shall be at home on Wednesday or Thursday, when I shall have the pleasure of seeing you in Cumberland Place. I charge myself with the completion of your wishes respecting the Passport.

Ever & with great truth yours &c.

RUFUS KING.

RUFUS KING TO COL. PICKERING.

LONDON, Sept. 9, 1799.

DEAR SIR:

I take the liberty to introduce to you the Bearer General Miranda to whose name and reputation you cannot be a Stranger: few persons have had greater opportunities of seeing the different Countries of Europe, of observing their various institutions, or of being acquainted with their distinguished Statesmen and Men of Letters.

Numerous and favorable as these occasions have been for the acquisition of extensive and useful information, you will perceive by conversing with the General, that he has not suffered them to escape unimproved.

As he proposes to pass some time at Philadelphia, I shall be particularly obliged to you to receive him with the kindness and respect due to a man of uncommon Talents and rare acquirements.

With the greatest Truth and Attachment &c. &c.

RUFUS KING.

NOTE—Mill Hill, Middlesex, Oct. 18, 1799.

Miranda could not obtain permission to leave England for the U.S.—this letter will not therefore be delivered.

The detail with which this proposed adventure of Miranda has been given, is to meet a suggestion made by Mr. C. F. Adams,* that "Mr. King's public and private papers, not yet before the world, must throw a flood of light on these transactions." They are now before the public, and certainly do not warrant the charge that Mr. Hamilton at the time of making the suggestion for "a more extensive force than was needed merely for defence," was doing more than to prepare for an emergency that might arise under the strained relations with France. Whatever was done was to be done under the direction and with the consent of the government, though he might justly look forward to the command of an expedition, should one be organized, "to attack where we can. France is not to be considered as separated from her ally. Tempting objects will be within our grasp."† The Floridas and Louisiana were "tempting objects."

There was no opportunity for testing any plans he may have had, for the action of the President, Mr. Adams, in determining to send another Envoy to France, to meet what he considered the advances of the French Government towards a settlement of the questions between the two countries, put an end to all active movements on the part of the United States.

As regards the conduct of Mr. King in urging this co-operation between England and the United States, there can be no doubt of its having been the result of the strong desire to punish France by decisive measures, for her perfidy and atrocious acts against the United States, that prevented him from foreseeing that such

* *John Adams's Works*, i., 525.

† *Hamilton's Works*, v., 184.

co-operation, as was proposed, was really to ally the country with a foreign power against a mutual enemy, and that such an alliance would have been full of danger to the United States. It is the more extraordinary because his correspondence will show how little confidence he had in the certainty that the British Government would act against her own interests, were peace in Europe restored. The United States would have been left alone to carry out the plan, which must have failed, and failure under the circumstances would have justified the friends of France in their clamor against the government.